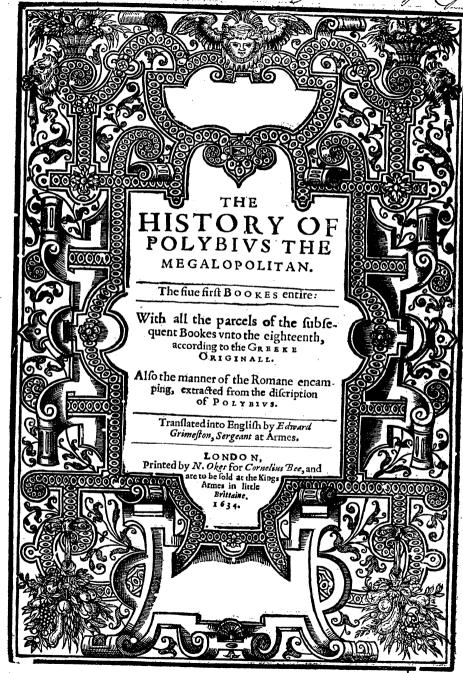
Thomas offelton A Lybe bon Charles reflection rung dien ung boy.



 $\mathfrak{A}(\cdot)$

home hytelow the show the line is





P . A Shake Burns

TOTHE

RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM LORD CRAVIX,

BARON OF HAMSTEED.

MARSHALL,&c.

MOST WORTHY LORD,



Ardon I beseech you, if (being a stranger and vnknowne vnto you) I have presumed to inscribe your title on the Frontespiece of this Booke, and to publish it to the world, vnderyour Lo.sauourable protection. I confesse my disability might well have deterred me: But the reason

which induced meto this presumption, was your nobleand C generous inclination to Armes (being the subject of this History) wherein you have carried your selse so worthily in many great and dangerous exploits, in forraine parts, vnder two of the greatest Commanders of Christendome, as you haue done great honour to your Country, and won vnto your selse perpetuall same and reputation. This Consideration hath made me confident, that during your vacancy from Military actions, your Lordship will vouchsafe to D cast your eye vponthis History written by Polybius, who (in the opinion of most men of Indgement) hath beene held to be very fincere, and free from malice, affection or passion. And to iustifie the truth thereof, he protests that he was present at many of the actions, and received the rest from confident persons who were eye-witnesses. It is a generall History of his time, of all the warres which past

The Epistle Dedicatory.

in Afia, Greece, and the Romane State, against the Gaules, and Carthaginians, which two Citties contended for the Empiry of the world: which warre was of longer continuance, and had more cruell and variable encounters and battailes than any that hath beene written of: For the first Punique warre (where they fought for the Conquest of Sicily) lasted source and twenty yeeres; and the second in Italy under Hannibal, Generall for the Carthagini- A ans, continued seuenteene yeeres, to the subuersion (in a manner) of the Romane State, had not Scipio forced Hannibal to returne home to defend his owne Carthage, where in Battell he loft the glory of all his former Victories, and brought his Countrey into the subjection of the Romanes. This worke I present vnto your Lordships fauourable. Censure, humbly praying that you will be pleased to beare with my harsh and vnpolished stile, and to pardon the errors committed at the presse during my absence: for which fauour I shall hold my selfe much bound vnto your Lordship, and will alwaies remaine

> Your Lordes, most humbly devoted to doe you feruice >

EDW. GRIMESTON.



Levves Maigret a Lionnois

to the FRENCH Nobility.

Entlemen, wee are all borne by nature to fo much pouerty, and involved in somany miseries, as there is no worke of Man, how [mall focuer, which giving order to his meanest actions, doth not minister occasion of some Esteeme. So as whereas his diligence

guiaed by reason, shall finde it selfe erost, I know not by what power. B which commonly fortune veurpes over the sudgement and consideration of Man wee may (as we thinke) suftly blame it, in excusing with compassion the worksman and his misfortune. And if on the other fide, to shew her great magnificence and bounty, she imparts her fauours and graces to some one, who without keeping any order or faire course, seekes to bring some Enterprize to an end, so as that notwithstanding his over-weaning and folly shee makes it perfett: Then we hold her produgall, detesting her oureasonable and Cinconsiderate bounty, griening at her benefits so ill imployed. Bebold bow, (I know not by what law received among men) wee commender blame every one in his projettion and workes, to farre forth as they fee his industry and deligence imployed or defective. If wee have reufon then in so great Esteeme, as wee seeke it in all our actions, and in matters of the smallest consequence, blaming him that novlects it: How infamous mee hold the carelefneffe and neglect of a man in the order and conduct of affaires, wherein not D onely the ruma of his share, life and honour, but allowbat of his Country, Parents, and Briends, and finally of his Prince and Soueraigne, is many times brought into great danger? But if there be no Enterprise among those which Men pursue, wherin such things ought to bee drawne into Confideration, as proper and ordinary vnhim, and without the danger whereof hee can reape no benefit, I am of opinion that that of warre ought in reason to bee preserved be-

The Epistle to the Reader.

long experience of a wife Pilot, could not by a thousand signes and tokens forelee, deuising sufficient remedies to auoid it? But when a warre is mannaged by Iudgement and diferetion, as it is requisite, the shewes are commonly contrarie, to that which they pursue. Wherefore the more an Enterprize is dissembled and keept secret, the more easie it is to put in execution. Finally, if wee will confesse the truth, it is a pro-A session which among all others, requires the greatest wigilance; a continual Care, with an incredible diligence: where-of a good sudgement must have the conduct, that by coniectare drawne from things formerly practized, or from a probability of that which hee secs, hee may some after sudge of the Enemies resolution, and finally attempt and hope for a constorn.

And although it hath beene alwaies held, that Money is the B sinewes of Warre 3 yet I hold its force without Condust like conto that of a strong, able Man, opprest with a deepe Reepe. Whose senses have made their retreate for his reft. So there is nothing so strong, nor so quicke in this world as the sense of man: Nor any thing so powerfull and terrible. which the understanding doth not master and subdue. And therefore wee say commonly in France, that wit is better than force. Yet I know that Courage is a great advantage; C and necessary for a souldier, but especially for a Generall: But I feare that for want of Iudgement and a good consideration, it makes them not sometimes over weening and carelesse of danger. So as many times it gives occasion to a weake and cowardie Enemie, to undertake a Victory, and to performe the Act of a valuant man. Wherefore courage without conduct, and vigilancie, is alwayes subject to Ambushes and shamefull flights: which are inconveniences, D whereof a Coward is alwaies warie, for that feare makes a Man vigilant and carefull. But was there ever Nation more bardie, nor more warre-like; nor that more carefully observed the ordinances of warre than the Romanes? How then did Hannibal deseate them so often, not onely in Encounters, but in pitcht Battailes, and in the open field.

field, by his great Iudgement, and his subtile pollicies? In what seare, and with what admiration hath the fury of the Caules, beene beld in old time by all Natious, who parting from their owne Countrey and Townes, to seeke new habitations, have conquered land in divers Countries by Armes, building Townes not onely in Italy their Neighbour, but also in Germany, and in the end in Greece, and Afia? Who bath defeated and quite ruinated them in a (hort time, but A their owne Consideration, and an ouer-weaning considence in their force and courage ? I bold for certaine, which you know well, that it is not sufficient for a Prince or Generall to have his Armie compleate with foote and hersemen, how resolute socuer, and with all necessary previsions for a warre: No more than for a Souldier to have youth, strong and active Members, a daring courage, and compleate furniture. Hee must have to vanquish (the which many times the vanquish- B ed improperly call mis-fortune) that piece of harnesse so well steeled, which wee call Iudgement, or a good conduct. Beleeue mee that like votte a horse, when hee hath taken the bit betwint his teeth, forcing bis Master, flies without seare thorow Woods, Rockes, and Precipices, with the danger of his life, bee bee neuer so nimble and couragious; so a hardie and resolute souldier deth easily his owne ruine, if hee wants conduti and Iudgement. You must pnderstand that as the body C requires Exercise to preserve in health, and to make it active, and bardened to indure labour and paine; so the sunderstanding in like manner desires to bee exercised and imployed, either by the consideration of things past, or by those which are visible.

It is true, that those which are seene by the eye, have a greaser viuacitie, and a stronger impression, than those which are past: For that living things are of greater force than D dead. Yet, if we shall duely consider the length of time, which the experience of a thousand kind of pollicies, which warre requires before that a wife Man will dare to aduenture himselse in a bold and bardie Enterprize, wee shall finde that the knowledge of the antient warres, which have beene

The Epiltie to the Reader

left vs in writing, will bee of no small consequence wato him. For besides the assurance of danger, hee may in a short time see by Historiographers, the great and wonderfull exploits of the Antient in a manner since the Creation of the World, to pleasure and contentment from them, with some Encouragement to doe aswell or better hereaster. You know well that the warre which is seene by the eye, is not alwaies made betwist warre-like people, nor under resolute Commaunders, that are skilfull in their profession: so as it is a difficult thing under such to see any valuant exploits, nor Enterprizes attempted with good invention, nor well executed. Wee (ay commonly in France, that the Combate is dangerous; when as courage fights against courage. So is it credible, that when an Army consisting of warre-like men, is under the leading of a wife and resolute Commander, bauing in front an Enemy equal voto him in all degrees, there must needes bee vatiant exploits performed, with hardy Enterprizes wifely mannaged.

If there have beene any warres, attempted by fierce and warlike Nations, and governed by wife and famous Captaines, beleeue me this present Historiographer hath vsed great diligence to let them downe in writing: Labouring only to mention the deedes and valour that was most worthy of Relation, that with the pleasure and contentment which they may reape in reading them, they may draw some instructions and meanes, not to fall into the inconviences of warre, into the danger whereof many times both Captaine and fouldiers may bee ingaged, through want of experience, good advice and councell. So as among others, you shall see Enterprizes of the Romanes against the Carthaginians for the conquest of Sicily. D During the which there were many Encounters and cruell battailes, as well by Sea as land. You (hall likewise reade the surious Combat of the Gaules against the Romanes: And moreover the warre between Cleomenes and Antigonus, for Morea, the which Philip the Sonne of Demetrius tooke afterwards. And besides many other notable exploites, (which at this present I will sorbeare)

you shall see the Conquests which Hannibal made in Spaine, with his incredible voiage into Italie, persormed in his

younger yeeres, and his vistories gotten of the Romanes

ventions, will faile him at neede; and in the end purchase

him dishonour and shame; Yet do not imagine my Masters,

that I have ved this speech as blazoning you, and holding you for men of so poore un Enterprize, whose principall

study and affections is the reading of Juch Bookes, rather then in Jome worthy recreation and exercise. My meaning was onely to aduertise you, that Histories, from whence with pleasure you may draw great prosit, as these are which this Historiographer imparts unto you ought to bee in greater recommendation than those Fables, which have no grace, but when they are most without reason or any shew of A truth.

Finally, I bope you shall finde such sufficiencie in our Polybius, as you will make no question to preserve him as the paragon before all others, as well Greekes as Latines, which are come to the knowledge of men. Of whom I have presumed to translate in the best fort I could, those fine first Bookes, which of Fourty which bee hath written, have beene preserved halfe ruined by the negligence of time:

B Hoping you will receive them as willingly, as I offer them with a good beart.

When as after the Printing of these fine first Bookes; I had recovered some Latine Translations, of three parcels of the fixt, whereof the first and the third had not any GREEKE Coppie, And likewife afterwards another of the fixteenth, both in Latine and Greeke. I imployed my selfe to put them into French, adding there-Cunto the forme of the Romanes Campe, as I could conrecture it, by the discription which Polybius maker, in the parcell of the fixt Books And when as the Printers successor had a desire afterwards to print the whole, and intreated mee to spend some time in the Remainder of that which was newly published of Polybius his worker, which are certaine parcells, and as it were Reliques (besides the a-D boue named) of the jenenth and eighth, and of all the jubfequent Bookes wato the seauententh inclusius, it was not in my power to deliver him any other but those of the seventh and eighth, being afflicted with a quartane Ague, besides his obstinacy in ving a small Character, for the sparing of Paper distasted mee: Expecting that which afterwards sollowed, that few men would rest satisfied, for that all things

The Epistle to the Reader.

how good and excellent seener, are thereby found without grace, dull and compleasing. For this cause desiring that so excellent a writer; should not remaine distanced and without grace for mant of an honourable Impression, and that the studions of Histories should bee the more incouraged, I resolved to adde the remainder of that, which at this day is come to our knowledge, assuring my selfe that the Printer for his part will have a care that for the saving of his momey bee will not doe wrong to his honour, nor loose his charges instead of gaine.

To GOD alone be all honour and glory.



HORISTEN SERVICE STATE

non encountry graph and braphels; he housely say not career in pro-j my society small natural or gracepoint.

and the death to the said the street was an

The Printer to the READER.

Ourteous Reader, I desire your charitable censure in that there bee some litterall faults escaped, to the griefe of the Author being not able to attend the Presse, and likewise being absent at that time from London, and habut a young Corrector which took too much upon him.

Errata.

D'Age 27. line 21. for report read fupport, p. 27.1. 9. for worldger.rigg, p. 33. 1. 28. for ready the stready for the, p. 34. 1, 27. for nor beer, nor to bee, p. 35. 1, 39. for shown then, p. 40. 1. 19. for yet began 1, yet it began, p. 45. 1, 38. for bad been r. bad not been, p. 51. 1, 44, for Banuhadis. Annicar, p. 62. 1, 37. for dreanians: Asamanen, p. 68. 1, 18. for 1 fivine 2. Miffs; p. 79. 1, 27. Morre t. Rione, p. 105. 1, 30. r. sime to palfs; p. 13. 1, 7 for and paft t. be paft, p. 13. 1. 1. 4. f. fluffs their place; p. 13. 1. f. fruike dead or burs, p. 1. 31. 47. r. daments, 1. 18. r. vnio the deviatique, p. 17.1. a. o. r. o as without, p. 186. 1. 43. r. in common assembles, 1. 45. r. dames, p. 189. 1 25. r. raifeth bis (ampe, p. 91. 1. 44. r. did not openly. p. 19. 4. 15. creat a King, p. 189. 1. vnio the difficion, p. 220. 1. 4. r. to bring him, p. 230. 1.40 t. not executed, p. 23. 1. 28. r. against them, p. 240. 1. 2. r. noway, p. 246. 1. 10. t. which the Gosfees, p. 249. 1. 25. borne away by theriner, bid. 1. 38. r. was, p. 24. 44. r. parted from Lydia, p. 264. 1. 3. r. which Polemy was, p. 274. 134. r. of the Phanatensia, p. 248. 1. 61. greater danger, p. 279. 1. 23. r. for all them which.





FIRST BOOKE of the Historyof POLYBIVS.



The product of the pr

ENHANCEMENT OF THE PROPERTY OF THE SECOND CONTRACTORS

was the tour state of the second

if the Commendation of the excellency of Histories had beene omitted by such as before vs have written the Worth and Prowesso of Men, happily it should bee necessary to vie some Arguments to make it to be generally Accepted and Received: For that there is no way more easie to resorme and better Men, then the Knowledge of things past. But seeing that not onely some, but in a manner all, begin thereby and

finish it amply, so as they are of Opinion that the Knowledge of Histories is a true Discipline and Exercise for the Conduct and mannaging of the Affaires of a Common-wealth, and that she onely is the Mistris, and meanes to beare the Variety and inconstancy of Fortune patiently, by reason of the example of another mans adversities, it is apparent that no man will hold it necessary to renew the Discourse of things, which have formerly beene so well delivered by others: Especially by me to whom the newnesse of Actions, whereof wee intend to Write, is much more then sufficient to perswade and draw the hearts of men, aswell both Young and Old, to read our History. For where is any man so deprayed or filly, which desires not to vinderstand the

the meanes and manner of Gouernment, by the which the Romans have subdued and brought vader their Obedience in a manner, all the Nations of the World, within the force of fifty and three yeares? the which in former times was neuer heard of. Or what is he so much given and defiring to know other things worthy of admiration and other Disciplines, but will conceine that there is not any thing in this world worthy to be preferred to this knowledge ? I hope they will fee how great and excellent our Worke is, if weemake comparison of other Principalities with the excellency of the Romane Empire, and namly of those which have beene in great honour and glory, whereof A Historiographers haue written much. Behold those which are most worthy to be compared.

The Perfians.

The Empire and power of the Persians for a time hat a beene great. but whenfocuer they did adventure to paffe the bounds and limits of Afia they were in danger to lofe not onely their Empire, but their The Lacedemo- lines. The Lacedemonians made a long warre for the Empire and command of Greece, but they could hardly keepe it twelve yeeres quiet after their Conquest.

The Macido-

It is true, the Macedonians have domineer'd and rul'd in Europe, from Adria to the Danome, which is but a small portion thereof. And B fince they have held the Empire of Asia, after they had ruined the Monarchy of the Persians. And although that these haue in shew beene great Lords, and enjoyed large and spacious Countries, yet they neuer toucht the greatest part of the World. As for Sicily, Sardinia, and Affricke, they never made shew to challenge any thing. In regard of other Nations, the most Martiall of Europe, and the most Westerne. they hardly in my opinion did ever know them : But the Romans have not onely conquered a part of the World, but in a manner all. They may also know by our fequell, how great the profit will be to such as affeetheknowledge of History

The beginning of the History.

Finally, the beginning of our Worke shall be according to the time, fince the hundred and eight and forty Olimpiade . As for the Actions, and first of the Grecians, wee will begin with the sociali warre, the which Philip (who was Sonne to Demetrius, and Father to Perfeus) attempted first with the Acaians, against the Etolians, and in regard of those which inhabite Asia, the beginning shall be at the Warre which was in the Valley of Syria, betwixt Antiochus, and Ptolome, Philopater. But as for Italy and Affricke, wee will begin with that betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, which many call the warre of Hanniball. The History shall begin at the end of that which Sicionius hath left in D writing. Before these times the affaires of the world were without Civillity. Since it hath happened that the History is in a manner drawne all into one, and that the actions of Italy, and of Affricke, are mingled with those of Greece and Asia, and that all tended to one and the same end. And therefore wee have begun our worke in those times, when the Romans had vanquisted the Carthaginians in this war, thinking they had performed their greatest taske, and to be able to asfaile the whole world, they prefumed prefently after to fall vpon the

rest, and to passe into Greece and Aga with great forces. But if we had feene and knowne the manner of lining, and the Lawes of Common-weales contending for the Monarchy, happily it would not be needfull to make any great fearch, to what end, nor voon what power relying, they have entred into fuch great actions. But for that the manner of lining, the precedent forces, and the actions of the peop ple of Rome and Carthage are vnknowne to the greatest part of the Grecians, I have held it necessary to make these two first Bookes, before I enter into the History, to the end they should have no occasion A to wonder nor inquire in reading our Worke, what Councell, what Forces, and what Treasure and Wealth the people of Rome had to vindertake the warre and conquest of the whole Earth, and of all our Sea: Confidering that they which shall require it, shall see plainely by these first Bookes of our Preparation, that the Romans had reasonable cause to vndertake the Empire and Soueraignty of all things, and to attains vntotheir ends. Beleeue that the proper object of our Worke, and

this, that as Fortune hath in a manner reduced all the affaires of the world into one, and hath forced them to draw to one and the fame B end: So the force which shee hath vsed for the persection of all publicke gouernment, must be reduced and propounded to the Reader in one

the excellency of the Actions of our time, confilts principally in

briefe Hiftory

This hath chiefely incited and vrged mee to the enterprise thereof, especially for that none of our time hath vndertaken to write a generall History: neither would wee have attempted it: But feeing that many had written some particular Warres, and their private Actions, and that no Man (to my knowledge) hath hitherto made an valuerfall and generall commemoration of things past, neither when nor how they began, nor how they were executed and performed, nor what iffue C they had: I conceived it would be well done, if by our meanes our Countrey-men might read a worke of Fortune excellently good and profitable: For although shee had done excellent things and worthy of admiration among men: yet thee hath nor done any thing vnto this day, nor purchased the glory of victory comparable to our times. The which they that have written the particular Histories cannot make knowne, but that some one who peraduenture for that hee had lived in some renowned Towne, or for that they had seenethem in picture, imagine presently they know them : and consequently the scituation, the forme, and the order of the World, the which is not probable not D likely.

They which are of Opinion that a particular History is sufficient for the vnderstanding of the generall, in my Opinion stray no lesse from the truth, then if some one confidering the parts separated of a living a good Com Body, thinke by this meanes to have the knowledge of all the perfect. Pariton. ons and graces of the Creature. There is no doubt; but if any one takes these distinct and separated parts, and doth presently loyne them together, and make a perfect Creature, giving it forme and life, and then presents it vary bim, hee will soone confesse that hee hath beene de-

ceiued.

Timeras an pher.

Dinis.

ceiued, like vnto them that dreame. It is true, we may have fome apprehension of the whole by the parts; But it is not possible to have a true and cortaine Science and Knowledge. And therefore you must imagine that a particular Hilfory is of small vse for the knowledge of the generall: And that by the connexion comparison and similitude of actions, there will be no Man found, who in reading, will not reape fingular profite and pleasure by History. Wee will therefore make the beginning of this Booke at the first Voyage which the Romans made by Sea, which is subsequent to those things which Timerus hath last written: which was in the hundred and nine and twentieth olimpiade. We A must therefore relate how, and what time they ended their Quarrels in Italy, and what meanes they had to puffe into Sicily: For this is the first voyage they ever made out of their Territories, whereof wee must fer downerhe reason simply and without disguising : to the end that by the fearch from one cause to another, the beginning and consideration of the whole may not proue doubtfull. The beginning also must be agreeable to the Time and Subjects, and that it be knowne to all : the which they may confider by themselves, yea, in seeking out those things which were past long before, and in the meane time relate the Actions summarily: For it is certaine that the beginning being vn. B knowne or obscure, its continuance cannot perswade, nor purchase beleefe: But if the Opinion of the beginning be true, then all the subsequent Narration doth eafily content the Auditors eare ain

Nineteene yeeres after the battell wone vpon the River Agos, and fixteene yeeres before the Warre of Leultra, where the Lacedemonians treated a peace with Antalcides King of Persia, when as Denis the old held the Citty of Rhegium in Calabria besieged, after that hee had de-Heated the Grecians inhabiting upon the limits of Italy, neere unto the Riuer of Elleporis: and that the Gaules having wholy ruined Rome, held it, except the Capitall: During which time the Romans having made C an accord with them, which they found good and profitable, and had recovered their liberty contrary to their hope and expectance, and had in a manner taken a beginning of their increase, they declared Warre against their Neighbours. As soone as the Latins had beene vanquished, aswell by their proweffe as by the fortune of the Warre, they turned their Armes against the Tuscans, then to the Celtes which are in Italy, and finally vpon the Samnifes which confine the Region of the Latins, towards the East and North. Sometime after, the Tarrentines seeing the outrage which they had committed against the Romane Embassadours, not relying much vpon their owne forces: they called in King D Pyrrhus the yeere before the Descent of the Gaules into Italy, and before the Retreate of those which were defeated in Battell neere vnto Delphos. Then the Romans after they had vanquished the Tuscans and Samuites, and beaten the Celtes often, began to make warra against the rest of Italy, not as contending for another mans Lands, but as for their owne, and formerly belonging vnto them, being now growne warlike by the Warres which they had had against the Celtes and Sam-

The Romans then after that Pyrrhus and his forces had beene chased out of Italy, taking this Warre to heart, they pursued such as had followed his party. Being suddainly become Maisters of all according to their defires, and that all Italy was wholy subdued, except the Celtes, Regium bethey presently besieged some of theirs which held Regium. One and Romans. the like fortune befell two Citties scituated voon the Straight of that Sea, that is, Messina and Rhegium. Some Campanois having beene The taking of Sea, that is, Messing and Knegium. Sould Campanion liability beauty and Messing by lately in pay with Agathocles in Sicily, wondring at the beauty and some campawealth of Messina, they suddainly when they found an opportunity, nois. A affailed it, breaking their Faith, they having beene received into it by Friendship: where they expell'd some of the Cittizens, and slew others. After which wicked act they shared their Wives and Children among them, as their fortunes fell out during the Combate: Then they divided their goods and lands. But afterthis suddaine and casse Conquest of fo goodly a Countrey and City, they foone found others that did imitate their villanies.

They of Rhegium amazed with the descent of Pyrrhus at such time as he past into Italy, and fearing in like manner the Carthaginians, being then Maisters of the Sea, they craued a Garrison and men from the Romans. Those which they fent vnto them, were to the number of 4000. vnder the command of Desius the Campanois, they kept the Towne for a time, and their faith in like manner with the Cittizens, in defending them; but in the end moued by the example of the Mamer. tins, who folicited them to comit this base act, they falsified their faith. being aswell incited by the opportunity of the deed, as by the wealth of Rhegium, and chased away some Cittizens and slew others, finally, Rhegium by they seased upon the Citty as the Mamertines had done. And al- some Campathough the Romans were discontented at the misfortune of the Rhegins, newbeing there yet they could not relieue them, for that they must settle an order for C their precedent V Varres. But after they had ended them, they befieged them of Rhegium, and afterward they entred it by force, where- Rhegiumby the as many were flaine: who being certaine of the punishments they were Romans. to endure, defended themselues valiantly to death. About three hundred were taken aliue, who presently after their comming to Rome, the Commanders of the VVarre commanded them to be brought into the The punish Market-place, where they were whipt, and in the end their heads ment of Tray. strooke off, after the manner of the Countrey. They did vie this pu- tours. nishment to the end that their Faith (as much as might be possible) might be confirmed towards their confederates. Prefently after they D caused the Towne and Countrey to be delivered to the Rhegins.

But whilest that the Mamertins (youmust vide stand that the Came. The Campanon panois caused themselves to be so called after the taking of Messina) holding messina were relieved by the Romans which held Rhegium by force, they not are called Maonely enjoyed the Countrey and Towne peaceably, but they commit. ""errine. ted great spoiles vpon many other Townes their Neighbours, aswell of the Carthaginians as of Saragoffe (otherwise Siracufa:) The greatest part of Sicilywas tributary vnto them. But soone after when they were deprined of those succours, and that they which held K heeiam

Hieron chosen King of the Saragossins.

An alliance

made by Hieron

with Leptine.

The pollicy

The River of

of Histon.

Ciamofure.

were belieged, they were in like manner by them of Saragoffe, for the canles which follow: As a little before the men of warre of Saragolle camping necre voto Mergane, being in diffention with the Governous of the Common-weale, they chose for their Captaines Artemidere and Hibren, who afterwards was their King being yet very young: But finally so well endowed with all the graces of Nature and Minde. as hee wanted no Royall conditions but the Crowne, Haning accepted the Magistracy, and made his entry into the Towne very well acid companied by his Friends, where having vanquished the Burgesses of the contrary faction, hee yied the Victory with so great elemency and A modesty, as by a common consent of all in generall he was chosen their Commander, although they did not allow of the Election made

by the Souldiers.

It is true that Hieron made knowne to men of judgement and vaderstanding; that he had conceived greater designes in his mindether to be their Leader. First knowing well that the Saragof sins were mutinous and defirous of innountion, whenfoeuer they fent their Souldiers and Commanders out of the Countrey, and that Leptine was a man of great reputation, and of more credit then any other of the Cittizens. and that he was very pleafing vnto the Multitude, he held it fit to make B an alliance with him, to the end he might leave some report in the Citty for him, when focuer he should goe to the VVarre, and lead an Army our of the Countrey. Having therefore taken the Daughter of Leptine to WVife, knowing well that the old band of forraigne Souldiers were changeable and subject to mutinies, he led his Army of set purpose against the Barbarians, who held the Citry of Messina: And having feated his Campe neere to Centeripe, and put his men in battell close vpon the River of Ciamoffure, he stayed in a place apart all the Horse and Foote of his owne Nation, as if he meant to charge the E. nemy on the other fide: suffering the forraigne Souldiers to be defea- C ted by the Barbarians, and whilest the others fled, he makes his retreate fafely with all the Saragoffins to the Citty. When he had by this policy brought his designe vnto an end, and had freed his Army of all the Mutines, thee makes a great leny of Souldiers. Soone after when as all things were fettled in good order, Hieron feeing that the Barbarians were growne too audacious and proud of their late Victory, he parts from the Citty with an Army of his Countrey fouldiers, well trained and disciplined, and making dilligence, he came to Myle, where along the Bankes of the River of Longane, he fought with them with all his forces. Having vanquished them and taken their Captaines, see- D ing their pride much abated by this Victory, he returnes to Saragoffe with his Army, and was by the generall fauour and confent of all the Cittizens faluted King by the Allies.

The Mamertins deliuer their Towne and Fort ynto the Carthaginians.

Succours res quired from

The Mamertins as we have fayd, being deprived of the fuccours of of the Romane Legion, and having lost so great a Battell, their hearts being broken? they retire for the most part vnto the Carthaginians, and yeeld themselves and their Fort: The rest sent vnto the Romans, delivering their Towne vnto them, and requiring fuccours

astothole that were of the fame Nation. The Ramons were long in the Romans by inference what to doe: For they found it strange, laung lately printing the Romans by their Citazens so senetly, for violating their faith with the Roses the Mamerina. to send succours now unto the Mamerina who were guilty of the like crime. They were not ignorant of all these things: Yet considering that the Carpaginian had not onely drawne. History and considering that the Carpaginian had not onely drawne. obedience by force of "Armes", but affor many places in spaine and morconer all the Islands of the Sea of Sardinia and Italy, they doubted that their Neighbour-hond would be dangerous, if they mide them-A felues Lords of the reft of Sicely. They likewife under tood, that it would be easie to effect, if the Mamertins were not relieued : Andathere was no doubt, that if Meffina had beene deliuered vnto them, they would prefently have recovered Saragoffe, for that they held all the rest of Sicily. And as the Romans confidered these things, they were of opinion that it was necessary not to abandon Mellina, nor to suffer the Carthagintans to make vnto themselves as it were a Bridge, to passe into Italy at their pleasure.

This was long in debate, yet it was not concluded in that affembly: for it seemed voto them as voreasonable as profitable to relieue the B Mamertins. But as the Commons much weakned with their former Waries, seemed to have need of rest, so the Captaines shewing the great profit that might enfue, they resolved to succour the Mamertins. This Opinion being confirmed by the Commons, preferrely The Romans they appointed Appine Cloudius one of the Commons, preferrely reiolac to fue. they appointed Appius Claudius, one of the Confuls, to peffe the Army courte Man into Sicily, and to relieve the Mamertins, who had put out of their merins by ap Towne, aswell by threats as pollicy the Captaine of the Carthaginians pius Claudius which (as we have fayd) held the Fort. And they called vnto them The mamertins Appius Claudius, deliuering the Citty into his hands. The Carthagini- reconer the ans hung him on a Croffe which had had the Guard, supposing that he Captaine of the C had yeelded it basely for searce and want of Courage. Then suddainly cartinginians. they drew their Sea-army neere vnto Pellore, and that at land about the Countrey called Sene, holding by this meanes Meffina streightly be-

fieged. In the meane time Hieron thinking to have found a good opportunity to chase the Barbarians which held Messina out of Sicily, followed the Carthaginians party. And going from Saragoffe, he takes his way Hieron follows to the Towne, and layer his Siege on the other fide neere vnto Mount the Carthagini-Calshidique: By this meanes he tooke from the Townesmen all meanes ans party. to fally forth on that fide. But the Confull passing the Sea by night

D with great danger, in the end hearrived at Messina: where seeing the Enemy round about it, and that this Siege was as diffonourable vato him as dangerous, for that the Enemies were the stronger both by Land and Sea, he defired first to try by Embassies sent to both Camps, if it might be possible to pacifie things, so as the Mamertins might be freed. But the Enemies not vouchfafing to heare them, he was in the end forced to vadergoe the hazard, and resolved first to give battell to the Saragoffins. He therefore causeth his Army to march, and put it in battell : to the which the King likewise came speedily. But after that



Lib. L

The defeate of Appine had fought long, in the end he prevailed over his Enimies, Hieron by Ap. purfling them into their Fort. The Confull after the spoile of the dead retites into the Citty and Hieron being fruitrate of all hope, recovered Sarazoffe speedily the Night following.

ans by Applus.

The next day Appius Claudius advertised of the flight of the Saragoffins, and having refumed courage and confidence, he had no will to flay, but to goe and fight with the Cartbaginians. Wherefore he commanded his men to be ready, and the next day he past early and chargeth his Enimies, whereof Iome were flaine, and the rest forced to faue themselves in the neighbour-townes. By this meanes the Siege A being raised, he rauged and spoyled the Countrey of Saragosse and their Allies without danger: And after that he had ruined all, in the end he besieged Saragose. Behold then (for the causes aboue mentioned) the first Voyage which the Romane Army made out of Italy. And for that we have held it fit for the entrance of our defigne, we have made it our beginning, in looking somewhat backe to the times past, to the end we may not leave any occasion of doubt you the causes we shall yeeld. And in truth I have held it necessary to declare first at what time, and by what meanes the Romans being in extreame danger to lose their Countrey, began to grow fortunate a And when likewise after B they had lubdued Italy, they began to conquer other Countries; to the end that the greatnesse of their Empire, which was since, may feeme more likely in knowing the beginnings. No man must wonder when as we speake of Townes of Note, if happily wee seeke for things farther off, in that which we shall relate hereafter : For we doe it to the end that our beginnings and grounds may be fuch, as they may plainby vinderstand the meanes and reasons, by the which every Citty is come to the estate wherein it now stands, the which we have done here of the

It is now time that in leaving this Discourse we returns to our de- C figne, in shewing first summarily and briefely the things happened before the times, whereof we meane principally to Write: Among the which the Warre betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians in Sicily is the first then followed the Punique: In the which the deeds first of Amilear, then of Asaraball, are joyned with those of the Carthaginians. At what time the Romans began first to sayle into Slauonia, and other parts of Europe. Moreouer their Battels against the Gaules, who at that time made a discentinto Haly: The Warre also which was in Greece at the fame time, called Chemenique, to the which all this relation, and the end of the second Booke tend. Finally, I have not held it necessary nor D profitable for the Reader, to relate things in particular: Neither is it my intention to Write them, but onely to touch that summarily which may concerne our History. And therefore in relating briefely, we will indeauour by an order of continuation, to joyne vnto the beginning of our History the end of those Actions, which we shall deliner by way of preparation. By this meanes in continuing the order of the History, they shall see we have touch that which others have left in Writing: and also made an easie and open way for all subsequent things, to those

which defire to know. It is true that we have had a speciall defire to write fomewhat at large this first Warre of the Romans in Sierly aging the Carthaginians, for that they shall hardly finde a longer Warter not greater preparations and expence, nor more encounters, nor great ret diversity of fortune on eyther side : For these two Watlans in those times flued in their lawes with meane wealth and equal forces! Where forcif we shall consider the Forces and Empire of these two Citties, we cannot so well make a Comparison by the other subsequent Warres as by this. But that which hath most incited me to write this Warre, was Theblame of A for that Philings and Fabius, who are esteemed to have written well, Philinand Fas

have in my Opinion ftrayed too much from the truth : Yet I would not bias Historiotaxe them to have done it maliciously, considering their life and intention: But I conceiue, the affection which they beare voto their Countreymen, hath decemed them after the manner of Louers. In regard of Philinus, for the affi ction he beares to the Carthaginians, hee is of Opinion that they did all things with good Conduct, Prudence and Courage; and the Romans the contrary. As for Fabius he holds the contrary party. Peraduenture a man would not blame this manner of doing in other courses of life. In truth it is fit and commendable for a good man to love B his Friends and Countrey, and to be a friend to the friends of his friends.

and to hate his Enemies. But he that takes upon him to Write a History, must vie such things with discretion, sometimes commending his Encmies when their actions require it, and blaming his Friends and Neighbours when their faults are blame worthy. Beleeue me, as the remainder of the Body of a Beaft, which hath the eyes puld out, remaines vnprofitable! So if truth be wanting in a History, the Discourse proques fruitleffe. And therefore when occasion is offered, he must not forbeare to blame his Friends, nor to commend his Enemies, nor to hold it a diffionest thing to praise those whom we have sometimes blamed. Neither is C'it likely, that they of whom we write, haue alwaies done well, or err'd continually. We must therefore in leaving the persons, judge and speake of their actions sufficiently in our Comentaries.

To prooue my affertian true, we shall easily see it by that which Phil lin writes. Who in the beginning of his second Booke saith, the Cartha-

ginians and Saragoffins held Meffina belieged, and when as the Romane Army, after they had past the Sea, was arrived, they made a suddaine sally vpon the Saragossins, where they were vanquished and defeated, and so retired into the Towne: they made a second upon the Carthaginians,

where they were not onely defeated, but most part of them taken: Pre-D fently after this Speech he faith, that Hieron after this Encounter had lo great a feare, that he not onely fer fire of his Lodgings and Tents, reriring by night to Saragose, but moreover abandoned the strong places, lying betwixt Messina and Saragoste. He relates also that the Carthagini. ans being in like fortamazed, dispersed themselves here and there throughout the Townes of sicily, and that they durft neuer after that keepe the Field, and that moreover, the Captaines feeing their mendifcouraged, gaue aduice that they should no more runinto the danger of the war, nor hazard any thing. He faith moreover that the Romans in the

porfuit

Lib. 1.

10

pursuit of the Carthaginians, not onely ruined their Province, and that of the Sarageffins, but alfo layed fiege to Sarageffe. This Speech is fo farre from reason, as it were but lost time to leeke to confute it : For he pretends that they which belieged Melling (to whom he gives the Victory) presently after abandoned their Campe, and that they fled, retiring into the Citty with great feare, and that finally they were befieged. In regard of thole he affirmes were befieged by the Carthagimians, after the battell loft, he makes them suddainly Victors, and befieging Saragolle, having taken their Camps, and made courses into the Enemies Countrey, Doubtlesse these are discourses which cannot well A be reconciled; for either that which he faith first, is falle, or that which followeth: But it is certaine, and knowne to all men, that the Carthaginians and Saragoffins abandoned their Campe, and raised the siege retiring into their Towne, and that the Romans vied great dilligence to befiege Saragoffe: Wherefore the probability is great, that his first Speech isfalle, and that notwithflanding the Romans had gotten the Victory before Messina, yet this Historiographer hath supposed that they were deseated by the Carthaginians. You shall often see Philin in this errour: and Fubin no leffe, as we have observed in many places. Wherefore to returne where we left, we will vie all possible indeauour to make the truth B of our History cleere and plaine, for those that desire to vnderstand it. After that the newes of Sicily were come to Rome of the Victory of

Appine and his men, Marcus Valerius and Octacilian being newly cho-

fen Confuls, they were fern thither with all their Roman power. The

the fuccours which they drew from their Allies. Enery Legion con-

fifted of foure thousand Foote, and three hundred Horse. By this meanes

ac the Confuls comming, many Citties as well of the Carthaginians, as

of the Saragofins, veelded to the Romans. But when as Hieron faw that

the Sicillians fainted, and that the Roman Army was great, and their C forces increased, he held it better to follow their party, then that of

Marcus Valeria us Contuls.

The order of Romans had foure Legions in their Army of their owne Nation, besides the Romane Armies, and the number of men in a Lcgion.

and what it

containes.

the Carthaginians. He therefore sends an Embassie to the Consuls, to treate of Peace and Friendship. The Romans feeing the Carthaginians Maisters of all the Sea, fea? ring likewise that the passage for their Victuals might be interdicted, for that their Armies which had formerly past, had suffred great wants and necessities, they found the friendship of Hieron to be of great conse-Anaccord be- quence for them in this regard. Wherefore they treated a peace with the Saragoffins under these following Conditions. First, that the King should free the Roman Prisoners without Ransome, and moreover D should pay a hundred Tallents of Silver, and that hereafter the Saragoffins should terme themselves Allies and Friendsto the Romans. Afterwards Hisron, who of his owne free will put himselfe under their protection, succourd them with men and victuals when need required: So as afterwards he past the Remainder of his life with as great happinesse and fortune that ever Grecian had done. And in my Opinion this was an excellent man amongst others, who had beene alwayes happy in good Councell, aswell for the affaires of the Common-wealth, as for

his owne particular. When as the newes of this Treaty came to Rome. and that the people had confirmed it? they did not thinke it needlary hereafter to lend, all their forces out of Italy : Wherefore conceiling that two Legions would suffice there with the affinee of King Hierba they made their reckoning, that the Warre would be more easily mannaged, and that by this meanes the Army would be the better flightied with all things necessary. But when as the Carthaginians Taw that Hieron was become their Enemy, and that the Romans held the greatest part of Sicily, they knew well that they must liaue a greater power to A refist them; Wherefore they made a great leuy of Genenois and Caules Supplies which likewise of Spaniards to fortifie them : And after they had caused them the carthagito passe into Sicily, and seeing the Towne of Agragas very fit for the nians put into preparation of this Warre, and that it was a frontier place, and firefly towards the Enemy, they put into it all the men they could draw together with flore of Munition, making who of it against the Enemy as of a Fort for the Watre.

After the accord past by the Confuls with Hieron, they left the Prouince in whose place Lucius Postburgus, and Quintus Emilius newly chosen Consuls, come into Sicily with an Army: who after they had R carefully confidered of the Carthaginians Defignes, and their prepara. tions for Warre made in the Towne of Agragas, they were of opinion to mannage the affaires of Sicily with greater courage and refolition then the last Consuls had done: Wherefore they drew together all their Ar. Agragu beliemy, and besieged Agregas within eight Futlongs, and so kept in the god by the Ra-Enemy. The time of Haruest was come, every man made his reckoning that the Siege would be long; wherefore the Soundiers ftraying from their Campe, aduentured somewhat too farre in the gathering of Corne. When the Carthaginians faw their Enemies thus differted running here and there confidently throughout the Province, they conceived a great hope that they should one day be able to deseate them; wherupon > some of them affaulted the Campe with great fire and the rest charged those which gathered Corne. But the divertity of the action faved the Severity of the Romans for that day, as it had done many times before; they having a wards their custome to put those to death, which abandon the place which is appoin. Souldiers. ted them during the fight, or which five from the Campe vpon any occaffon whatfoeuer. By this meanes although the Carthagintans were farre greater in number, yet the Romans refifted them valliantly, who with great loffe of their men made a greater flaughter of their Enemies. Finally, they not onely repulled them from their Campe, but purfied them, killing part of them, and forcing the rest to retire in a thrung into manuscript the Towne. Moreouer that day was so dangerous to both Armies as af-D terwards their feare was great, fo as the Carehagimans durit flo more affault the Romans Campe inconfiderately, nor the Romans fuffer their men to gather Corne rathly. But for that the Carehaginians made no more fallies, but did onely fight a farre off with dafting of Dark and Stones, the Confuls deuided their Army in two: whereof the one was planted on the side, of Esculapide Temple, and the other on

that fide which doth looke directly voto Heraeleum And that

gragas .

A skirmith of-

fered the Ro-

mans by the

Numidians.

which remained betwixt the two Camps of either fide of the Towner. was rampered with a double ranke of Piles v Then they made a Trench betwist them and the Towne, to guard the miclus from the Enemies fallies, and another without the Campe, to hinder the faccours which the Neighbour-townes doe viusly fend to the befieged. The places which were betwirt the Trenches and the Campe were well guarded. Moreover all the Allies vied great dilligence to bring into the Towne of Erbese, victuals, and all things necessary for the Campo, so as the Souldiers lived at more case, for it was not farre off.

The Romans and the Carthaginians were five Moneths in this estate, A fortune shewing herselfe no more favorable to the one then to the other: But what happened by their shooting and casting of Darts : But when as hunger began to preffe the Carthaginians, by reason of the great men within 4- multitude of Men which were coopt vp within the Towne, (they were in truth aboue fifty chouland Men) Haniball who was Generall of the Army, having no more hope, fends speedily to Carthage, to acquaint them with the Rampire and Pallisado made about the Towne, and to demaund succours. The Carthaginians moved at this Newes, raised an Army with a great number of Elephants, and sent them by Seainto Sigily to Hanne, who was another Captaine Generall for them: who B after he had drawne together his whole Army, marcht to the Citty of Heracleum, and at the first (after he had considered what was to be done) he tooke the Towne of Erbefe by Treason, the which vntill that day had beene a Store-houle to the Romans. By this meanes he depriued them of Victuals and other things necessary for their Campe; wherefore the Romans were no leffe befreged, then they that were be-Geged. The want of Victuals did often force them in a manner to refolie to raise the Siege: the which vindoubtedly they would have done. if Herron King of Sarago ffe had not vsed great diligence to furnish the Army with Victuals and other necessaries.

But when that Hanne (after all these things) saw that the Romans C were much opprest with diseases, and want of all things (without doubt the plague was great in their Campe) and that his Men were fresh, and resolute to fight, he drew together aboue fifty Elephants: And when as all the bands of Souldiers were affembled, he drawes his Army out of Heracleum, and causeth the Numidian Horse-men to march before, giving them charge to skirmift, and to doe all their indeauours to draw the Romane Horse-men to fight, whose charge they should turne head, and not cease to flye wntill they were returned vnto him. The Numidians failed not to execute the Command of their Captaine, nor to skirmish with one of the Camps to draw them to fight. Presently the Romane Horse-men charge them, and pursue them indiscreetly: But the Namidians observing the Commandment five backe to Hanno, and re-charging the Enemy againe, flew many, chafing the

rest vnto their Campe.

After these things the Carthaginians marched, and planted themselues you Mount Tore, which was not tenne Furlongs from the E. nemies Campe. Continuing in this manner for the space of two

Moneths, they attempted not any thing, but skirmithed daily with their Arrowes and Darts. In the meane time Hanikall made fires offen in the Night, and lene men to Hanno, to aductule hill that the Army could endure hunger no longer, and that many of his men were gettred to the Enemy for want of Victuals. Finally, Hanna moued by these reasons, put his men in Bartell : wherein the Consult vied no lefte difligence in regard of their necessities. Either Army drew forth in Bat- twixthe carwill into an equall place Then they came to combate, whereas they thagistant and charged one another with great fury. The Battell was long and estell: Romans. A Finally, the Romans brake the Vanguard, and forced them to fly among the Elephants: who being terrified, opened the rankes of the Carthagi-

nians. The Captaines of Hundreds following the Route of the Elephants, forced the Enemies to turne head. By this meanes the Carthaginians having loft the Battell, and part of them flying, the reft regired to Heracleum, and the Romans after the taking of most of the Elephants. The Carthagi. and all the baggage of the Carrhaginians, retired to their Campe. But Battell.

for that they were negligent to keepe a good Guard the night following, aswell for the great toy which men viually have for their good fortune, as for the toyle of the Battell past Haniball being frustrate of all B hope, thought this a fit and convenient time to fave himselfe and his The Retreate

Aimy, for the reason about mentioned. Wherefore he drew all his of Haniball forces out of Agragas, and paffed thorough the Enemies Trenches, filling them with straw : By this meanes he escaped without any losse,

and without their privity.

Lib. 1.

At the breake of day, when as the Romans were advertised of this Retreat, they followed the Enemy a little; but returning foone to take the Towne, they gave an affault whto the Gates, where they found no refiftance. The whole Army entred and spoyled: It was a rich Towne. where as the Souldiers tooke many Slaues, and got great Wealth. Agragas spoiled C When as the newes came to Rome of the taking of Agragas, after the by the Komans. defeate of the Carthaginians, the Romans lifted up their Heads, and beganne to conceiue greater Delignes. They did no longer infiff vpon the reasons for the which they were fifst mooned; neyther were they farished for that they had preferred the Mamertins and Meffing or to have much weakned the Carthaginians in Silily : But hoping for greater Matters, they defired to chase them away wholly, which done they had agreat Hope and opinion to inlarge their Empire much. They

but of Sicily : knowing well that they were vindoubtedly the stronger at D land.

After the taking then of Agragas, Lucius Valerius, and Titus Offacilius being chosen Consuls they were sent into Sicily with agrees Army. Thus the Warre was in a manner equall, for that the Caribaginians were Maisters of the Sea without contradiction: whereof this is the reason; for after the taking of Agragas, most of the Townes which were in the heart of Sicily, yeelded to the Romans, fearing their Army at Land . But when as the Carthaginians Army by Sea was arriued, many more Sea-townes yeelded for feare to their Obedience.

were therefore very attentiue to this bulineffe, and had no thoughts

14

Thus their forces were equall. Many times also the Sea coasts of lide were spoyled by the courses of their Army at Sea, the which Affriche did not luffer. The Romans confidering carefully of thelethings, sololued to fight with their Enemics by See. 15200

This is the thing which hath mooned me most to Write this present Warre more at large, to the end the Reader may not be, ignorant of this beginning, that is to fay, in what manner and for what causes and in what time, the people of Rome were induced to put an Army to Sea, and to fight with their Enemy, Seeing then that there was no probabillity that the Warre should be otherwise ended, the Romans A speedily made fixe score Vessels for the Sea, whereof a Hundred were Quinqueremes or of fine bankes, and the rest were Triremes. It is true that the Quinqueremes were more difficult to make, for that they had never vsed any such Vessels in Italy until Ithat time. Wherein the excellency and great courage of the Remans is worthy of admiration, confidering they had never beene inclined to actions by Sea, neyther had they cuer thought of it vntill that day; yet they addentured it with fuch courage and refolution, as they had feoner fought with the Carthaginians, then made triall of the dangers, of the Sea. Although the others held at that time, in that circuic of the World the princi- B pallity and command of the Sea, as formerly gotten by their Predeceffours, and left it vnto them as an hereditary right; which is a finglilar testimony of the things which we have Written, of the Romans boldnesse and courage. Beleeue me, when they first aducatured to passe their Army to Messina, they were only a Hundred ships of War, and moreover they had not one Galley nor one Briggandine. It is true when they undertooke the Voyage of Sicily with an Army, they made vie of the Quinqueremes and Triremes of the Tarrentines, Locreins, and Neapolitans.

At that time many Carthaginian Ships scoured the Sens about Sicily, C whereof a Quinquereme straying farre from the rest, was broken by casualty, and afterwards taken by the Romans, which afterwards serned them for a patterne to make the like, fo as all their fhips were made in that manner. Wherefore if this had not hapned, they would have found themselves much troubled in their enterprise. Whilest these were a making, they did practife a number of men to the Oare after this manner. They did fet bankes in order vpon the Sand, vpon the which the men that were to Rowe were placed, being attentive to the voice of the Patron or Gouernour, who was in the middest of them, where as they did learne to streich foorth, and pull backe their armes D altogether, and did draw their Oares in the Sand; finally they beganne and ended altogether according to the Patrons whistle. By this meanes having learned the Arte to Rowe, and their ships finished, they put to Sea, and within few dayes after made a Tryall. And when as the Confull Cornelius, lately appointed Commaunder of the Sea Army, had given charge to the Sea Captaines, to draw vnto the Port affoone as the Vessels should be ready, he went directly to Messina with seauenteene ships, and left the rest upon the Italian shore, whereas ha-

Sixe fcore veffels for the Sea made fpeedily by the Ro-

The Romans

inuentien to

invre their

men to the

Oare.

The History of POLYBIVS.

Lib. I.

uing made prouision of things necessary for the equipage of his ships. he failes voon necessity directly to Lipparo sooner then was needfulls At that time Haniball Commaunder of the Carthaginians, kept his Sea Army at Palermo, who being advertised of the Consulscomming: fent one Boodes a Senator of Carthage, with twenty thips to draw into that Quarter: Who arriving by night, found the Roman ships, and befieged them in the Port, to as at the breake of day, the multitude got to Land.

But Gneius Cornelius thus vafortunately surprised, could finde no o- Certaine of the A ther meanes but to yeild himselfe vnto the Enemy. The Carthaginians Roman thips after this prise returned to Haniball; soone after this apparent and new with their comdefeate of Cornelius, Haniball (to whom Fortune was at that time gra- prifed by a Carcious) received as greata losse. He had intelligence that the Romanes that the Romanes that the Romanes the Romanes that the Romanes the Romanes that the Romanes that the Romanes that the Romanes that the Romanes the Romanes the Romanes that the Romanes that the Romanes t Army at Sea, which coasted about Italy, was not farre from Sicily, full. Wherefore defiring wonderfully to fee their number, and their order, and the manner of the trimming of their ships, he takes fifty Vessells and failes into Italy. But for that he had a contrary VVind, the which was fauourable to the Romanes by the reason of the Coast of Italy, he fell vnaduisedly into their Army, which was in order and in Battell, A defeate of Hamibals things. R where he was fuddainly charged, foashe loft in a manner all his ships, for want of a and faued himselfe with very few contrary to his Hope, and the opini. good Wind, on of all the VVorld.

The Romanes after this defeate, approached neerer vnto Sicily, and being aduertised by the Prisoners of the Consuls ouer-throw, they sent speedily to Caius Duellius Consull, having at that time the charge of the Army by Land: Where having attended some space, and receiued newes that the Enemies Army at Sea was not farre of, they all prepared to battell. They planted vpon enery one of their ships, (for that they were ill built and heavy,) a kind of Engine, which was afterwards called a Rauen; behold the fathion of this Engine. They did An Engine in-C fet a Pillar or Mast of source fathome long, and nine inches thicke vp. Romans called

pon the Prowe, the which had also a pulley on the top, and one the a Rauen. fide was made an affent of boards all along, the which was foure foor broade and foure fathome long, the passage was turning about the pillar, in the two first fathomes of the affent : About the which were barres of eyther fide to the height of a mans knee, and they had fet at the end of it an Iron like vato a pestell, which went vp streight, the which had on the top of it a King, so as altogether seemed as an Engine wherewith they pound things. To this Ring was fastned a cord, by meanes whereof at the encounter of the ships, they fastned the Rauens by the pulley, and let them fall vpon their Enemies ships. Some-D times at the Prowe, fometimes on the fide in turning, when as they

could not affaile them by the flanke; and after that the Rauens were fastned within the bands of the ships, and that the Vessels were grapled and fast, if they found themselves vpon the side, they entred it of all fides: And if it were by the Prowe, they marcht by the bridge two and two to the Combate, whereof the first couered their bodies with their Targets, and they which followed defended the flankes,

and held their Targetseaen with the Bals and Held as this Equipage at Sea was ready, they attended a connehient time for the battell. When as Caine Duelins had beene suddainfy advertised, of the mil-fortune of the Gommainder ar Sea, he lefe that at Land to the Tribunes of the men of Wasre, and makes hast to that at Sea. And being adjustified that the Carthagintans spoyl'd the Country of myles, hee drew thither with his whole Army : But when the Enemy was certayne of his comming, they were in great hope, thinking the Romanes vnderstood not any thing in Sea-fights. Wherefore they drew out to Sea. with an Equipage of fixe score and ten Vessels, thinking this War not A worthy of any order of battell, as if they had gone to a certaine booty. Whereof this Hanibal who (as wee fayd) retyred his Army by night, and past ouer the Enemies Trenches,) was Commaunder. He had a Vessell of seasen bankes which did sometimes belong to Pyrrhus King of the Evirotes.

A battelat Sea betwier the Carthaninis

and Komans.

1:6

When as the two Armies beganne to approach, and that their Engines called Rauens were discouered, the Carthaginians were a time in suspence for the nouelty. Finally whatsoeuer it were, without any further reckoning they charge with greatfury. The thips ioun'd and grapled, fo as the Romane fouldiers by meanes of their Engines called B Rauens, entred their enemies ships, where there was a great slaughter made of the Carthaginians. The rest being amazed at this kind of Engines, yeilded : you would have fayd it had beene a battell at Land. where the danger is not leffe. The thirty Veffellsof the Carthaginians, which gave the first Charge were taken, among the which was that of the Captayne, which we have fayd had belonged vnto King Pyrrhue. Haniball whose Fortune was otherwise then he expected, saued himselfe in a little Skiffe: The rest of the Carthaginian Army came with great fury agaynst their Enemies, as the former had done; but when they were advertised that their first ships had beene taken by the C meanes of the Engines, they did not charge in Front, thinking to auoy de them, but came voon their flanke, trufting to the lightneffe of their Vessels, thinking by this meaner to anoyde the violence of their Engines; but they were made in such fore as of what fide soeuer the E-The flight of nemy approached, they could easily grapple with them. Wherefore the Carthaginians amazed with the strangenesse of these Engines, in the end fled, after the loffe of fifty of their ships.

Macelle taken by affault.

the Romans by

The Romans being now become mafters of the Sea, contrary vnto their Hope, fayl'd about the Sea towards Segeffane, and rayfed the fiege which lay before the Towne. Then parting from thence, they D tooke the Towne of Macelle by affault. After this battell at Sea, when as Amilear (being then Captayne, Generall in Sicily of the Army by Land) was advertised; remayning at Panerme, that there was a great quarrell betwixt the Remanes and their Allies, touching the prowesse and glory of the Combate, and that the Allies after they foure thousand had beene beaten, were retired apart betwirt Prope and Termine, hee marcht with all speed to the Allies Campe, and slew foure thousand by surprize. Haniball after all these Fortunes, retyred to Carthage,

with those few ships which he had remaining at the battell. Within few dayes after he was dispatche to goe with an Army into Sardinia. with some excellent Sea Captaines, but he was soone inclosed in a Port by the Romans, and in a manner loft his whole Army; And as he had escaped the Enemy, he was suddainly taken by the Carthaginians which had faued themselves, and was crucified. Moreover the Ro-Haniballerucimans imployed all their care to seize vpon Sardinia, being now Ma fied. sters of the Sea.

The yeare following there was not any thing done worthy of Me-A mory in Sicily by the Roman Army. Caius Sulpicius, and Aulus Rutilius were afterwards made Confuls, and fent to Palermo, for that the Carthaginians forces wintred there. And after the Romans had past. they put themselves in battell before the Towne: But the Carthagini. ans being within it, presented not themselves to battell. The which window and the Romans seeing, they left Palermo, and went to Hippane, the Missi ateraken which soone after they tooke by affault : The Towne of Mysistrate with many other Townes, was taken likewife by the Confuls, having held out sometime by reason of the scituation of the place. And as they had besieged the Citty of the Camerins, which had lately abandoned the Romans, it was ta-R ken by force by the meanes of their Batteries and breaches: Afterwards Aeta was carried by affault with many other Townes of the Car. thaginians. Lippare was also belieged. The yeare following, the Seaarmy of the Romans lay in the Hauen of the Tindaretins under the charge of Auths Rutilius, who feeing the Carthaginian Army necre the shore, Confull. he fent word vnto his thips to make hafte to follow him. In the meane time he out to Sea before the rest, only with ten Vessels. But when as the Carthaginians faw that some did but imbarque, others began to set faile, and the first were farre from their Fleer, and neere vnto them; they turned with incredible swiftnesse, and compast the liber, To as most part C of them were funke, and the Confuls thip had like to have fallen into the Carthaginians hands, with all that were within it: He hardly, elca. ped by the force of his Oares and lightneffe.

In the meane time the rest of the Romane Army, which had gotten into the open fea, encountred the Enemy, whereoften thips were taken, and eight funke, and the reff recovered the Iffands called Lipparees .. But howfocuer either of them parted from this Combate with an Opinion to haue gotten the Victory: Wherefore they were more eager to continue the War by Sea, and were more attentiue to Marrine affaires. As for their Armies at Land, during this time, they did no-D thing worthy of Note, bulying themselves about small things, and of little effeeme. But the Summer following having given order for their affaires, (as we have faid othey prepared to Warre. In regard of the Romans, they made their affembly at Melina, to the number The Romans of three hundred and thirty Vellers armed Wand Tayling from thence The Promonleaving Sicily on the right hand and paffing the Promontory of Pattory of pachichina, they sayled to Echnomen, whereas the Army by Land attended them. The Carthaginians in like thanner put to Sea, with wans Army of three hundred and fifty Sayle armed, and stayed at Litybeum, and streethundred D from and streethundred

from thence went to Heracleum, and so to Minoe. The Romans intention was to passe into Affricke, and there to make their chiefe War, to the end the Carthaginians should not onely run the hazard of the War of Sicily, but also have it at their owne Houses. On the other side the Carthaginians coesidering how easily their descent would be into Lybia, and what little defence the Countrey-men would make when they should be once entred, they defired to fight presently with the Romans, and by that meanes to hinder the descent into Affricke. Wherefore the one being resoluted to defend themselves, and the other to affaile them, confidering the obstinacy of either party, there was like- A ly-hood of an yndoubted battell. When as the Romans had given order for all things necessary for the equipage of their Sea-army, and to make their descent into Affricke they made choice of the ablest men in all their Army at Land, and imbark'd them, and then devided their Army into foure, whereof either had two Names. The first was called the first Battalion, and the first Army: So were the rest according to their order, but the fourth and the third were called Triary, as in an Army at Land. Al this Army at Sea amounted to aboue 140000, men. Euery Vessell had three hundred Rowers, and fixe score Leginaries.

140000 Komans and more Carthaginians.

In regard of the Carthaginians, they were furnished onely with men B accustomed with Sea. fights, being in number about 150000 men, according to the order of their Vessels. Wherefore they that were present and faw the great danger, and power of the two Armies, the great charges, the multitude of combatants, and of ships, they did not only wonder, but they also who heard speake of it. The Romans considering that vpon necessity they must goe vpon the side, and that their Enemies says'd more lightly, they imployed all their Art to make their battell strong and inuncible. For the effecting whereof they fer two Veffels in front of fixe Bankes in equall diffence, in the which were Mureus Attilius, and Lucius Manlius. After which march'd the first and second Battalion of C either side, their ships following one another, so as the distance of the two Battalions did still inlarge themselves. The stems of their ships looked outward. By this meanes the Battalions drawne thus inlength, made the two parts of a Triangle, to the which they added the third Battalion in the lame fathion, as a foundation, to as the three Battalions made a perfect figure of a Triangle. After the third Battalion the thips which carried the Horles, were ordered one after another, feruing as a Rampier ro the third Battalion.

The Triary followed after in their order, making the fourth Battalion, enery Veffell being ordered in such fort, as they past the precedent D on either fide. All the Romans Army was thus ordered, whereof the first part, that is to say, the two sides of the point of the Triangle, were empty in the midft : but the fides following after the foundation were better supplied. By this means their Army was firme and hard to breake. In the meanetime the Commaunders of the Carthaginians drew their Souldiers together, and put courage into them, letting them voderstand, that if they wone the battell, there would be no more War but in Sicily: But if the Romanshad the Victory, they must expect not to

fight for Sicily, but for their owne Countrey, their Honses and their Children.

After this exhortation, they make them imbarque; the which they did resolutely, and prepared to fight, thinking of the time to come, according to the discourse of their Captaines: Who seeing the order of the Roman Army, deuided theirs likewise into foure; whereof three gayning the Sea, making the Right-wing longer, staved as if they would inviron their Enemies, against whom they turne their beake-heads; and they make the Fort to looke towards the Land, by a circuite of the Left A wing of the whole Army. Hanno and Amilear were Commaunders of the Carthaginians, Hanne (who was descated at the battell of Agragas) had the leading of the Right wing, with the lightest Vessels, and Amilear of the Left. This is he who as we have fayd, fought at Sea neere vnto Tyndaris, who hazarding then the middest of his Army, vsed this

kind of Stratagem of War for the Combate.

Lib. 1.

The Romans feeing at the first charge, that the Battalion of the Carthaginians was weake, forc'd resolutely thorough them: But the Carthaginians observing the Commaundment of Amilear, left the place presently, making shew to flye, to the end the Roman Army should se-R parate it felfe, whom the Romans followed with too great heate: And therefore the first and second Battalion sayl'd with too great Courage after the Enemy, but the third and fourth were stayed, drawing after them the ships that were laden with Horses, with whom the Triary remained for their Guard. When as the two first seemed to be farre A Bauell as from the others, the Carthaginians after a figne given them by Amil- Sea betwiet car, as he had instructed them, turning the Prow suddainly, they all the Romans affault the Roman Vessels which followed them.

The Combat was cruell; It is true, the Carthaginians had a great advantage by their lightnesse, and their pollicy in turning : But when as they came to fight, and that the Armies affronted one another, the C Romans had no leffe hope then the Carthaginians, for the Force and Prowesse of their men, and by the staying of their Ships, and casting

of their Engines, and finally by the Combate of the two Commaunders, and the hazard they were in their fight.

This was the estate of the Battell : Presently after Hanno, who as we have fayd had the charge of the Right wing, and did not budge before the first charge was given, feeing the Battell begun with the Romans, went to Sea and charged the Triary, where there was a great fight, the which was long in suspence. In the meane time the fourth Battalion of the Carthaginians, which continued neere the shore, turning the Prow vponthe Enemy, assaulted the Battalion in D front, by the which the thips which carried the Horses were towed; who fudd inly flipt the Ropes and fought with great fury. Or we

There they faw three parts of the Battell, and three Combats at Sea at one instant, in three divers places, and farre remote. The Combate was equall, for that the Ships of eyther fide were of the like number. Without doubt every man performed his Duty in fighting, so as all was indifferent and equall. Finally,

A Remon-Stance made by the carthaginian Captaines to the Souldiers of their Army,

Amilcar vane quished.

20

Amilear was defeated, and forced to five with his Squadron. And Lucius Manlius towed away the ships that were taken. In the meane time Attilius feeing the Combate of the Triary, and of the ships wherein the Horses were, came presently to succour them with the Vessels of the second Battalion, which were yet whole and entire: But when as the Triary who had beene long and violently charged by Hanno. fo as they were in great danger, faw the Confull come, they refumed courage, and recharged him resolutely: And then the Carthagimians being much discontented to have an Enemy in front and behinde, and to be inuested by succours contrary to their expectation, gained A the open Sea, relying voon the lightnesse of their Vessels, and saued themselues by flight. And Lucius Manlius in the meane time seeing the third Battalion prest neere the shore by the left wing of the Carthaginians, and Marcus Attilius in like manner, leaving the ships with the Hories and the Triary in lafety, resolued both together to succour those that were in danger: For they werein a manner besieged, and almost at the last gaspe, and had beene defeated, if the Carthaginians had not feared to lovne with them by reason of their Engines or Rauens: Neither did they presse vpon them, but onely to chase them to the shore. Finally, the Carthaginians were suddainly compast in by the B Consuls, whereof fifty of their ships were taken with the men. Some A Victory of being driven vnto the shore, saued themselves. Behold the three seuerall Combats which the Romans and Carthaginians had in one day: Yet the Romans in the end had the Victory of the whole Battell. In the which 24 of their ships were broken and about thirty of the Carthagini. ans. There was not one Roman Vessell taken whole by the Carthaginians with the men. But the Remans tooke three score and foure of the Carthaginians with all the men. Soone after this battell, the Romans parted with an intent to fayle directly into Lybia, after they had made prouision of Victuals, and all other munition, loyning to their Army the ships taken, being well repaired.

the Romans agame the Carbaginians.

The Cape of Mercure.

There is a place in Affricke which they call the Cape of Mercure, running farre into the Sea, and is directly against Sicily, where the Ro. mans arriving and receiving their Vessels, repaired all: Then passing this strond, they sayled vnto the Citty of Apis, where they put their Army in Battell neere vnto the Towne, and retired their ships, rampering them with Ditches and Pallifadoes, refoluting to befregeit, for that they which held it would not yeeld to the Romans. It is true that the Carthaginians who a little before had escaped from the Battell at sea, and recovered Carthage by flight, furnished the most necessary places be. D longing to their Citty, with Horseand Foot, and with necessary shipping, supposing that the Roman Army after the Victory would come directly vnto them. But when they were advertised of their descent, and of the fiege of Afric, they levied men, and regarding no more the landing of the Romans, but having an eye aswell to forreigne affaires as to their owne Countrey, they omitted nothing of that which was necessa-Afpis taken by ry for the Guard of the Citty and Province. In the meane time the Confuls after they had taken Afris by affault, and

put a Garrison into it, and in the Country, and had fent voto Rome to advertise the Senate of their successe, to the end they might consider what was afterwards to be done, they drew the whole Army into the Carthaginians Country, where they found no Refiftance, fpoyling Courses made and letting fire on their goodly and glorious buildings, fo as they carrie in the carries ed away a booty of all forts of Beafts, with aboue twenty thouland ginians Coun. Prifoners, which were Embarked.

In the meane time they received newes from Rome, by the which the Senate fent them word, that one of the Confuls should remayine A in Affricke, with sufficient forces, and that the other should Returne with the ships. The pleasure of the Senate being knowne. Marcus Attilius Regulus stayed in Affricke with forty ships, fificene thousand foote, and five hundred Horse, and Marcus Manlius set savle with the rest of the ships and Army, having the Prisoners with him, and arrived first in Sicily, and then at Rome without any mischance. But the Carthaginians fore-feeing that the Romans War would be long, they first made two Generall Captaynes in their Army, which were Afdru. Afdraball, Bo ball the some of Hanno, and Bostar: Moreover they sent for Amilear, car Common who was in Heracleum, who Embarking profently with fine thousand ders of the B toote, and fine hundred Horle, came to Carthage, and was conflire. Carthaginians ted the third Captayne of the Army, taking the Conduct of the War with Afaruball and Boftar.

When as these Captaynes had held a Councell; concerning the Affayres of the War, they were of opinion that it was necessary to relieue the Prouince, and not to indure so great a pillage and spoyle of the Country. Marcus Attilius some few dayes before marching in. to the Country, razed the weaker Castles, and besieged the stronger. But when he was come to the Citty of which was worthy of a flege, he plants himselfe before it, and indeduours to force it. The C Carthaginians advertised hereof made hast to succour it, desiring to Raife the fiege. And therefore they march with all their power against the Romans. Recouring a little Hill to the prejudice of their Enemies. and very commodious for themselves: Whereon planting their Camp. they hoped for an absolute Victory, by the meanes of their Horse and Elephanis. Leaving therefore the playne, they drew into high and vneuen places, as if they would aduertife the Enemy what they had to doe, the which undoubtedly they effected. For when the Romanes had confidered the little vse of Elephants, for they were in a Mountainous and Hilly Country, in the which the Enemies had fetled their D chiefe hope, as of great effect and terrible, they aduled not to attend their Descent into the playne. Wherefore vsing the opportunity of the time, they that them vp at the breake of day in the Mountayne of all

By this meanes their Cauallety and their Elephants were altogether vnprofitable: Their adventurers onely did their duties in fighting on the top, and had already forced the Roman Leginaries to give backe a little. when as fuddainly the rest which had gayned the top of the Mountayne showed themselves. The Carthaginians seeing themselves inclosed of

all fides, abandoned their Fort, and fled into the deferts of the Mounraines. The Elephants and Horses recovered the Playne, and saued themselves without danger. The Romans made some little pursuite after the footemen, then they spoyled the Campe, and quer-ran the whole Country, wasting all, and ruining the Towne.

22

Some few dayes after they belieged Tunes, which they tooke by af-Tunes takenby, fault, where they planted their Campe, for that the place feemed conuenient unto them to mannage the Warre, being a frontier to Carthage and to the whole Prouince. The Carthaginians having a little before beene defeated at Sea, and now by Land, not by the cowardize of their A Souldiers, but by the balenesse of the Commanders, they fell into a miferable and desperate estate: For after their last deseate and slight by the Romans, a great Troupe of Numidians, gaping after spoyle, fell vpon them, doing them in a manner as great harme as the Romans. It is a wandering and vagabone Nation and great theeues, carrying away all they finde.

great robbers.

fent by the Car-

thay mians to

Marcus Atti-

The Carthaginians terrified by the Numidians abandoned the Country, and retired to Carthage, where they suffered much, aswell by famine, as for their owne cowardize, and moreouer the multitude being great they feared a long fiege . And although that Marcus Attil- B line was perswaded that the Carthaginians were wonderfully weakned. aswell by Land as Sea, being in hope that the City would be in short time deliuered vnto him: yet fearing that the new Confull, whom they expected foone in Affricke, would reape the honour of his proweffe and valour, he began to treate of a peace with them, whereunto they willingly gave care. Wherefore they lent the chiefe of their City in Embassie to the Consult, to make this treaty. But when as they were arrived they were fo farse from agreeing, as they could hardly withour choller heare the vareafonable things that were enjoyn'd them. Make your account that Marsus Attilius did hope that his offer would bee C accepted as a thing of grace, for that he had prevayled in all his affaires: The Carthaginians on the other fide, thought that when as fortune should reduce them to extremity, the Consult could not make them a more bitter answere.

Their Embaliadours therefore returned not onely without any agreement, but derefting wonderfully the Confuls answere, as to hard and proud. The which being heard by the Senate of the Carthaginians, they entered into fo great an indignation ypon the Confuls demaund, and refumed fuch courage, that although formerly they were out of hope, yet then they resolved to attend all extremities, and rather to trye their D fortune, and to attend the time, then to fuffer for ignominious a thing and vnworthy of their valour. It happened at the same time, that some one of those which had beene sent into Greece, in the beginning of the warre to Leuie Men, returned and brought with them a good number of Souldiers:among the which there was one Xantippus a Lacedemonian, a man of Indgement, and practifed in the warre: who after that hee had heard a relation of the defeat of the Carthaginians, and the manner, the place. and that what time it happened having also considered the equipage of

the Carthaginians, with the number of their Horse and Elephants, he returned fuddainly to his Companions, faying, that the ignorance of the Captaines, not the Romans, had defeated the Carthagintans. This speech ran presently thoroughout the whole Citty, and came vnto the Princes. The Carthaginians caused him to be called, and resolved to vse his

Councell, who in their presence deliucted plainly the Reasons of his speech, and the cause of their Descate; and if they would follow his Councell, and hereafter keepe the Plaines, leaving the hilly Coun-A try, and there plant their battell, hee would teach them how their Army should be out of danger, and their Enemies Vanquished. The Captaines mooued with the words of Xantippus, presently Refigned vnto him the Conduct of all this Warre, and now there ranne a bruite throughout the whole Campe of Xantippus speech, with great Hope of the Leading and Ion Bus after that all the Campe of the Carlosand loy. But after that all the Companies of the Army were drawne giniant Army, into the field, and that hee had put them in order, there was to great given to Xana difference betwirt his and that of the other Captaines, who vnder- "PPut. flood not the Art of Warre, that presently the common cry deman. ded nothing but to fight, fo much they were affured under the leading p of Xantippus.

This done, the Carthaginian Captaines seeing the courage of their Men, exhorted them a little according to the opportunity of the time, and within few dayes after they marche d to find out the Enemy. There were in the Carihaginians Army aboue twelve thousand foote, foure thousand Horse, and neere a hundred Elephants. When as Marcus Attilius heard of the comming of the Enemy, and that the Carthage. with kept their Horses vpon an even Country, camping contrary white their custome on the plaines, hee wondred as at a new accident : Yet hee marcht directly to them defiring battell, and lodged within twelve hundred paces of their Campe. Three dayes after the Carthaginian Captaines held a Councell what was to be done: But the multitude defiring the combate, turned towards Xantippus, calling him by his name, with a countenance feeming to be willing and ready to vadergo all dangers, and intreated him to lead them speedily vnto the battell. When as the Carthaginian Captaines faw their Men thus resolute, and defirous to fight, and that Xantippus fayd the time was fitting and conuctient, they suffred them to prepare to battell, and gave him leave to do all at his pleasure: Who after he had taken charge of the Captaines, hee orders the battell, before the whole Army hee fets the The order of Elephants one after another. After which hee causeth a Legion of Car- the banes by thaginians to march, with some distance, and placeth the strangers " with some distance, and placeth the strangers

fight of eyther side betwixt the Wings of the Horse men. The Romans feeing the Carthaginians in battell, stayed not to doe, the like; yet fearing the Violence of the Elephants, they fet in Pront the most active of their men, re-inforcing their Reare with many Enfignes, and dividing their Horie menupon the Wings. Their Ordo-

D vpon the Wings. Then he ordereth the brauest among his foote; to

nance was lesse then formerly, but more close, for feare least the E-

leph ints

lephants should open them. But as the Romans had set a good order against the Elephants, so they had neglected to keepe themselves from inclosing. For as the Carthaginians had a greater number of Horse, so the close Ordonance, gaue them an easie meanes to breake and seperate them.

Battell given cialars.

24

The two Armies being in battell, either attending who should first by the Ramans Charge; fuddainly xantippus cauleth the Elephants to beginne the to the Cariba- Charge, and breake the Enemies rankes, and that the Horse-men of both Wings should withall charge suriously. The Romanes cause their Trumpets to found after the manner of the Country, and charge where A the Enemies forces were greateft. It is true that the Roman Horse men terrified with the multitude of their Enemies, abandoned the two Wings: And the Foote-men of the left Wing wauing from the Fury of the Elephants, and making no account of the forreigne Souldiers, charged the right Wing of the Carthaginians with great fury, and put it to flight, pursuing them vnto their Fort. On the other fide, they which indured the charge of the Elephants, were broken and trodden under their feete by heapes. It is true that the whole Ordnance continued for a time in battell, for that their supplies beeing in the Reare were very close. But after that the Romane Legions, fet in the Reare- B ward, and compassed in of all sides by the Carthaginian Horse men, were forced to make reliftance there, and that they (who as wee haue fayd) were appointed to make head against the Elephants, were by them repulsed into the thickest of the enemies Battalion, where they were defeated and flaine, then the Romans beeing affaulted on all fides, some were beaten downe and staine by the intollerable sury of the Elephants, and others by the Horfe-men, in the fame place where they had their first posture given them, some few of them seeing no more hope , fought their fafety by flight, of which (confidering that the Marcus Attilli Country was very plaine) some were defeated by the Elephants, and C the rest by the Horse-men : And some stying with Marcus Attilius, were 500.Romans. taken to the number of five hundred.

The Carthaginians toft that day but fine hundred Aduenturers ftrangers whom the left Wing of the Romane, had defeated: But of all the Romene Army there elcaped but two thousand with their Enlignes, who (as we hand faird) purfued a troupe of enemies into their Fort. All the selt were cut in pieces, except Mareus Attilius and a lew Men which fled with him in regard of those Enlignes which beyond all hope efcaped, they came voto affire. Finally the Carthaginians after the Spoile of the Dead terired to Carthage, with the Consull and other D

Prisoners , making great joy and tryumph.

If we shall ducly consider this, we shall finde many things profitable Aremonstrance for the conduct of Man. First, Marcus Arrilius serues for a faire example to all the World, that it is a great folly and indifferention, to put his Hope in Fortune, vader the colour of good successe and enterprises brought to an end according to our defire . Who of late after fo many tryumphant Victories, had not any compassion of the Carthaginians. being reduced to excremity, refuling to grant them peace, which they craued with so much humility, hath beene presently after reduced to that constraint, as to make the like request.

Moreouer that which Euripides hath formerly spoken so well, that the good Councell of one man alone doth vanquish a great Army, hath beene this day verified by that which hath happened. In truth one man alone, and the Councell of one man, hath vanquished and defeated an Army, formerly invincible; raising and restoring a Towne lost, and the hearts of so many desolate men. Beleeue mee, I haue thought good to relate these actions for the benefit and instruction of the Readers of A these Commentaries.

For as there are two meanes casily to correct and amend our errours, whereof the one is his owne Misfortune, and the other the example of another mans Miseries; there is no doubt but the first hath greater efficacy, but it is not without the losseand prejudice of him to whom it happens : And although the second be not of so great force, yet it is the better, for that they are out of danger, and therefore no man imbraceth the first meanes willingly, for that they cannot helpeit without their owne trouble and loffe. As for the fecond, euery man followes it willingly; For wee may fee by him (without any hazard B or losse) what wee ought to follow for the best.

Wherefore if wee confider it well, we shall finde that experience (by the remembrance of another mans faults) seemes to be a very good doctrine of a true life: Without doubt it is that alone which makes the good Judges of reason without any losse. But wee have discour-

fed fufficiently of this Subject.

The Carthaginians having ended their affaires happily, and to their content, they reloyced in many forts, both in giving thankes vato God; and facrificing after their manner, or in ving amongst themfelues a mutuall beneuolence and courtefie.

Soone after that Xantippus had raifed the hearts of the Carthaginians, Mantippus red hee recurned into his Countrey, as a man well aduited: For the Prow. Countrey. effe and Valour of men, and their Vertues, are many times the cause of greatening and detraction: Against the which, Cittizens that are well allied, and have many Friends, make caste resistance : But strangers which that fupport, are easily ruined and defeated. They fay hee went away for fome other reason, which wee will deliver when it shall be fitting.

After that beyond all hope the Romans had received Newes of the defeate of their Army in Affricke, and the taking of the Con. Apis belieged D full : And that the remainder of their men was besieged in die by the Carbaconfulting presently of the safety of those which were remaining in Affricke, they appointed an Army to bee raifed to goe thither with

In the meane time the Carthaginians befieged Afpis, ftrining to force it, with hope soone to have this remainder of the Battell : But the Vertue and Courage of the Romans which defended it was to great, as all the Enemies attempts could not prenaile. Wherefore heing out of hope to enter it, they raif'd the Slege.

One hundred Veffeis of the Carthaginians

mk: a by the

A great num-

mane thips

Tempest.

perished by a

ber of the Re-

Romans. .

Newes came that the Romans prepared an Army at Sea to fend into Affricke : For the which the Carthaginians being mooned, they vfed all dilligence to repaire their old Veffels and to make new. Present-Ivafter they laboured to frand vpon their guard, and to hinder the descent of the Romans into Affricke, with two hundred Vessels armed and well furnished: But when as the preparation of three hundred and fifty Roman Veffels was ready, they fent Marens Emilius and Seruius Puluises with the whole Army into Affricke in the beginning of the Spring. When as the Confuls had let fayle, to draw first into Sicily, and from thence into Affricke, they were not farre from the Cape of Mercure, A but they prefently discouered the Carthaginian Army : the which (as wee haue faid) watched their comming at the paffage, and charged them fuddainly with great fury, taking a hundred and foureteene Vesfels armed : failing from thence to Afris, they retired their Men, and after they had stayed some time in Affricke, they returned into Sicily.

But when they had paft the Sea betwixt Affricke and Sicily with a prosperous Winde, and had anchored neere vnro the Camarins Towne, it is not possible to deliuer the greatnesse of the torment and milery that befell them. Hardly could they preserve source score Vessels whole B of foure hundred three score and soure which were in their Army. All the rest (either sunke in the Sea, or split against the Rocks) fill'd all the fhore with wracks, or dead Bodies.

It is not in the memory of man of any fuch shipwracke by a tempest. This miserable misfortune happened not cafually and by chance, but by the ouerweening of the Confuls, confidering that the Marriners had let them understand, that they must awaid the Coasts above Sicily, for that it was not to be approached, being bad and difficult to fayle in, especially at that leason, for they fayled betwirt the Staries of Orion and the Dog-Berrae Whatforner it were the Confuls diffaining the C admonition of the Marriners, made half with a glorious confidence of their late Victory, to furnize fome Townes a long that thore : where as they fell into extreame estamity wader the shaddow of a poore hope. Then they knew their folly, carrying the repentance of their prelumption. Defacing by this wracke the things which formerly they had done well.

And although that in all things the Romans relye spon their forces, and thinke whatfocuer they refolue, must be put in execution, holding norhing impossible when they have once vidertaken it, and that this oblinacy doch many times turne ro good. Yet formetimes they fall in- D to great and apparent errours, especially in Sea matters. It is true that in Bartelsat, Land lighting with men, it is not foltrange if they vanquish . For the Combate is equall, although they bee sometimes vanquished : But as for the Sea, for that they thrust themselues into hazard, and without confideration, they fall many times into great meonuchicaces.

This happened at this time, and hath done formetly, and will befall them many times hereafter, untill they have supprest and retormed

reformed this ouer-weening, thinking they are able to goe to Sea at all featons. The Carthaginians being aductifed of the shipwracke of the Romane Army, they had the greater defire to raise an Army both by Land and Sea: For that their force feemed as great at Land, as that of the Romans, by reason of the descate of Marsus Attilius : The like they conceined of the Sea, after the great losse the Romans had indured. Wherefore they presently sent Astruball into Sicily with the old Bands, and a new levic of the Men of Heracleum, with an hundred and fifty Elephanes. They wrigd out a Fleete of two hundred Vessels, and other into Sicily by A Equipages necessary for Nauigation. When as Aldruball landed at the carthagini-Lylibeum with his whole Army, he trayned his Men, and exercised ans. his Elephants, making roads into those Countries which were allied vnto the Romans. Finally, he was very watchfull and dilligent. And although the Romans loffe had much abited their courage, yet they vsed all possible diligence to raylea Fleete of two hundred and twenty Vessels with a Pallisado: the which they effected within three Moneths, and put it to Sea, the which is difficult to beleene, to the end the World should not thinke they would strike sayle vnto the Carthaginiaus. Lucius Aquilius, and Caius Cornelius Confuls, were appoin-B ted to leade this Army, to fight with the Carthaginians in Sicily, who passing the Sea presently, arrived at Messina, where they received the Remainder of the thips, which had beene preserved in the storme. By this meanes their Army confifted of three hundred Veffels.

From thence they tooke their Course to Palermo, the chiefe Towne of the Carthaginians, the which they affailed vigourously, erecting Palume belietwo forts of Engines, and other preparations to that effect, fo as they gedbythe Re easily ouerthrew a Tower feated vponthe Sea, by the which the Soule ken by affault. diers entring by force, tooke that part of the Towne which was called Naples. After this the Burgeffes dying for feare, yeelded vnto the

Confus the other part which they called the old Towne.

After the taking of Palermo, the Confuls put in a good Garrison, and then returned to Rome. The yeare following, Gneus Sempronius, and Cains Servilius were Confuls, who in like manner paftinto Sieily with an Army, to goe from thence into Affricke : where being arrived, they dispersed their Men into divers places, and committed great spoiles, yet they did not any thing worthy of Memo-1y. Finally, they arrived at the Island of Losophages, which they call Mirmyx, which is neere vnto 2 little Shelfe or Barre of Barbary, where not knowing the passages, they were in a great streight, and D were stayed by reason of the ebbing of the Sea: They were for a time in suspence what to doe. Finally, the Flood comming suddainly upon them, they were almost driven to dispaire : Yet they could not faue themselues vatill they had lightned their ships, and cast out their baggage to faue themfolues.

After that Day the Romans were so amazed with so many dangers, as they failed continually as if they had fled. Soone after they returned into Sicily, and leaving Lilybeum, they tooke Port at Palermo, But soone after that they were gone from thence to faile into Italy, there

Lib.r.

One hundred and fifty of the Roman Veffels left.

28

role fo great a storme as aboue a hundred and fifty of their ships were driven vp and downe, and in the end periffied. And although the Romanes after fo many losses, were of advice to preferre the honorand Majefty of the Empire before all other things, yet they were fo broken with lo great mileries, as they resoluted to abandon the Sea. And therefore they only leuied an Army by Land, wherein they thought they should be more confident and of better hope, the which they sent into Sicily with the two Confuls, Lucius Cecilius, and Chins Curius: To whom they delinered only three score Vessells for their Victualls. By this meanes the Carthaginians, became againe Maisters of the Sea with A out contradiction, sceing the Romans had no more any Fleete at Sea. Moreouer they had great confidence in their Army at Land, and not without cause. For after that the report of the battell given in Affricke, came to Rome, and that they understood that the deteate of their men happed by the force and fury of the Elephants, for that they had broken the Rankes and opened the battalions, and that they had made a wonderfull flaughter of them.

Their feare of the Elephants from that day, was fo great, as for two yeares after they neuer durst charge the Carthaginians, although they made many incounters in Affricke, and in the Country of Selinun- B tia, nor Campe in the Plaines within five or fixe furlongs of them, keeping alwayes the Mountaynes and hilly Countries, to faue themselves from the Elephants; so as they only forced Thernce and Lipara, Wherefore the Romanes knowing the feare their Army had, refolued againe

to put a Fleete to Sea.

Cecilius to de-

feate the Ele.

phants.

Theruce and

Lipara.

At that time the Romane people being affembled, they chose vnto the Consulship Caim Attiline, and Lucius Manline: They also made A new Army at fifty new thips, and Rigg'd out the olde, the which they furnished with Souldiers proportionably. When as A fdruball Generall of the Carthaginians, knowing well the feare of the Romans, had beene ad- C uertifed by the Fugitiues, that one of the Confuls was returned into Rome with halfe the Army, and Cecilian remayned alone at Palermo with the other, he parts from Lylibeum (when as Haruest approached) with his Army to spoile, and falls voon the Territory of Palerme, plan. ting his Campe vpon the Mountaines. Civilin having newes of their comming, and knowing that Afdruball defited nothing but a battell, kent his Army within the Towns.

By this meanes Asaraball growing very confident; conceiuing that Cecilius kept himselte close for feare, he causeth his Army to March to Palermo, having ruined and burnt all the Champion Countries. The D Confull was alwaies of opinion not to go to field, untill that his enemy was drawne to paffe the River, which runnes neere vnto the Towne Walls. But when he faw that the Campe and the Elephants approach. The policy of ed, he caused a fally to be made by the nimblest and most active men of his Army, commaunding them to skirmish with the enemy, vntill their whole Campes should be forced to come to the combats. And afterwards confidering that matters had fuecceded as he defired, he or-

daines the lightest and most active, to plant themselves beyond the

Towns dirchargining them charge to call Portuitans, Darts, and Spits sand of a farry off ar the Blephants: And if they came running voon them with bush on tome fury and violence, they should stip into the Ditch, and ston energe cast their Darreat them. He also commanded the Archeroby the New. ker place, to go ont of the Towns, and to fight at the foot of the wiff In the meanetime i he issued foorth with alluste Entigence to another wind control fide of the Towne right against the enemies left Wing , sine fent will be onemong lies veon the Sea fline. Among the which driv vigued this vigued his sloat of

Prefently after the skirmin begame whe Whilter of the Elephants. who with a defire of glory would have the thought of the Victory in cented them against the enumies who were neither expectations pleasures The Romans observing the Consuls communities with further head pre fently nand when as the Elephants pursued whelm with fully other Albe into the Ditch , the Elephants being uppoin the fide of it when were fuddainly charged with Darts and Pertuitans i affivell by the Townes. men which were upon the Walls . auttom the Souldiers which kive h the Ditch. And when as they could passent of further three three head . being needflatily forced to fall upon their owne battallions with passage for this area of the Port ; burtle energy is difficultable and passage for

In the means time Cecilius goes Suddainly to field Thanny his whole Army entire and in good order, by another gate, and chargeth hisenemies furiously, who being already broken By The Elephants; and there A defear of the ged againe by the Confuls Troupes, were easily deteated? At hart of Carthagmians, them were flaine, the rest faued themselves by fight: There were ten by the komans. Elephanes taken with their Indian Maifters ather televolpe takerra fro file aisth additioning battelly their Governous being cast downed within Michory purchased great honour to Cecilius, as the Man who by the report of all the whole World, had beene the cause that the Romanen after that timere summer courage camped in the Plaines. When the Emplane's had newes of this Victory, it is not credible the joy which they conceined once for thuch for the taking of the Elephanes, twhereby, that clarthageniaid power was much decreased, as for than the immenseun ones beginning there An Armie at hardy in the Warre; for that they had dongdored them? Wherefore Sea prepared they Brenned an Army at Sua, as they had formerly refolded; and by the Romans fere the Confulsinto Staily with two hundred Velicilis, defining tomake an end of that Watro very hither they past hining made provision of Victualls, and other things need fary. This was the four executive are fince, the beginning of the Warreign and it is betterfold the fill defeated the fill

The Confuls being arrived want receiving the Bands of Souldiers D that were there, they go and lay fiege to Lydibenin, hoping afrekthe taking thereof, they might eafily transport the Warreinto Waffel Wel But the Carthaginians mooned with the like confiderations of refoluted by all meanes to keepe it, knowing well that after the loffe of Lyllbeum, they had nothing elfe remaining in Sivily. The Romand in truth held in a manner the whole Hand, except Trapanam. But to the rad that what wed speake of sicily, may not steme obscure to some one, out to by reason of the ignorance of places, we will deliger the Scienticiania ാർ 1989 i വേർട്ടം few words.

E 3

All

of Sicily.

30

All Sicily hath its Scituation in regard of Italy and the limitsticreonof the Hand of like unto Mores in respect of Greece, and its bounds. It is true. there is some difference, for that there is a little Siz betwint this and Italy ... Whereas Morea is joyned vino Greece . by a little flip of Land. for they may goe on dry foote from Meres vino Greece, and not from Sicily into Italy without thipping. Sicily is of a Trizugular forme and to many Angles as it hath to many Capes or Promontories there are vpon the Sea shore. Among the which, that whereon the Sigilian Sea doth beare is called Pachinus , and lookes towards the South that which tends towards the North , where the Sea doth end , and is not a- A bone a mile and a halfe from tody , is called Pelorus. The third which hath his Afpect cowards affricke, and towards the Winterly West; and which is right against Carrbage, from the which voto the Affricke flore, there is not about one hundred swency and fetien miles, is called Lylibeum, dividing the Sea of Sardinia and Sicily. There is a Towns on this Cape, which carries the same name, she which the Romans belieged at that time: The which is strong with Walls and Ditches and moreover with Marthes and Pooles, by the which lyes the passage for ships into the Port; but the entry is difficult, and not accessible true by expert Marribers, but you walk to mile

The Romans then to besiege it throughly, maderound about it Trenshes | Rampiers, and Bastions, one neere vnto another. Finally, they fet vp their Engines of Warre ; neyther did they omit any thing that Many Towers Was necessary to force & Towne. At their first beginning they battered ruined by their a Rower, whichwas leated vpon the Sea thore, looking towards Affricke, adding daily new Engines and planning them in order. Finally, they ouerthrew at the same time wieother Towers neere vato it , by the shaking of great Beames, armed with iron at the end, like winto a Rams-head. Wherefore as this fiege was troublefome and dangerous, and that some Towers were much indaminaged, and others overthrown C by the Violence of the Engines and the Towne continually battered. the befreged beganne to faint prand to grow fearefull and amazed. They were ten shouland Souldiers befides the inhabitants of the Town. and the Incidence who had the guardienceof, maintayned this fiege as gainst the Romans by his/Conncell and great courage . Wherefocuer the Romani made any breach in the Walls, he repayred it within ; and if she enemy aid Mine; the presented them by countermines. By this meanes he still defeated their interprifes. Sometimes hee also made fallies, hindring them much in affeheir attempts, and trying if hee could to fire their Engines of battery! Many times hee gaue Allarums, D both by day and night, to as there was a greater flaughter and loffe of men by this kinde of incounters; then many times in their fet

A Conspiracy by mercenary Souldiers feruing under the Cartbazinians.

Alexen.

At that time some Commaunders of mescenary Souldiers, conspired to yelld the Townevnto the Romans, who being confident of the consent of their Companions slipt downe the Wall in the night, and goes vnto the Campe, discouring their charge vnto the Consult: At what time there was likewise a Grecian in Lylibeum called Alexon, who

had fometimes faued the Towne of Agragas from Treason, when as the Saragoffins held it.

This man after that he had vnderstood the enterprize of the Treafon, reuealed it vnto Imilcon: who caused all the Captaines to bee prefently called, except such as had slipt downe the Wall, and declared vnto them what he had understood of the Treason, intreating them they would not fo ignominiously deliuer him and the Towne voto their Enemies. Moreouer he made them great promifes, if they would keepe their faith: And when they had all consented to that which hee pro-A pounded, he presently sent Haniball with them to pacific a Troope of Gaules. This was the Sonne of that other Haniball, who (as we have faid) was hang'd voon a Croffe in Sardinia, after he had made that loffe of the Army at Sea. He hoped well that he would be pleasing vnto them, for that had beene at the Warre with them vader his Fathers Le commaund. Hee likewife fent Alexon to other bands of strangers, for that they had great confidence in him. Presently after hee had affembled the Companions, he prevailed so by prayers and promises, as all generally kept their Faith and Friendship with the Carthaginians. Wherefore affoone as the Chiefe of the Treason were returned, and R ready to speake vinto them, and to relate what they had treated with the Romans, they not onely denied to content vnto them, but they disdained to heare them, driving them from the Walles with Darss and Stones.

Thus the Carthaginians being in a great and manifest danger of Treafon, had like to have fallen into their Enemies hands. But Alexon (who formerly for to keepe his Faith with them of Agragas, had not onely preserved the Towne, but the Countrey likewise, their Lawes, and liberty) was the cause at this time (in the opinion of all the world) that the Carthaginians were not defeated. And although they of Carthage of the carthaginians were not defeated. And although they of Carthage of the Carthaginians were not defeated. could not be aductifed of the affaires of Lylibenm, yet doubting the giviant. necessities which they might fall into during a long Siege, they armed fifty thips with ten thousand men : whereof Haniball the Sonne of Amile of Amilear, car, who formerly was Captaine of the Triremes, and a great friend to Capmine of so At arbe, had she leading to whom they gaue charge in faw words to nips with doe what possible he might, to enter into Lylibeum, and to succesur the befleged. Haniball then with thele ten thouland Souldiers, arrives first arthe filands of Zeufe, which are micl-way betwixt Carthage and Lylin beum, and there attends the Winde : After which fetting fayle, he bent his course directly to the Hauer of Lylibeum, having his men all in hate D tell and ready to fight.

The Confuls amazed at this hiddaine approach of the Enemy, doub. ted that if they attempted to fight with them, the violence of the winde would likewise drive them into the Port. Wherefore they resolved not to frop their entry. It is true that they prepared themselves ypon the shore, and lought to terrific them at their entry. In the means time all the troops within the Citty, seeing succours come, resumed courage, leaping for hope and ioy, and giving courage by fignes and shours to their Succours. Haniball with incredible courage, fayles won-

derfull swiftly and enters the Port, the which no man would have im. magined, and puts his Army fafe into Lylibeam. It is incredible the ioy which they within the Towne conceived, after their fuccours were entred, not fo much for the refreshing of men, but for that the Romanes durst not hinder the entry of the ships.

But Imileon Commaunder of the Carthaginians, feeing that the Souldiers demanded nothing but to fight, alwell the old Garrison, in regard of their supplies, but the new succours, for that they had not felt the former miseries; he would not loose this opportunity, resoluing to fet fire on the Romanes Engines by what meanes focuer. Where A fore when hee had drawne them altogether, hee made a speech voto them, promiting good rewards to fuch as should shew themselves brave Men: And affured them that the Carthaginians would acknowledge it. The Souldiers mooued with these speeches, told them that they were ready to do their duties. Moreover they cryed out with a loud voyce. intreating him that without any further flay he would lead them to fight. Imileon commending their courage, lent them to refresh themselues, and gaue them charge to be ready, and to performe that which their Captaines should commaund them : Whom presently after hee drawes

a part, and acquaints them with his interprize; then hee appoints vnto euery one his Quarter and place, commaunding them that every one thould retire speedily in the beginning of the night, the which they

performed.

To 32

At the breake of day Imileon made his fallies in many places, and fell upon the Engines. The Romans who doubted the enemies defigne, were not negligent, but were all in Armes keeping a good Guard, Wherefore as foone as the Cartheginians beganne their fally, they marcht against them, fo as the Allarum was great neere ento the walls. The Carthaginians were about twenty thouland men, and the Ramanes many more. And for that the combate was without any order of bat. tell, the danger was the greater : For in lo great a multirude of Soul- C diers, they did fight Man to Man, as if it had beene a fingle combate. leistrue, that the heate of the fight, and the greatest Allarum was neere which were appointed as well which were appointed as well by the Carthaginians to affaile, as by the Romanes for defence, came to lo great and cruell a combate, as they dyed with incredible Refolutions never abandoning the place which they had beene ordain a them, Burthey which were mingled in fighting, caff themselves vpon the Remanes with fuel great courage, affailing the Engines with fires, Darts, and fuch like Armes, as the Romans that day, feeing themselves not D able to refult the enemies interprize, thought in a manner all to bes vt. terly loft.

When as the combate had continued long, Imileon keing the great loffe of his men, and that he could not preuayle, he cauled a Retreate to be founded. And although the Romanes were that day in great danger to loofe all their equipage for battery, yet in the end they defended their Engines; and all their forniture, resisting the enemies with incredible valour.

their Succours. Based of various believed in

After

After these actions, Hanniball parting in the Night from Lylibes sm, vnknowne to the Enemy, with all the shippes which hee had brought with him, hee fayled to Tripanum to Adberball, who wis Generall of the Carthaginians, for that they had alwayes a great care to keepe it, in regard of the opportunity of the place, and the beauty of the Port : It is but fifteene miles from Lylibeum. And although that in the meane time the Carthaginians were very defisous to heare newes of the affaires of Lylibeum, yet it was not possible, for that the Towne after Hanibals departure was kept so short, as no man could H miball a Rhe-enter or come forth A enter or come forth.

At that time a Rhodien named Haniball, an able Man, seeing the great defice of the Carthaginians, promised them to enter into Lylibeum, mauger all the World, and to bring them certains newes of their estate. But although the Carthaginians were glad to heare him; yet they held it impossible, for that the Romanes Army at Sea was in a manner within the Port. Yet the Rhodien .ffires them, and parts with his ship : And being arrived at an Island neere voto Lylibeum, three dayes after having the Winde in Poope, hee fayled directly The greater. thither at noone-day, and in the fight of the Enemy, (frining by all Rhodies. meanes to hinder him) hee entred, performing that which hee had vndertaken.

One of the Confuls wondring much at the great courage of this than, drew by night to the entry of the Port ten of their best Saylers to furprize him in his returne with the which hee himselfe kept watch vpon the departure of the Rhodien, and gaue charge to the whole Ar-

my to doe the like.

The shippes which were at the entry of the Portofeither side the Marishes, attended wish their Oares ready the returne of the Rhodis en thippe, thinking that hee could not audi Iit, but would bee inueffed; But the Rhodien telying much vppon his courage, and the fwittneffe of his Veffell, past thorough the Enemies thips being thus prepared, not in the night, nor by fleatth, but in the open day , and not contenting himselfe to bee thus escaped lafowith his Men, seeing himselfe a little out of the presse, hee turned the Prow of his Vessell, calling them to fight, yet no man durst assaile him, in regard of the swiftnesse of

Time threes went the hearings and small Finally, hee returned to Carthage, hading triumphed ouer the Enemics with one Veffell, and related all the news with the Shape. The which he hath performed linee many times, daing great ferring by D this meanes to the Carthaginians, in addertifing them of what was he cellary, and bringing hope and comfort to the belieged, with an amazement to he Romans of logicat boldnesse, wherein neewas animated, for that a little before the rouse that was made vito him by dilligent experience : But fuddainly when hee was discourred, hee thined his Prowe directly to the Tower which stands woon the Sea towards Italy ; fo as they which looke to Lybia were in fight to all Men. which was the onely meanes whereby Saylers might with a good wind recouer the Port. Many mooued with the vidaunted boldreffe of

their

this Rhodien, and knowing the places prefumed to doe the like.

The Romans discontented with this great affi out and scorne, vied all dilligence to fill up the entry of the Port, for the effecting whereof they filled many Merchants thips with fand, and funke them : Then they cast great store of earth voon them, yet they lost their labour and time, for the great depth (wallowed all , and the obbing and flowing of the Sea dispersed whatsoever they cast in. Finally, there was some part, which by chance had made a Earre or Banke, where fuddainly a Carthaginian Quadrireme fent in the Night was stayed: After the taking whereof, being well armed and furnished in the Port, the Romans attended the comming of others, especially of the Rhodien A Vessell. By chance hee arrived with the accustomed celerity: But at his returne, the Quadrireme pursuing him, began to presse him neere. The Rhodien at the first fight wondred at the lightnesse of the Vessell: But having well viewed it, hee knew that the Carthaginian Quadrireme had beene taken by the Romans. Wherefore having no more hope in flight, hee resolued to fight.

But when they came to lovne, the Romans had the aduantage, asswell by reason of the multitude of their shippes, as the bounty of their men. Wherefore the ship was easily taken with the Rhodien. B After which prize the Romans ioyn'd it to the Quadrireme, and kept

them continually armed and ready in the Port: By which meanes they tooke from them all casie entrance into Lylibeum. In the meane time they battered the Towne violently, and the Walles were ouerthrowne in divers places with their Engines. But Imileon built a new Wall where as the old had been overthrowne, having no more hope in his Sallies, nor beable to fer fire on the Engines. And as they had con-

tinued sometime in this manner, there did suddainly rise so great a frome, as all the Engines and Instruments were shaken by the vehe-

mency of the Winde : fo as the upper flory of some Towers were out - C

A Sally of the Carthag Biars wpen she Reof Battery.

The Rhadien

taken with his

ship.

throwne to the gound. Some Greeian Souldiers among the belieged, holding this very commodious for the burning of the Engines, discover their Opinion to the Governour, who finds this conceit good, and after that hee had made proudion of things necessary, heefuddainly makes a Sally, and casts he in three places upon the Engines. The which when the Souldiers had done fuddainly a the fire by reason of the violence of the Winds tooke cally, and confirmed them speedily, for that they were dry, and had beene long burne in the Suane . Neither was it possible to prevent it by the hand of Man, for the violence of the Winde. In the trueth they were loamazed at this new accident, as they had not judgement to fee and confider what they had to doe, fo as firiting to fuccour their Engines, some fell, being overthrowne with great Firebrands falling from aboue, or blinded with fanoake. And the more the Remanes found themselves crossed and troubled for the reasons about mentioned, the more beneficiall and fortunate it was for the Cartbaginiane: For they might eafily discouer the Enemies and all the Engines, and if they show cast any thing against the Romans or

their Engines, the Winde draue it with great violence, and made the blow more forcible. Finally, the fire was fo great, as the foundation whereon the Towers were let, were burnt, and the Heads of the Rammes confumed.

The Consuls after this had no more care to repaire their Engines, refoluing to carry the Towne by a long siege, in causing a great Treach with a Rampier to be cest vp round about it, and there Campe, with a resolution not to raise the Siege before they had taken it. When as they of Lylibeum had rampired all places necessary, they indured the A Siege with great courage. But after the Romans had receiued newes of this Disaster, the Senate caused ten thousand men to bee raised, which they fent into Sicily to refresh their Army, for that many had died at this siege, and their Army at Sea was bare of Men : These faild first vnto the Port, then they marcht by Land vato the Campe before Lylibeum,

Appius Claudius being now Confull, and chiefe of the Army, and An enterprize the other Confuls vpon their returne to Rome, feeing the Succours also vpon Tripanum arrived, affembled the Captaines, and let them know that in his Opinion it was time to fayle to Tripanum with all their forces by Sea, to B furprize Adherball, the Generall of the Carthaginians nothing doubting

of the Succours which were newly arrived into Sicily, and would neuer coaccine that the Romane Army would put to Sea after so great a losse of men, during the siege of Lylibeum. When as this advice was approued by the Captaines, hee made choice of some out of the old and new Bands, and furnished all his ships with the ablest men in

the whole Army, who imbarked most willingly, for that the Voyage was short, and the promises great. Being then ready, they parted

at mid-night voknowne to the Enemy, and sayled directly voto

But at the breake of day, being neere the Towne, and they discoued ring that they were Romane thips, Adherball recouered his fpirits, and affured himselfe, although that at the first hee was amazed at their suddainearriuall, resoluing to try the fortune of the fight, and to vidergoe the hazard rather then to be belieged shamefully in the Port. Wherefore he presently caused their Dares to imbarke, and caused the Trumpet to found, to draw the Souldiers together, shewing them in few words, according to the necessity of the time, that if they did their duties, there was hope of Victory : But if they refused to fight, he layed them before the mileries of men belieged. And when as the Soul-

D diers made shew of resolution, crying out that hee should make no stay to march against the Enemy, then Adherball commending their forwardnesse, causeth them all to imbarke, gitting them charge to have an eye voto his ship, and that they should follow with courage. Presently after hee parts first out of the Port, as he had said, on the contrary fide to the Romans.

But the Confull feeing the Enemies contrary to his hope, norro bandon the place, nor ready to flye, but feeking the Combat with great heate, hee called backe his shippes, whereof some were

already

already in the Port, others at the entry, following them neere. And when as the first turned head, according to the Confulls commaund, and that the rest which followed farre off made hast to enter into the Port, they fell foule one vpon another at the entry, and at the comming foorth, fo as the Romans were in danger to haue loft all. Finally after the Vessells had recourred the open Sea, the Capraines Ranked themselues along the shore one after another, turning their Prowe to the enemy. But the Confull who from the beginning had alwayes followed the Army, made the left Wing, casting himselfe into the open Sea.

In the meanertime, Adherball having gotten about the left Wing of A the Romans with fine Vessells, and turning the Prowe to the enemy, he fortified himselfe by the Sea, commaunding other four which followed him to do the like. When they were thus in Front against the enemy, he gives them a figne to charge the Romanes, whose ships (as we haue fayd) were Rank'd along the shore. It is true they had done it to A Combate at the end that the enemies Vessells which should part out of the Port. the commer and might be incountred with more ease. The battell was long and furithe Carthagini- ous, so as the danger seemed equal; without doubt they were the choyce men of both the Armies at Land. Yet the Carthaginians had B alwayes the better, for that their Vessells were lighter, their men more expert in Rowing, and moreover they were in the open Sea, where they might turne up and downe at their pleasure. If any one were neere prest by the Enemy, he knew how to saue himselfe suddainly, by the lightnesse of his ship: And if the Enemies pursued him, many others turning presently together, compassed and hemb'd them in by their lightneffe.

By this meanes they spoiled them much, and sometimes sunke them. And if any one of their companions were in danger, they relieved him easily without perill, sailing in the open Sea. Contrariwise the shore C neere vnto the Romanes did annoy them much; for being forced in a fireight, they could not Retyre in necessity, nor defend themselves. not succour them that were prest, nor passe beyond the Enemies to charge them againe. Which is a most requisite thing in figuring at Sea. For that they were closed vp in a ftreight; and their Veffels were heavy, and their Marriners viskilfell in Sea causes; nor well practifed to Rowe. The Confull seeing that all went from bad to worse, some of his ships being broken upon the shore, others sunke, and finally being veide of all hope, he flyes away first. There were about thirty Vessells remayning of the whole Army, which by chance were neete him, and D followed him; all the rest to the number of sourcecore and thirteene were taken by the Carthaginians. Moreover all the bands of men were taken, except those which perished by the Wracke.

Adherball was in wonderfull great efteeme among the Carthaginians for this Victory, having well mannaged the Affaires by his onely Wildome and great Courage. Whereas on the other fide, Appius Glaudius was infamous, and indured a thousand injuries by the Romane people, for that he had carried himfelfe fo indifferently, and had Y Hirl drawne drawne the Romane Common wealth into so great danger. Finally, being Deposed from the Consulship, he dyed by the hand of Iustice with us deposed great ignomy and shame.

And although the Romans were very sensible of this great Defeate; fullhip, and condemneate yet like Men of great Courage and Resolution, they suddainly prepare dye. a Fleete at Sea with a new Leur of Men, and fend Lucius Iunius the Lucius Iunius. Confull into Sicily; to whom they give charge to Relieue the Campe before Lylibeum, and to carry them Victualls and other necessary Munitions. He lan'd directly to Meffina with threefcore Gallies, and there drawes together all the Vessell's with Beake heads in Sicily out of Lylibeum, and makes a Fleete of fixelcore Men of Warre, belides the Merchants, and those which he had to carry the Victualls, to the number of eight hundred, of which he gaue in a manner the one halfe to the Questor, with some that had Beake-heads, to conduct the Victuals vnto the Campe. In the meane time he stayed at Sarragose, expecting the rest of the ships which came after him from Messina, and the Corne which the Allies of the inland Country did furnish. At the same time Adherbal sent the Prisoners and ships which he had taken at the battell to Carthage. Then he dispatch'd Captaine Carthalo with n thirty Veffels, to go and find the enemy, whom he followed neere with threefcore and ten others.

Moreover he gave charge to Carthalo; to take what ships he could The Romans whole from the Enemy, and to burne the rest. When as Carthalo the Romans furprized by (vfing dilligence to faile all night) had furprized the Romane Fleete fud- arthalo. dainly, which was retired into the Port of Lylibrum, and had burne some, and taken others, hee drew the Romans into great danger; for when as they which kept a Guard about the ships made great cryes, and gauc an Allarum, Imileon hearing the noyfe, and feeing theirs come ming at the breake of day, he presently made a fally upon the Enemy. C By this meanes the Remane Army being inuironed on all fides, was in

great danger.

Lib, r.

After that Carthalo had taken and burnt fome Romane ships, he went to Heracleum, to cut off the Victualis which came from thence to the Campe. And as he made the Voyage, fome Discouerers bring him newes that they had feene a great multitude of ships. After which newes, Cartharo without making any flow; (for that hee did not much esteeme the Romanes in regard of the former Victories) makes hast to meete them. The Remanes were like wife advertifed that the Carthaginian Army approached. But for that they did not hold themselves able D to incounter them at Sea, they cast themselves by Forume upon the necrest shore, where there were some retreates and turnings : Ouer the which did hang some Rocks, whether the Romans setting, they repulled the Enemies thips with stones and slings a And although at the first the Carthaginians were resolved to keepe them belieged vntill they had ta ken them. Yet seeing that the place by Nature defended them, and that Romans, refistance was greater then they expected, they failed in the end (after they had taken some Merchants vessels) to a River which lay neere vnto them, to observe the parting of the Romans. In the means

time the Confull having dispatch'd the Affaires for the which he staied at Sarragosse, he past the Cape of Pachinus to come vnto Lylibeum, having no advertisement of that which had happed vnto his men some

dayes before.

The Carthaginian Captayne having newes by his Scouts of the Confulls comming, vied all dilligence to incounter him farre from the other ships. But when as Lucius Ianius saw the enemies Army a far off, he was amazed at the great number, fo as he durft not fight; neyther could he well flye being so neere vnto them. Wherefore Retyring by dangerous and difficult places, hee stayed in the first Port, resoluting A rather to indure all extremities, then to fuffer the Roman Army to fall into the enemies hands. The which Carthalo Commaunder of the Carthaginians perceiuing, he made no more pursuite, but retyred into a Port betwire the two Roman Armies, hoping by this meanes to keepe both Armies from parting. Some few dayes after there rose a great storm; the which the Carthaginians perceining, as Men which had areat experience in Sea matters, and knowledge of the places where they were, informed Carthalo that in passing speedily beyond the Cape of Pachinum, he should anoyde the violence of the storme: whereby they preserved all his Fleet. But the Romans were so beaten with the storm, B for that the places where they were had no Ports, that their ships were broken in fuch fort, that there remayned not any thing, whereof they could afterwards make vie. By the meanes of these mis-fortunes at

Sea. the Carthaginians were afterwards the stronger.

The Remanes having lately made to great a loffe at Tripanum, and now agayne having lost all their Equipage abandoned the Sea, relying only vpon the Land. The Carthaginians on the other fide were Maifters without contradiction : neyther were they without hope at Land. And therefore the Lords of the Senare, and they which were at the siege at Lylibeum, were of aduice to continue the siege, although they had bin afflicted with the former mif-fortunes. By this meanes the Ro- C manes fent to the Campe at Lylibeum whatfoeuer they thought necessary, and they of the Campe vsed all possible meanes to continue the siege. Lucius Iunim after this great shipwracks arrived at Lylibeum much discontented, studding continually how he might performe some Ad, whereby he might in some fort Repayre his disgrace for the last losse. Wherefore soone after he tooke by Treason without any grear occasion Mount Erix, the Temple of Venue and the Towne. Erix is a Mountayne of Sicily, which hath his Afpect upon the Sea towards Italy, betwirt Trypanum and Palerme, but necreft to Palerme. It is D Mount Aim. the greatest in all Sieily, but Aine. It hath a playne vpon the top. where stands the Temple of Yenus Ericina, the which (by the Report of all the World) is the richest and most beautiful of all Sittly. A lit. tle vinder the top of the Hill, there is a Towne of the same name. which is very long, and hath the accelles very uneafy and difficult on all fides:

Mount Erix.

The Romanes

Fleete broken

at Sea by the

Violence of a

ftorme.

The Confull fet a Garrison upon the top of the Mountayne, and at the foot vpon the approaches from Trypanum, thinking by this meanes that he should be able to keep the Towns and all the Mountayne safely. After the taking of Erix, the Carthaginians made Amilear, furnamed Barca Captaine Generall of their Army at Sea. This man falling upon Italy with his Army spoyled all the coast (it was then the eighteenth the Coasts of veare fince the beginning of the War) and from thence (after that he truly, made great spoiles in the Countries of the Locrines, and Calabria) he returned into the Territory of Palermo with his whole Army, where he planted himselse in a Place betwixt Rhegium and Palermo, the which lay high about the Sea, and was fortified by nature, and fafe

A for his Campe.

Lib. 1.

It is a Mountayne invironed with caues and holes, voon the which there is a playne not leffe then twelve miles in compaffe, the which is commodious and fit for labour. It hath moreover all the Sea Winds. and is not infected with any venomous Beaft: Moreover it is invironed both by Sea and Land with inaccessible Rockes; in regard of the places which are betwirt both there is no great need of buildings. It hath on the top a little Hill which serues for a Watch and Fortresse; it hath like. Wile a very pleasant and commodious Port, for such as passe from Trye panum or Lylibeum into Italy; and it hath store of Water. There are B but three wayes to go voto this Mount, which are difficult and vneafy. two vpon the firme Land, and the third towards the Sea. Amilear Planted his Campe there, where there was no convenient Towne, but was lodged among his enemies, whom he did not fuffer to live in reft: For many times he went to Sea, and spoyl'd the coast of Italy vnto Cumes, and then he led his Army by Land vnto Palermo, and befreged it within eight hundred Furlongs of the Romanes Campe: where he staied neere three yeares, performing many braue Acts which were difficult to relate in particular. For even as when excellent Combattants re-doubling their blowes with dexterity and force, the prize of the C Victory being propounded, it is neyther possible for them, nor for the standers by, to yeild a reason of enery charge and blow, taking in generall a sufficient knowledge of their Valour, aswell by the Prowesse of the Men, as by their mutuall indeauours, and by their Experience and Vistue, we must conceive the like of the Commaunders of whom we now speake.

For if any one will Write the causes, or manner how they lay Ambulhes, and intertayne skirmilles and incounters, he should not be able to number them, and would cause a great trouble without any profirto the Reader; where we may better attayne to the knowledge of D things past, by a generall narration and by the end of the War. They likewile cannot perceive in this present War, any thing by the History of the great pollicies, nor by the time, nor by the feeling of the pre. fent case by things done, which have bin decided with an over-weaning and violent boldnesse. There are many causes, for the which they could not discerne betwirt the two Campes; for the Armies were equal and their Forts not easie to be approached vnto, for that the space beswixt both was very strong and little; so as there daily happed particular combates. Finally they performed nothing which concerned the

they

end of the Warre: For many times in incounters forme were flayne, and others turning away, and escaping the danger assured themselves, and fought againe, where Fortune remayning like a good D. stributer, changing them from Front to Front, hath inclosed them in a narrower compasse, and a more dangerous fight in regard of the place and precedent Combat.

The Towneo Erix taken from the Ro. mans by Amilcar.

Whilst the Romans (as we have fayd) kept the top and foote of the Mountayne of Erix, Amilear surprized the Towne, which was betwixt the top of the Hill, and the foote offe, where the Roman garrison lay. By this meanes the Romans which held the top, were besie- A ged by the Carthaginians, with great danger: The Carthaginians like. wife were no leffe in the Towne, feeing they were befieged from the top of the Mountayne, and from the foote, and hatting but one way, they could hardly draw vnto them that which was necessary. Thus either Party perfilted one against another with extreame obstinacy: Suffring great extreamities and running into great dangers. Finally, they purchased a facred Crowne, not as Fabius fayth, as Men weakned and tyred, but constant and not vanquished: For before that one party ouercame the other, although the War continued two yeares, yet beganne to have an end by another meanes. Finally the Affaires of Erix, B and the forces were in this estate. e ciasili otako yi

A good Conparifon.

You may imagine that these two Common-Weales did like voto Rauening Birds fighting among themselves voto the last garpe: For although that sometimes their flight fayled them for want of breath, yet they repulse the affaults with great courage, withil that hiding them. felues willingly, they fled away eafily; this done some take their flight before the reft. In like manner the Romanes and the Carthaginians tyred with toyle, grew cold in their continuall combats, abating their forces for the ordinary charges. And although the Remanes had abandoned the combats at Sea, almost for fifteen yeares, aswell for their mil fortunes, as for that they did hope to make an end of this Warre C by the Army at Land, yet seeing their designe not successeful, considering likewise the courage of Amilear, they conceived a third hope in their Forces at Sea. They aduised well, that if their defigne were fuccessefull, it would be a meanes to make an end of their Affaires, the which in the end they effected.

Firks they left the Sea yeilding vitto their mis fortunes: And for the second time, for that they had bin vanquished neere vitto Tryps. num, and finally at the third time, they were of another humour, by the which being Victors, they curoff the Victuals from EHE, and Q made an end of the Warre. This attempt for the most pare was like a Combate of great courage; for the publicke Treasure vnable to furnish this charge a But the Cittizens contributing enery Man vnro his power, many together built a Quinquereme, supplying the necessary expences; fo much the peoples hearts were inflimed to Armes, and to aug. ment the Romane Empire. By this meanes they made a preparation of two hundred Quinqueremes, after the patterne of the Rhodien, the which as we have fayd had beene taken before Liftbeum . Wherefore

they afterwards gaue the commaund vnto Lucius Luttarius Confull, and lent him in the Spring against the Carthaginians, who being stud- The port of dainly arrived in Sicily with his Army, tooke the Port of Trepanien at Trepanienta. his entry, and all the rest which were about Lylibeum.

In the meane time all the Carthaginians ships retired to their Cap det or the Roraine. Afterwards hee indeauoured to take Trepanum with his Englis, "ale atmy. and other things necessary to force a Towne: But for that the Carthagiwian. Army at Sea was not farre off, they had a remembrance of things past, and of what importance the knowledge of the Sea was, he was not idle nor negligent, caufing his Rowers and Marriners to bee continually kept in practice, not fuffing any one to be idle. By this meanes the Souldiers in a short time were inured to the Sea. The Carthaginians contrary to their hope, having newes of the Roman Army at Sea, prefently prepa. An Army as red their ships, and traighted them with Corne & other Municion, to the Sas prepared end the belieged within the Towne of Erix should not have any want of by the carthage things necessary. Hanno had the charge of this Army, who part flift to the Island of Hieronesus, and from thence he mide halte to layle about the Enemy to Amilears Campe, to discharge his ships, and to victual it. But Luctarius being advertised of their comming, and doubting of their B enterprize, (for it was not hard to confecture) made choice of the ableft men of the Army at Land; and failed directly to the Island of Bgufe, which is not farre from Lylibeam. Then having given courage to the

Souldiers, he makes a Proclamation that every near should be ready the Three daies after the Confull feeing at the breake of day that the wind was good and prosperous for the Enemy, and contrary to his Army and that the Sea was much thoubled with a ftorme, he was long in sufpence what he should doe : bue suddainly he resolued, that if his men came to fight during the storme, he should have nothing to doe but with Hanne

C and his Army at Sea, and with thips that were laden and incumbred a But if he should delay the fight vitill the Sea were calme, he should haue to deale with thips that were light and very twife, and with the choice of the Land touldiers and moreover with the courage of Amilcar, who was then held to be very tertible. Finally, he refolued to fight with the Enemy notwithstanding the storme and the contrary Winde. The Carchaeinians comming with full fayle, he pin himfelfe before A fight at Soe them with his Acroy ready and in battell. When the Carebaginians mars and Care law their radioletto bee hindered by the Etiemy, and their flips in bate that includes. tell, they ftrooke faire, and prepared to fight, where they charged D of either fide with great courage . Bur for that things were handaged in another manner, than when they were defented at the batte! of Trepasum, it was no wonder if that their Affaires had alio.

In reghted of the Romans, their thips were very light, and free from all incombrance, but of that which was necessary for the Warte. Their Rowers had beenedong practicellis and were therefore eager and ready to fight. They had allo made choice of the best menth their Acmy at Land : the which tell one contraty with the Cartharian and blue it yell rain and instant and

A Victory of the Romanesagainst the Carshaginians.

. 1. 3 . .

ans. Their ships were laden, and therefore vafe to fight: Their Rowers and Marriners were men gathered together by chance, and not accusemed to the War : their Souldiers were also new, and had not seene any thing: for they had no more care for the affaires at Sea, imagining that the Remans would not attempt any thing more at Sea. And therefore as foone as the Battell began, the Romans had the Victory, whereas fifty of the Carthaginians ships were broken or sunke, and three score and ten others that were laden, taken. The rest set sayle and got the Winde, and recovered Hieronele with incredible swiftnesse, by a suddaine change of the Winde. After the Battell the Confull retired to A Lylibeum with his whole Army whereas the booty and Prisoners were detided amongst the Souldiers: For besides the dead, there were aboue ten thouland mentaken.

The Carthaginians amazed at this heavy and great defeate, found themselves troubled for many reasons, although their minds were alwavesinclin'd to Warres. First they had no meanes to victuall those that were in Sicily, after the defeate of their Army at Sea : Confidering that their Enemics were Maisters of all the Sea. Moreover they imagined that it would be a Traiterous act to suffer their Generall and the Souldiers which had ferued their Common-wealth to be lok. In re- B gard of continuing the War, they had neither Men nor Captaines to mannageit : wherefore they lent a Man to Amiliar, and gaue him full power and Authority to doe what he should thinke fitting for the good of the Common weale. Amilear performed the duty of a good and wile Captaine: For whilest there was any hope in the Carthaginians affaires, he never complained of his paines, nor avoided perill, but being a man of great industry and courage, be thrust himselfe continually into all dangers, to vanquish as well as any of the other Captaines. But when as he faw there was no more hope in the Cars baginians affaires, hee fent Emballadours to the Confull, to treate upon an accord, yeelding wife- C ly and disciscily viso the time :. For wee most know that the duty of a good Captaine conflits alwell in confidering of the time, for onely to validabilit, but also to thinks layle, Wherewee Ludatime did willingly give eare, knowing well the secretities which the people of Rome and duted by this regions War, Emally, a peace was thus concluded: that the Remans and Carthaginians thould live in amity and friend. thip, if the people of Rame would confere varoit: And that the Car-Wat against Hieren, por against the Saragoffins, or their Allies, and that they should relieve all the Prifquers without ransome: And more- D our they fould pay thirteene hundred sadswenty thouland Crownes within twenty yeares.

These Articles were feat to Ferre which the people not with flanding would not yeeld unto ; but committed ten men with power from them who were lent into. Sicily: Being arrived, they altered nothing of the treaty of peace, but the time of payment, which they shormed, angl menting the fumme: with 600000 Crownes more. Moreoner they did articulate, that they should not onely dislodge out of Sicily, but also out of all the Islands which are betwixt it and Italy:

Behold the end of the first Warre betwirt the Romans and Carebags. nians for Sicily. It continued foure and twenty whole yeares, and hath beene the longest and the greatest that was ever heard spoken of. During the which (I omit other things worthy of memory) they have fought at one instant with aboue five hundred Quinqueremes on both fides : Afterwards with not much leffe then feauen hundred. The Romans haue lost seauen hundred Quinqueremes, besides those which at fundry times the torments have funke, and the Carthaginians about fine hundred. Wherefore they which formerly have admired Armies assell by Land as Sea, and the Combats at Sea of Antigonus, Prolomey, and Demetrius, have reason to cease, considering the great deeds of the Romans and Carthaginians. But if they will confider how great a difference there is betwirt the Quinqueremes and Tritemes, whereof the Persians made vie against the Grecians, and which the Asherians and Lacedemonians vied in their Warre, they shall vandoubtedly see, that there was never leene such great forces fight at Sea, wherefore that ap. peares plainely which we have propounded in the beginning, that the Romans have not onely indeauoured to conquer the wilverfall Emplicity vallour, but they have also accomplished their defire, not by good Fortune as some Grecians suppose, nor by chance, but by a wonderfull experience and practice in such great affaires.

Although that some may demaund how it happeneth that the Ro mans, who are at this day farre greater Lords both at Land and Sea. confidering that they held in a manner the Empire of the whole world, cannot draw together fo many Veffels, nor rayfe fo great an Arthy at Sea at one instant. The reason will be galle, when they shallie them voderstand what the Romane Common wealth was, what their Lawes and their manner of lining, although it will not be profeable neither C for vs nor for the Readers of our Workes, to make mention of things which concerne not our purpose. Without doubettle Reasons are great: the which not with standing in my Opinion no man hath knowhe vinto this day by the errour of Historiographers : Whereof foind knew not what they wrote, and if others understood them, they have made them obscure and unprofitable. If they would duely consider this War, they shall finde that the courage and power of these two great Cittles were equall. First their defire was alike, they had the same courage, and the like delire of glory. It is true, the Romans had the Beeter Souldiers : But Amitear Generall of the Carthaginians, surnaffied D Barca, Father to Haniball, who aftenwards made Warve against the Ro. Amiliar Father mans, had not his equall in prudence and valloured When as the prace co Hanniball. had beene concluded either of them fell in a manner into the Hie Hicon.

War against the Inhabitants of Mount Hickory the which was bong de But the Carthaginians being affailed at the fatherime by Strangers, Numidians, and other people of Affricke, who renolited wiefs trent were in a minner quite ruined. Finally, they were forced to light wir out

ueniences :- for Civill war followed after. The Romans had pletently

surmes

for the Prouince, but for themselves, for their liberty, for their Children, and for their owne Country.

This is a warre which we will relate summarily and briefly, for it is worthy, as we have promifed in the beginning. So they shall easily see by the deeds of these times what this warre was, and of what fury, which they call irreonciliable: And they may likewife observe to what things the Commander of an Army ought to have care, and to be wary how he imploies Mercinary men: And moreover what difference there is betwix: the confuled manner of living of Barbarians, and those that are bred up voder Discipline, Lawes, and Policy: And wi hall they may easily see by the knowledge of this warre, the causes for the which Ha. A miball made warre against the Romans, which is a principall poynt, whereof in opening the truth, wee have not done little for those which defire to fee our worke. For that they have not onely beene doubtfull and obscure to those which have written, but also to such as have beene present. Afterthat amiscar had treated the peace with the Romans, he led his Army from the Towne of Erix to Lylibeum, and refigned his charge giving the conduct thereof into Affricke to Captaine Geston, who was at Lylineums, who fearing that if fo great a multitude of men, should palle together into Affricke, there would grow some mutiniy B and contenttion for that there was much due voto them for their pay, the which they could not ferisfie for want of treasure: Wherefore he prouided long before, that the troupes should not passe altogether, but at divers times, leaving some respite of purpose: to the end that they might with more ease provide, in fending them backe by troupes, and that the first might be retired to their houses, before the feconderwed. The Carthaginian had confumed their treasure, in their former charges, and did not fend them backe to their boules but commanded them to attend within the City vntill the returne of their Com-Banjons, to the and they might make lome accord with them altogether C Concerning their Paye. But when is the Souldiers committed many Royotaday and night within the City, and that the infolencies of fuch a troupe were insupportable, the Carthagintan called the Captaines, and igregred them to leade all this multi tile affembled in their City to the Towne of siggs vault they had given order for their Prouinces Moreover they earled fome money to be delivered to every one of them ato the end they might tolerate their expectance the more eafily. The Captaines obeying the will of the Carthaginians, drew forth their Meneral entransmination lines Management

infolency of the Souldiers within Car-

Gelcon.

But for that every man defired to leave his baggage within the City, D as they had done, hoping to make a thore returns for their paye: the Carthaginians doubted that if they flould allow that, fome would not buige for the love of their children, others for their wives, and by this meanes they should be nothing bettered within the City. Wherefore in the end they forced them to depart with their baggage. Being within the Towns of Stora they liked at pleasure in idlenes and balely, which is a petnicious thing for an Army, and in a manner the onely fountaine and beginning of Mutitien. Some began to demaund their pay more auda-

tioully,

tiously then they had beene accustomed, and much more, reducing to memory the promise of Presents, which the Captaines had made vitto them at need, when as they intreated them to fight valiantly. More o. uer they expected much more then their Pay amounted vnto? But they were frustrated of their hope: For affoone as they were all affembled in Sicca, Hanno, Pretor of the Carthaginians was fent vnto them: Who bringing no prefents vnto them, intreated them moreouer for fome abatement of their Pay, shewing them the pourty of the Treafure. They generally mutining at this speech, began to rise suddain- Mutiny of the

A ly, fo as there was a great tumult and sedition in the Army, coefide Souldiers. ring the great dinerfity of their manner of living, and languages. It is true the Carthaginians had some reason to raise their Army out of divers Nations: For by this meanes fo divers an affembly could not eafily make a Conspiracy. Moreouer the Captaines better obeyed. And likewife if there did rife any mutiny or ledition in the Army, they should not finde meanes to pacifie them, for ignorant men are mooned with fury. Beleeue me when they are once in choller, they increase it more and more, like bruite Beafts with an vnrestraine cruelty. The which happened at that time in the Carthaginians Campe : For some were B Spaniards, others Gaules, some Geneuvis, and others of the Islands of

Maiorgua, and Minorgua. There was also a good Troope of Grecians, most of which were fugitiues and flaues, and the greatest number were Affricans. Wherefore it was not possible to draw them altogether at that time, although they could not have taken a better course. Moreover Hanno could not vaderstand all their languages: and it seemed in a manner more imposfible to imploy many Interpreters at one time to draw the Army together, and withall to vie the same speech vnto them foure or fine times. The last remedy was to mannage this by the Captaines; the which C Hanno attempting prevailed nothing: For some vinderstood not what their Captaine fayd vnto them, others related it otherwise then they had spoken, although they had consented unto the cliefe, some did it of ignorance, but the greatest part through malice. Wherefore all was

full of perplexity, inhumanity and distrust.

Lib. 1.

Among other things they complained, that the Carthaginians of The complaint purpose did not send one of the Captaines under whose charge they had of the Souldimade War in Sicily, and who had made them so many promises; but ers one who had beene in those actions. Finally, they runne to Armes being all in a muriny, making no accompt of Hanno, nor of the other Cap-D taines, and marcht directly to Carthage, planting their Campe neere ynto the Towns of Tunes, which is fifteene miles from Carthage, being about twenty thousand Men. Then the Carthaginians began to looke one upon another, and to acknowledge their great errour, when there was no reducific in their affaires. In trueth it was a great fault in them to haue drawne together so great a multitude into one place after the War was ended. They committed another which was no leffe; when as they did not retaine their Wines Children and baggage, whereof they might have made vie in necessity as of Hostages. Being in no small feare

In ile : Farings

of so great a multitude of Men, they omitted nothing which they thought behoovefull to pacifie their Rage, causing Corne to be carried vnto them, and all other things necessary, and to be delivered vnto them at their owne prize.

Moreover the Senate fent Embassies often vnto them, promising to do according to their commaund, so as it were in their power: But the Souldiers who are now growne more infolent, did torge daily new Quarrels, perceiuing the feare of the Carthaginians, especially for that they had bin trayn'd vp in the War of Sicily, and that the Carthagimians nor any other durst looke vpon them in order of battel. Wherfore A whereas formerly they had made their quarrell, but for the pay that was due, they now demaunded Recompence for their Horses that were flayne, and not content with that, they pretended there was Corne due vnto them for many yeares, for the which they demanded payment at a prife, whereof vntill that day they had never heard them speake. Finally they daily pretended new quarrels to enter into War. for the most Wicked and Mutinous had the greatest credite in the

And when as the Carthaginians had made promise vnto them, to do all things possible, in the end they agreed, that for any thing that should be doubtfull, they should Refer themselves to that which the Generall should decree, vader whom they had made War in Sicily. They did not much affect a milear Barca, under whose charge they had bin, for that he came not to fee them during this diffention, and that he had formerly Relinquish his commaund over them of his owne motion: Contrariwise they all in generall loued Gescon, who had bin their Captaine in Sicily, and who had intreated them curtoufly aswell in all other things, as in their passage to Affricke; wherefore he had the charge by a common confent. Presently being imbarked with Mony, and ariting at Tunes, he called the Captaines: then he caused Gescon maxes severy nation to Assemble, and blamed them for their faults past, and C remenfirances admonishing them for the present, and giving them advice by a long speech for the time to come, to continue good friends to the Carthaga. nians, who had intertayned them follong. Finally he perswades them to Rest satisfied with their pay, the which he desired to divide among the Nations

Or Gefton.

being lately a flaue vnto the Romanes, had fled into Sicily: This was a bold and hardy. Man, and a good Souldier: Who (feating that if they agreed with the Carthaginians, he should be Restored to his Maister, and then put to Death according to the Roman Lawes) vsed Audacious speeches, and laboured by all meanes to mutine them all, defiring groubles rather then any accord, and Wars then Peace. Moreouer an Affricaine called Matho, a free Man who had beene in the Wars of Sieily, for the Carthaginians, feared to be punished, for that he had much incenfed the Munity, during the Diffention. This Mathe ioy-

ning with Spendius, drawes together all the Affricaines, and Aduiles

them to confider well what they had to doe in this Action, and that

There was by chance a Campanois in the Army called Spendius, who

Spendsus.

Mathe.

they should restassured, that presently after the Retreate of the other Souldiers, having received their pay, the Carthaginians would be reuenged wholly upon them, (labouring by this meanes to terrificall the Affricanes with punishment) and for this reason they should looke well to themfelues. The whole Troupe being much mooued with this speech, and like.

wife for that Gescon had onely spoken of their bare pay, without any mention of Recompence for Horses dead, nor of Corne for so many yeeres, they drew presently all together to consult of their Affaires. A And when as Spendim and Matho vied very bad speeches against Gefton and the Carthaginians, they easily gaue eare voto them. And if any one fought to thew the contrary, they had not the Patience to heare them, if it were contrary to the opinion of Spending, but beat them downe presently with stones. By this meaner the Murther was great, not onely of Captaynes but of fimple Souldiers, fo as there was nothing beard in the Army during this Mutiny, but all cryed out together. Charge charge. And although they did this continually yet their fury was greater, when they parted drunke from the Table. By this meanes as foone as any one cryed Charge, the stones flew about so B asthere was no meanes of Retreate. Wherefore when no Man durst speake any thing in the Assembly, they made choice by a general confent of Maske and Spendins for their Captaines. And although that Befor faw this great trouble and mutiny in the Campe, yet he defited to prefer the Publicke Vtility before all other things. Wherefore feeing that by the muriny of the Souldiers increasing daily moreand more, the Carthaginians were in great danger, he resolved to pacific it, and to trve all meanes with the hazard of his life.

One day he called the Heads of the Conspiracy, another day some Mation apart, labouring to pacific their fury by prayers and promifes. C Bur for almuch as they had not yet received the Corne, which they fayd was due vato them, and that they quarrelled continually, Gefcon defir dus to reftraine their contempt, commanded them to fet downe their demands to heir Capuige Mathe. "At which words the Commons incenfed grew to infolent, as they prefently feized uppon all the Siliner which was brought thither for their pay, laying hold vpon Gescon and the Cart baginians that were with him. But Mathe and Spendius Capaignes of the whole Troupe, thought prefently to commit fome Actorigieat Villany, to the end that the War might be the more in. Aimed. And therefore in commending the infolency of the Souldiers. D they tooke with the Money alt the baggage of the Carthaginians, and grave order to fruit up Geften with all his company, after they had done

chiem Gnany Outrages, and the suppose and y 20 vAfter this 2 they made open Waragainst the Carthaginians, with the most cruell Conspiracy what ever had beene heard speake of vito that day. Behold the causes of the beginning of this War, made a. exial the Souldiers, which they call Un fforme? 1000 300

After that LAl as bo and Spondies had done as wee have fayd, they affricke by fent Embassics to all the people of Affricke mooning them to liberty, Matho and

Spending.

nous Empire of the Carthaginians, who in a manner all found the caterprize good, and fent Men and Victualls in aboundance. And after that the Captaines had divided their Army in two, one part went to beliege Bifarthe, and the other Hippona, for that they would not consent vnto the Conspiracy. The Carthaginians who had beene accustomed to feed their families only by Tillage, and to draw their publicke Treasure from the Tributes of Affricke , and moreover to mannage their War by Mercenaries , being then not onely frustrated of all these things, but moreover feeing they were all turned to their Ruine, found A themselues suddainly in great difficulties, not knowing which way to turne them. And they found them the more desperate, for that they had hapned contrary to all opinion.

and intreating them to give them fuccours against the cruelland tyran-

It is true, they were in hope, after they had beene tyred with the long Wars of Sicily, and had in the end made a peace with the Box mans, that they might rest for a time, and take breath; but it succeeded otherwife. Beleeue me, this War fuddainly kindled, was more danperous than the other: For that in the first, they did not fight with the Romans but for the Conquest of Sicily; but in this they were forced, to vindergoe the danger for themselves, for their families and their Country. Moreouer they were vufurnished of Armes, of a Fleete at Sea, and of Equipage for thipping, for that they had loft many in their battels at Sea. They had no more hope of Tributes, nor in the fuccours of their friends and Allies. Finally they faw then what difference there was betwint a Forraine and Transmarine War, and the mutiny of a civil fedition, of which mischiefe vadoubreally they themfelues were the cause: For in their first War, they did Lord it over the contraginisms. people of Affricke, with soo great Turaday and concroulneile ofor that they were of opinion they had good cause a sto as they leuied a full molety of all their fruites. They also doubled the Tributes, and did not pardon those which had offended through ignorance of They kane C Offices not tofuch as were milde and gracious, but to thate which sugmented the publicke Tresture salehoughthey had tyrannized the peo. ple, like vato, Hanno of whom we have spoken or write bela

Bythis meanes it hapned that the people of affricke feemed glad to Remolte, not onely at the perswalion of many, but est a simple Mes finger. There is not hing more true, that the Women of every cy of the Wes-Toyone confpired for that in former times they had free their Husmenor affice. bands and Children led into feruinde a forther they had not payed the Tribute: fo as they made no referentional their goods which they bad remaying but moreouenthey did contribute their Jewels, (2 hard thing to believe) to supply the payment of the Souldiers. Buthis imeanes collaidanch spendiminathered eogether to great a quantity of filuer asit was not onely butherene to finisfie the promiles which they had made to the Souldiers is know the beginning of the Confpiracy but they had more than was needfull to mandagothe Wasish Minerefore antiform olls and wantimaland and convision of the particular and alive lent Enterthees to ell the people of Africke musuling them of 13mm.

And although the Carthaginians were enuironed on all fides with fo many miseries, yet they fainted not but gaue the conduct to Hanne (for that fermerly they held he had ended the Warre neere voto Heras tontophylon) of those Souldiers they could leuie in this necessity of time. They also armed the young men of the Towne, and caused their Horfes to be practifed: They repaired the remainder of their ships, and old Triremes, and caused new to be made.

In the meane time Matho and Spendius, (to whom three score and ten thousand armed men of Affrica had joyned,) after they had deuided their Army in two as wee haue faid, held Bifarthe and Hippona befieged, yet not abandoned their Gampe neere voto Tunes. By this meanes all Affricke was shut vp to the Carthaginians. You must vnderstand that Carthage is scated upon a Promontory, which advanceth into the The scienarion Sea, and is in forme of an Island, but that it ionnes vnto Affricke by a little space of land. In regard of the Citty, it is enuironed of the one side by the Sea, and on the other by Marishes. The breadth of the Countrey whereby it is joyned to Affricke, containes not about three miles: whereof the Towne of Bifarthe is not far off from that fide which looks towards the Sea: And that Tunes ioynes vpon the Marishes. The Ene-B mies having planted their Campes at Tunes and Bisarthe, tooke from the Carthaginians the rest of Affricke : and making courses sometimes by Day, and sometimes by Night vnto the walles of the Citty, they gave them great Allarums, and put them in feare.

In the meane time Hanno made preparation of all things necessary for the Warre. Hee was a diligent man, and well practifed in fuch things; although that soone after hee had gone to field to finde the Enemy, he committed an act of little judgement, in not discerning the times. You must vnderstand that assome as he was sent to succour the besieged in Bisarthe, he forced the Enemies at the first charge, being C terrified with the multitude of Elephants : but afterwards his conduct was fo bad, as hee drew the befreged (for whole fuecours hee was come into great danger, and extreame milery. For when he had brought great prouision of all forts of Engins for battery, and had ledged his Campe neere voto the Towne-walles: hee fought with the Enemy, who could not endure the violence of the Elephants : Wherefore they abandoned the Camps, with great loffe of their men, and retired to a little Mountaine strong of it selfe, and full of Groues. But Hanno who had not beene accustomed to make Warre but against the Numidians, who after they have once taken a flight, doe feldeme ftay untill the Numidiant, D the third day, had no care to pursue them, supposing he had gotten an absolute victory; but entred into Bisarthe, not thinking of any thing but to make good cheere.

But the Enemies having made Warre in Sicily under Amilear, and beene accustomed many times to flye before the Enemy, and suddainly to charge agains the same day, having newes of Hanno's retreate Surprize of the into Bifaribe, and that the Campeas Victors was fecure; they af- Caribaginers fayled it by furprize, and flew part of them : the rest were forced to re- Campe. couer the Towne, to their great shame and ignominy. All the equipage

The cruell and

50

of Engins was taken without refistance. It is true, that this was not the onely misfortune which at that time did prejudice the Carthaginians by the folly of Hanno. For some few dayes after, when as the Enemies camped neere vnto Sorze, and that an opportunity was offered to defeate him eafily, haning beene twice in quarrell, and twice in battell one against another, as they are accustomed, hee lost these two occa-

fions by his folly and basenesse.

Wherefore the Carthaginians confidering that Hanno did not mannage this War well, they by a generall consent made Amilear Captaine: againe: ro whom they gave three score and ten Elephants, and all the A Souldiers and Fugitiues, with some Horse-men, and the young men of the Towne, fo as hee had about ten thousand Souldiers. But assome as he had marcht forth with his Army, he presently by his admirable vertue brake the hearts of his Enemies, and raifed the fiege of Bifarthe. and then he shewed himselfe worthy of the glory which they had given him for his proweffe in times past; and that hee was worthy of the hope which all men conceived of him. Behold wherein they first discouered his diferetion and judgement.

The Cape whereon Carthage stands, is joyned to Affricke like vnto a crooked backe, and is very stony; with Mountaines full of wood, B whereas the waves are very vneafie and inacceffible, they being most of them made by the hand of man. And therefore Matho had seized vpon all the little Hills that were vpon the way, and had planted good Garrisons. Moreover hee passed the River which they call Machera, the which bath high banks, and a very swift course, and cannot be past but by a Bridge, vpon the which stands the Towne of Sephyra, the which Matho did likewise hold. By this meanes the passages of Affricke were not onely shut up from the Carthaginian Army, bur also from a private person. The which Amilear confi. dering, and trying all meanes to passe into Affricke, in the end hee C vied this invention. Hee had observed that sometimes the course of this River was fo floot by the Winde, as the mouth of it overflowed, and made in a manner a great poole, and at that time it had no great fall into the Sea. Wherefore hee was of opinion, that at this season they might passe it neers vinto the Sea. Hee kept this secret, and onely made necessary preparation for the Army to march. Heccarefully attended the appointment of the time, and then appointed his Army to part secretly in the Night, and to passe the River.

But at the breake of day the Enemy and they that were in the Towne, were wonderfully amazed at this passage. In the meane time Amilear march'd with his Army directly to those which held sephyra. When as Spendius had the news that Amilears Campe had past. he presently makes haste with his forces to succour his men. Behold how the two Campes succoured one another. There were 10000, men in Sephyra, neere vnto the Bridge: and about 15000 in Bisarthe. These thinking they might easily compasse in the Carthaginians, if they all marcht against them at one instant, some in front, and the other at their backes, suddainly they tooke courage, and marche against Amilear

with all their Troopes, who alwayes marche haddig the Elephants in the fore-ward . then the Horse and the Souldiers that were lightly atmed, and vpon the Reare the Legionaries. But when hee faw the Elis mies charge his men couragiously, he presently changed the order of his. The Pollicy of Army, and turned it quite contrary i So as they which werein the foreward, returned backe, making thew of some flight, and they which were in the Reare, taking another way ? marchi directly to the foreward. The which the Lybrans feeing who affailed the Caribaginians of either fide, and thinking that the Enemies amazed at this Allarith, had A fled, they began to purfue them without order, and can flightly to fight. But when as they law the Horle-men approach, and the dther Battalions to fall voon them with great fury . aimized at this new The Victory of manner of War, they were foone broken sand in the end flying away. iome were defeated by the Legionaries, who charged them por the flinks with great flaughter or others by the Elephanes and Milite net who entred after the Legioupries.

There were fixe thousand men flaine and about two thousand ken; the rest faued themselves by slight; some in the rowne in the ra, the reft retired to the Campe bufore Bifarthe !!! VAlter this g B fortune, dmilear pursued those which had gotter into sephire which he tooke at his comming, for the Souldiers that were within it, fled presently to Tunes .: and from thence running buer the Pi uince, he tooke divers Townes, whereof fome were win by breach and affault. By this meanes the Garthazinians, who before were descreed and without hope, tooke heart, and recourred their ancient conrage. "At that time Mathe held Hippons belieged, and had perlivaged Spendius, and Autarice, Captaine of the Gaules, to purite the Enemy, and that flying the Plaines, by reason of the multitude of Elephants and Horfe-men, they should keepe the foote of the Mountaines, and not to C goe farre from them vpon any occasion that should be offered. ouer he fends often to the Numidians and Lybians, foliciting and intreating them to give him succours, and not to lose so great an opportunity to reftore Affrick to liberty: Spendim then hauling made choice of fixe thous fand old Souldiers out of the Campe which was at Twies lodged contiqually neere voto the Enemy, keeping the foote of the Mountaines. Moreover he had the Gaules with him, which were vides the charge of Astarice, to the number of about two thouland menifor the rest of their Troope which was in Sicily, had retired to the Romans during the

Whilest that Amilear stayed with his Army in a Plaint wholly supplies of uironed with Mountaines, there came great supplies of Numidian and Affricans to Spendius. By this meanes the Carringinian Athy was besieged with three Camps. The Affricans were in Frohr, the Namidians on the fide. Hamilead was long in both supplies of the suppl fuspence what counsell hee should take, being thus beset. There was at that time among the Numidians a certaine manualled Nature, of a noble and auncient extraction, and of a Royall courage. Hee had alwayes beene fauourable vnto the Carthaginians, keeping his Fathers

Naraue.

The River of In achera.

Sepbyra.

them

L.b.L

affection, and who then had fuccoured them, for that Amilear was chofantheir Captaine: Thinking new to have found a good opportunity to purchase their friendship, he marched directly to the Campe, accompaniso with about an hundred Namidians? being neere vinte it he makes a frand, gining theme figue with his hand that he would parley. miles wandring at his great boldnesse, fends an Horse man vnto him, to whom he fayd, that he was come to speake with the Commaunder of the Army. And as Amilear flood fill in doubt, and could not be leeve him the Namidian leaves his Horfe, his Lance, and his Com-Pany and goes directly vnto him without any feare for amizement. A The whole Army wondred, and were amazed at this Namidians great confidence. Finally, being called to parley, he told him that he had alwayes borne a great affection to the Caribaginians, and that he had long defired the Friendship of Ander Moreover that he was come to doe him feruse, and to put himselfe and his estate faithfully into his hands upon all occasions. Amiliar hearing this Speech, was so ieyfull, aswell for the boldeesse of this young Man, who had presented finalclic foconfidently vato him as for the plainenesse of his Speech. thache not onely made him Companion of his fortunes, but protefted and vowed vnio him to give him his Daughter, in keeping his faith to B Carthaginians After this discourse Narane retired to his men. and within three dayes after teturned to Amilear with two thouland inen which he had vader his charge. to grow

The Carthaginians being fortified with this troope, Amilear durft fight with the Enemy. Spendins likewife Supplied with Numidians and Affricans a drawes his Army into the Plaine, and without any long fray comes to the Combate, which was cruell. Finally, the Carthamians relying in the multitude of their Elephants, and likewite No Paue performing his duty well, they had the Victory : Autarice and ginians against Spendius having no more hope, fled. There were ten thousand men C

flaine, and about foure thousand taken.

After this battell Amiliar freed those that would follow the Warre veder him, and armed them with the Enemies spoyles, telling them that refused, that they should no more carry Armes against the Cartha. inian; and for all that which they had formerly done they were par-Morcouer, that it was lawfull for them to retire into their onnirgy, if they thought it good : but if they were found heareafter attempting any enterprize, their punishment was certaine. At the fame time the mercenary ftrangers which kept Sardinia, affailed all the Carthaginians that were there, after the example of Spendius and Ma- D the ; and having thut vp Captaine Bestare with his Company into a Port, they put him to death. Hanno was afterwards fent with a new Army, against whom the Strangers conspired with the old Souldiers, and after they had committed great crueldes, they hang'd him. Then feating to be punished for so great a villany, they slew and strangled all the Garthaginians which inhabited Sardinia, and tooke all the Townes and Forts, enjoying the Hand untill that a fedition rifing betwirt them and the Sardinians, they chased them away, and forced ,gouth ha

of the Cartha-

mercenary Souldiers in Sardinsa. Bollare flaine.

A mutiny of

them to five into Italy. By this meanes flie Carthagralans lost Sarai. mis, a very great Illand, well peopled, and abounding with all com. The embass anodicies: It will not be needfull to relate those things which are apple dais.

Zang se 🤊

ويد طاوم الد

Matho, Spendius, and Autarice Chiefe of the Gaules, fearing that this clemency of Amilear in freeing the Prisoners with pardon, would game the Lybians, and other Souldiers, they laboured to commit forme willenous act, to eftrange the hearts of their men wholly from the Carshaginians. And therefore they affambled them together, where foone afier a Post comos with Letters, as il hechad beene siddainly arrived from Sardinia; the tenor whereof was, that they fliculd keepe Gefen and the other Prisoners catefully and that there were some in the Campe, who to purchase grace and favor with the Carthaginians, would fer them at liberty. Spendius having found this occasion, fift aduited his Companions that they should not regard the delivery of the Priso. ners, vader the colour of Amilears counterfeite clemency : For hee had not freed them for any defire hee had to fane them, but to the end that by this meanes hee might have them all, and afterwards punish them in generall. Moreover he gave them charge to keepe Gefcon with his C ompany carefully, that they might not escape through negligence: but if they did otherwise, the Enemies would make no great accompt of them, and withall they should have great inconveniences in their

rent by that which others have written? 3101 in the

But who will doubt that so excellent a Captaine, and of so great experience in the Warre, will not suddainly become their mortall Ene. my, when he shall bee escaped by their negligence ? Whilest hee was Letters from thus speaking a behold another M. slenger comes from Tunes, bringing Tun s, to the them Letters of the fame Tenour, the which being Read voto the Al. fembly, Autarice Commaunder of the Gaules flood up, faying, that he saw no meanes for their safety, but by taking away all the hope they C haue in the Carthaginians. For as long as any one bath respect vnto their clemency, he can never be a loyall Companion in the War. And therefore we must beleeve, heare, and content vito the opinion of those. which shall give advice to do the worst we can vato the Carthaginians. and to hold fuch as shall fay the contrary for enemies and Traytors. When he had made an end of this Speech, hee aduited them to put Gescon and his company to some cruell death, with all the Carthagini. ans which had bin fince taken.

This Autarice had great credite in their Assemblies, for that they all vaderstood him, speaking the Punique Language, which at that D time was common among the whole Army, by reason of the long War, wherein he had ferued under the Carthaginians; and therefore his Aduice was easily allowed by the Army, in regard of the fauour he had among the Souldiers. And although many of every Nation. walking and conferring together, did not thinke it fit to vie such cruelty, especially agaynst Gescon, who had done them so much good, yet they heard nothing of that which they spake, for that they taked among themselves in their Languages. But when as they saw that they did not like of patting the Carthaginians to Death, a seditious Man

Agreat inhu. MINDER.

who was by chance among them, cryed our with a loud voice. Charges At which word they were presently beaten downe with stones by the Multitude, fo as their Kinlmen carried them away fooneafter, difmembred as if brute Beafts had torne them in pegces, the dishvis a second

This done, they take Gefcon, and the other Prisoners which were to the number of feuen hundred, and led them without the Rampiers, Company put and there beginning with the head, whom a little before they had chofen among all the Carthaginians, as the Man which had intreated them best, they cut off all their hands, and Dismembred them, and in breaking their Legs, they cast them thus living into a Ditch. The A Carthaginians aductifed of to great a cruelty done vntotheir Citizens, 2 knew not what to do, but that which was in them . to be wonderfully incensed, and to lament for the great ignominy of their Citty, and the milety of their Citizens. Finally, they lent to Amilear and Hanne, which were the other Commaunders of the Army, increating them that so great a cruelty done vote their Citizens, should not remayne vapunilhed.

A cruell refolunion.

Moreover they fent an Embaffie to these enemies, to require the bodies to be interr'd. Who not only refuled them, but also forbad them not to fend hereafter any Treaters of Peace vnto them, nor Embuffies, and if they did it they must expect to indure the like paynes that Gescon had fuffied : and moreover they had concluded, that as many Carthaginians as fell into their hands, should be cruelly flayne: And as for their Allies they should lose their hands; the which afterward they did carefully observe. Wherefore he that will duly consider these things, may boldly say, that the Bodies of Men, and some of their Vicers, do not onely increase sometimes, but also their hearts much more. Beleeue that euen as Vicers are inflamed by Medicines, and are impaired if they be applyed; and it they make no reckoning of them, they dilate and extend themselves of their nature, and never cease vntill the Body be wholy corrupted and rotten, fo it many times fals out of the Vices and corruptions of mans minde, fo as there is no Beaft fo cruell or fauage as Man: To whom if thou doeft any grace or remission of punishment, or some other good, he growes worse, esteeming all this but Deceite, and wilbe more distrustfull of his Benefactors: And if on the other fide thou feekest to resist him, there is nothing so vnreasons. ble, so cruell, nor so wicked, but he will easily undertake it, glorifying himselse in his presumption, vntill his proud Spirit hath past the bounds of Reason. Of which things the beginning and the greatest part, proccedes from the lewd life, and bad breeding of Youth. There are other things which adde much voto it, and namely the Couetoulnes and D cruelty of the Captaynes. All which Vices were found at that time in this Army, and especially in the Commaunders.

In the meane time Amilear bearing the enemies outrages impatiently, caused Hanno, another Captayne Generall for the Carthaginians to come vntohim, imagining that when the whole Army were together, the Warre would be the more easily ended. Finally, he caufed the enemies which were then taken, or afterwards, to bee cruelly

faine, or denaured by Beafts, hoping that the Warre would then have an end ; if he might put them all to Death. As the Carbhavintans feemed at that time to be in better hope. Fortune fuddainly changed, fo as their Affaires beganne to impaire and grow worse i For as foone as these two Captaines were loyned togethery they fell into such Diffention he diffention, as they not onely left purfuing the enemy, but gaue them and Hamme.

great occasions of their owne defeate.

For which causes the Carthaginians being mooued, they fent word that one of them should returne to the Citty, and that hee which the Souldiers loved beft, should remayne in the Campe. They had also a. nother inconvenience : For their greatshippes wherewith they brought Corne and othernecessaries to the Campe, were in a manner all broken in a storme. Moreover Sardining from whence they were wont to draw great succours for the affaires of Warren was lost for them, as we have layd. Androthe end their miferies should be full, the Townes of The Townes Hippona and Bifarthe, which alone among all the people of Affrick had Bifartherenois kept their Faith inviolable to the Carthaginians, not only in this War, from the care buttin that of Agathoctes, and in the time of the Romanes; revolved then not onely ignominiously from the Affricanes, but also shewed n them suddainly a wonderfull Affection and Loue: And to the Carrbagimians an implacable hatred, casting into the Ditches all the Carthueimians with their Captaines, which were there for their Guard, to the number of five hundred, after they had cruelly flayne them: And they deliuered the Towne, and would not render the Bodies to the Citizens of Carthage to interre them.

By this meanes Spendim and Mathogrew mogpinsolent, and laved siege before Carthage. Amilear at that time had Hannibal for a companien in his charge, whom the Carthaginians tent him, when as the Souldiers left Hanne, to whom during the diffention of the Captaines, C the people of Carthage left a power to rerayne whom they pleased. A. milear accompanied by Hannibal and Naraue, ouer-ran the whole Prouince .. cutting off the Victuals from the enemy , wherein the Numidia an Naraut did him great service. This was the estate of their Campes. The Carthaginians being thus opprest by their enemies, were forced to craue fuccours from their Allies, to whom at that time Hieronof Sara- of Hieron, gosse fent them great affistance, supplying them with whatsoever they demaunded. For he was of opinion that the preservation of the Care thazinians was necessary for him, as well for the safety of his estate, as to entertayne the friendship of the Romanes ; to the end that after the D ruine of Carthage, they might eafily do what senerthey pleased without contradiction.

This was wifely confidered of him: For in truth no Man must feetine carelesse of such things, neyther must they suffer any one to grow to fo great a power, as he shall have cause over after to feare a manifelte iniustice. The Romans also bound by the Arricles of the peace, did what they could possibly to relieue them. It is true, that in the beginning, there was some diffention for the causes which follow. When the Carthaginians were first belieged, they tooke about five hundred

sbagizians.

56

Men, who layling from Italy for gayne, were taken and put in prilon. The people of Rome tooke this in ill part. But when as foone after they had fent an Embassie for this cause, the Carthaginians freed them, and intreated them curreously. This was so pleasing vnto the Romanes, as presently they delivered all the Prisoners, which they had yet remayof the Romanes nine fince the Warres of Sielly, without Ransome, succouring them still whenforcer they required it, and suffered their Merchants to carry them Corne, forbidding them to furnish the enemies Campe with any Victuals. Moreover at such times as the old Sculdiers of Sardinia reuolted agaynst the Carthaginians, they would not give Audience to A their Embassadours, who were sent to deliver them the Island. A while after they would not receive the Bifarthins, who would in like manner have given themselves vnto them: For that they would not in any fort infringe the Articles of the Peace: The Carthaginians thus relieved by the succours of their Allies, indured the fiege more easily.

Mathe and Spendim were no leffe befreged than they did befrege: For Amilear had reduced them to such great want of all things, as they were in the end forced to raile the fiege. Some after they made choyle of the ablest Men of all their bands, to the number of fifty Thousand, and went presently to seeke out Amilear. Moreover they kept not the plaines, fearing the Elephants and the Horse men, whereof Narane had the Charge, but striving still to gaine the high and inaccessible places: during the which, although they were as strong and hardy as the Car. thaginians, yet they were often beaten, for that they vaderstood not the practife of Warre. Then they might eatily judge what difference there is betwixt the good conduct of a Captaine, and the ouer-weaning of a Multitude. He separated some and inclosed others by his industry, being forced by their private necoffity. Healfo defeated many by Ambulles in full fight. Sometimes he terrified the enemies, falling vopon them by furprize. All fuch as were taken aliue, were cast vnto the

Finally, he lodged about his enemies to their great disaduantage, and to the benefit of the Carthaginians, drawing them into such necessity, as they neither durst come to fight for feare of the Elephants and Horsemen, neyther could they fafely flye, for that they were enuironed with accessive which Ditches and Pallifadoes. Finally, hunger did so presse them as they presit the stran- did eate one another. Behold the revenge which the gods tooke of them for the cruelties they had committed against their Friends. They came not to fight, both for that the Carthaginians were affured of the Victory, and their punishment was certayne. They made no mention of any treaty of peace, for that they knew well there was no hope of D Mercy, having committed such great cruelties. Finally they indured all miseries, expecting daily succours from Tunes. But when they had Famine makes cruelly eaten up their Priloners, and their Servants, (a kind of living which they had long yied) and that no fuccours came from Tunes, they knew not what to resolve, for the extremity of the Famine, and the feare of punishment. Finally, Autarice, Zarne, and Spendim resolued to parley with Amilear. By this meanes they demaunded leane to

fend Embaffadours: The which being granted, the Embaffie comes with whom Amiliar agrees, that it should be lawfull for the Cartha. ginians, to chuse ten such as they pleased out of their whole Army and that the rest might retire in their shirts without any harme. The which when they had concluded, Amilear told them, that according to the agreement he made choise of those that were in his presence. By this meanes Spendius, Autarice, and the other heads of the Army were delivered vnto him:

When the Lybians had newes of the taking of their Captaines, thin-A king that the Carthaginians had broken their Faith, for that they knew nor the Articles of the peace, they tooke Armes, fortifying themselves in a Quarter of the Campe: To whom Amilear gaue battell with the Elephants and his whole Army, and flew them all, whereof the number was aboue forty thousand men. This was neere vnto a place which Forty thouthey call Serve, for that it doth resemble an instrument, which at this by Amiliar. day is called Sie. This done, the Carthaginians who before seemed to have lost all hope, began to affure themselves, and to recover their courage and Spirits. In the meane time Amilear with Hannibal and Naraue ouer-ran the Country, and the Townes of the Province, where B having reduced the greatest part of Affricke with the Townes, they go and lay siege to Tunes, and besiege Matho with all his Company. Hannibal lay on that fide which lookes to Carthage, and Amilcar was opposite vnto him : Thither they brought Spending and his Compani. ons, who were hang'd on a Croffe.

Matho feeing that Hannibal made his retreat but badly, and without order, did not thinke it fit to lose this occasion. Wherefore he pre- Adefeat of the fently gaue a charge, and flew part, the rest slying away. Finally hee carthaginians spoyl'd the Campe and all the Baggage. Hannibal himselfe was taken, by Matho. whom presently they crucified in the place of Spendius, after they had Hannibalcruci-C done him a thousand indignities. Moreover they flew thirty Gentle fied. men of Carthage, about the body of spendius most cruelly, by a power giuen them by Fortune for a mutuall reuenge. Amilear was not foone enough advertised of the enemies fally, by reason of the distance of the two Campes, neyther was it in his owne power to relieue them, in regard of the difficulty of the places. Wherefore leaving Tunes, and leading his Army to the River of Machera, he lodged vpon the bankes

at the month of it.

The Carthaginians having newes of this defeate, began againe to haue a bad conceite of their Warre : But they presently resumed cou-D rage, vsing all possible diligence for the preservation of the Citty. They fent an Embaffie to Amilear of thirty Senators, with a leuy of young men vnder the Commaund of that Hanne, who formerly had beene the Generall. They give these Senators charge, to deale so with the two Captainess, as their private hatred might be smothered and supprest, and that they should force them to manage this Warre by their common Counfell, in laying before them the miscries of the time and the presentnecessity. After that the Senators had drawne these two Captaines together, and vsed divers speeches vnto them, in the

bythe Carthagi ginians,

Reconciliation end they perfeade them to pardon one another and to obey the Carof Amiliar and thaginians. By this meanes all the Affaires were governed by a common Councell, fo as when as Mathewas reduced to a fireight, after many incounters. Ambushes, and pursuits which they had lay d for him neere to the Towns of Leptis, and in other places, in the end they appointed a fet day of battell with the enemy to the which both Armics prepared with Resolution. So they called their Allies, and drew men from all parts, even unfurnishing their Townes of Garrisons, as if by this battell they should decide all their affaires. When as all things necessary for the fight were ready on eyther fide, they joyned upon the A day appointed. The battell was cruell, but in the end the Carthagi. nians had the Victory. The greatest part of the enemies were slaine in fighting: The rest which retired to the next Towne, veilded soone after to the Carthaginians. In regard of Mathe he was taken aliue. They only of Bisarthe and Hippona finding themselves guilty, and having no hope of pardon and Mercy, continued obstinate in their Rebellion. See how a reasonable contentment bath power in all things, and how much better it is, not to affect and seeke a thing, which afterwards is intollerable to another.

Finally after that Amilear and Hanno began to approach neere vnto R them, they had no more hope, but were forced to yeild upon fuch conditions as pleafed the Carthaginians. Thus ended the Warre of Affrick. but so happily for the Carthaginians, as they not only recoursed offricke, but punished all the Heads of the Rebellion according to their merites. Thus Matho and all the other Prisoners, were led in Try-Matho punish- umph through the Citty by the Youth of Carthage, and in the end punished for their Villanies. This Warre continued neere three yeares and foure moneths, the most cruell and inhumane that euer was heard

The Remanes at that time folicited by the Souldiers which were re-Note the iniu- tired out of Sardinia vnto them, prepared to vndertake the Voyage. flice of the Ro. And when as the Carthaginians were discontented, saying that the Island belonged vnto them, and prepared an Army to send thither, the Romanes laying hold of this occasion, fignified Warre vnto them, complaying that this preparation of an Army was not so much for Sardinia as against them. But the Carthaginians yellding to the time, vnderstanding well their owne weaknesse, to renew a Warre against the Romanes, indeauoured to avoide all occasions, so as they left the Island vnto them. And moreover they paied vnto the Romanes seaven hundred thousand Crownes to redeeme the Warre. Thus matters past D at that time.

THE



SECOND BOOKE of the History of POLYBIVS.



E have related in the Finst Booke, at what time the Romanes began to inuade Forraine Nations. after they had pacified Italy : And how they past into Sicily, and the causes why they made Warre against the Carthaginians : At what time allo they began first to put an Army to Seas and Summarily all the Affaires which happed to the end of this Warre, to the one or the other. In the which finally the Carthaginians abandoned

Sicily, whereof the Romanes were absolute Lords, except those places which Hieren King of Saragosse held. Wee have subsequently fee downe, how after the Mutiny raised betwixt the Carthaginians and their Souldiers, the Warre was kindled, which they call Affricaine: And what extremity and incredible cruelty was vied, and what the end was. Now we will indeauour to write in few Words the accidents B which hapned fince, touching every thing as we have propounded in the beginning.

After that the Carthaginians had reduced Affricke to their obedience, they fent amilear presently into Spaine with an Army, who (parting with all his Troupes, and having his Sonne Hannibal with him, about nine yeares of age) past beyond the pillars of Hercules, and recoucred a great part of Spaine. Where staying about nine yeares, conquering many Townes by force, and others by composition, to haue their lives and goods fafe, hee dyed a Death worthy of his The death of

60

actions. For when he had made Warte against couragious and powerfull people, he dved after hee had exposed himselfe to all dangers, with great affurance, and the admiration of all the World. After this Afdrubal made the Carthaginians made Afdrubal kiniman to Amilear, (who had commaunded the Triremes) Generall of their Army: At which time the Romanes passed to Sclauonie, and to that part of Europe with an Army. They which defire to vnderstand truely our Discourse, with the beginning and increase of the Romane power, must diligently observe it. This Voyage by Sea, was undertaken for the causes which here

Agron King of Sclauonia.

Demetrius Father to Philip.

Agron King of Sclauonia, was the Sonne of Plurate. This King drew to field more foote and Horse, than any that had reigned before him in sclauonia. It is true, that he was corrupted with money at the perswasion of Demetrine Father to Philip, so as he succour'd the Midioniens, whom the Etoliens held besieged. You must underfland, that when the Etoliens faw that they could not draw the Midioniens to liue according to their Lawes, they began to make Warre against them. laying siege to divers places, and doing what they possibly could to take the Citty. And as in the meane time the day of the affembly was come, wherein they were to chuse another Captaine of B the Army, and that the befreged were growne so weake, as they seemed to have no other thoughts but of yeilding; he which at that time was Generall, came vnto the Etoliens, and let them understand that it was reasonable, that he who had induced so great paines, and exposed himselfe to so many dangers during the Warre, should have the boory and spoile of the enemies if they were vanquished. There were many, even of those which had any colour to attaine vnto that charge. who discontented with this kind of demaund, intreated the multitude not to determine any thing, but to leave the booty to him to whom Fortune should give it. Finally the Etoliens decreed that whosoever should winne the Towne, he should share a moiety of all the Booty, Riches, and Armes, with him who formerly had beene the Commaunder.

Succours from Scianonia to

BANK CARA

While matters flood on these termes, and that within three dayes after the Affembly wasto meete (where according to the Custome of the Etoliens, the last Commaunder was to be Deposed, and a new chosen) there arrived in the night about a hundred thips neere to Midionia, with ten thousand men of Sclauonia: Who after they had recovered the Port, and the day began to breake, they landed in halte and by stealth, and then they marched in battell after their manner a- n gainst the Etoliens Army. And although the Etoliens being advertised of their comming, were at the first amazed at this newes, and the boldnesse of the Sclauonians. Yet having great spirits and courage, relying also in their Forces, they drew out before their Campe, the greatest part of their Horse and Armed men, and placed vpen some passages, which were not farre from the Camp, some Horses and such as were lightly Armed. The which were charged and broken by the Sclauonians, as well by reason of the multitude of their

Souldiers, as for that the middest of their battell was strongly fortified. In regard of the Horse men, they were forced to five shamefully vato their Campe': From thence thorough the advantage of the place, they marcht speedily against those which kept the Plaine, whom they A defeate of the Elolien by charged and put prefently to flight. The Midionians fally forth, and the Selanorians pursue them; so as there was a great flughter of the ktoliens, and many Prisoners, with the spoile of all their baggage, houing found no refistance. When as the Sclauonians had performed their Kings Commaund, and shipt all their baggage and booty, they fet sayle and A retire to their houses.

The Midionians also being thus preserved contrary to their hope, they affembled, and held a Councell among themselves, as well for other affaires, as for the division of the booty taken from the Enemy, and of their Armes, to deuide them in common, by an example taken of him who had beene Chiefe of the Etoliens, and of those which according to the decree of the Btoliens, should succeed him : as if Fortune had done it willingly, to make the world know her force by the misfortune of the others. Intruth, these in a short time made their Enemies to feele the miseries which they themselves expected suddainly. The B Etoliens after this milery ferued for an example to the world, not to hold future things as already done, nor to put their hope in things which may fucceed otherwise: And that wee must alwayes reserve some part in things which may happen contrary to our hope, as well as in all other actions, (seeing we are men) as in the affaires of Warre.

When as the victorious ships were arrived, King Agron transported with incredible toy for the exploits of his men, having vanquithed the Etoliens, relying much voon their forces; he gaue himselte to to banqueting in the night, and to a foolish delight of drinking and watch- the death of ing, as hee fell into a Pleurifie, the which grew to violent, as hee King de en. died within few dayes after. After whose death his Wife Teuca Queene Teuca. reigned, governing the Realme by the counfell and advice of her Friends. But afterwards shee followed her womanish affections, hauing no care but of this prosperity, nor any regard to forreigne affilies: suffering all those that would goe to Sea, to spoile all passengers. Shee allo railed a great Army at Sea, letting the Captaines understand. that the Countrey which was right against hers, was Enemy vnto her : Who at the first affailed the Elienses and Messeniens, whom the Sclauonians spoiled often. But for that there is a large Sea, and that the Townes of those Regions were all voon the firme Lind; they , could not easily prevent the Sclausnians courses : and therefore they did spoile and ruine the Countrey without any obstacle, And as at the same time they sayled to Epirus to fetch victuals, they came to phenicetaken Phenice, where there were about eight hundred Gaules, entertained by the Sclaud, by the Epirotes to guard the Towne. Heere they landed and miant. parled with them to deliuer it, whereunto they yeelded fo as they tooke it, and all that was within it by the helpe of the Gaules.

When the Epirotes had the newes, they came presently to succour them with all their people, and lodged vpon the banks of a neere Rinet. Then

Scerdilaide .

Then they tooke away the planks of the Bridge, to be free from the danger of those which kept the Towne. In the meane time they were adnertifed, that scerdilaide came by Land with fine thousand men, by the Streights of Antigonia. Wherefore they deuided their Army in two, whereof the one went to guard the passages of Antigonia, and the other remained in the Campe idlely and negligently, confuming what was in that Countrey without feare, and dildayning to keepeany watch or guard. The Sclauonians within the Town advertised of the separation of the Army, and of the negligence of the Enemy, goe forth at mid-night, and lay planks upon the Bridge : So croffing the River, A they gaine a place strong by Nature, where they passe the remainder of the Night without any noise. At the break of day either side were in batof the Sclauenia tell, and the fight began. The Sclauenians got the Victory : fo as few ans against the Epirotes escaped, the rest being taken or saine.

Epirotes.

The Epirotes seeing themselves involved with so many miseries, and out of all hope, they fent an Embassic to the Etoliens and Acheins, crauing Succours from them; who having compassion of their afflictions, & defiring to relieve them, marcht to Helicrane: whither the Sclavonians (who as we have fave had taken the Towne of Phenice, being joyned to Scerdilaide) came and lodged necre vnto them, defiring battell. B But the difficulty of the places kept them afunder: together with their Queenes letters, who commrunded them to make no longer stay, but to returne, for that some Townes of Sclauonia had revolted to the Dardaniens. Wherefore after they had spoiled the whole Prouince, they made a truce with the Epirotes: by the which they yeelded the Citizens and the City, but carried away all the slaves and pillage in their ships. Thus one part retired by Sea, and the other by Land by the streights of Antigonia, leaving a wonderfull feare in the Sea-townes of Greece. Without doubt when they confidered, that so strong and powerfull a Towne of the Exerctes had beene spoil'd, contrary to all ex. pectance, they were not onely in feare (as formerly) for the Countrey, but also for themselves and their Townes.

After that the Epirotes had ended their Affaires farre better than

Fortune, we doe not onely pitty them, but relieve them to our power: whereas we blame, condemne, and hate those whom we know to

they expected, they were so farre from taking revenge of the wrongs which they had received, or to thanke those which had affished them, as they presently sent an Embassie to Queene Tenca, and made a league with the Arcanians and Sclauenians. Wherefore folen of the Epilowing after that time the party of the Illiviens, they became Enemies to the Acheins and Etoliens. Wherein they were not only ingrate and vnthankefull to their Benefactors, but also they hadbeene very ill counselled from the beginning of their affaires. And where as many (like men) fal fomtimes by the hazard of Fortune into great advertities and mileries, it happens not for much by their owne fault, as by that of Fortune, or by fuch as are the procurers: But when as men feeke their misfortune by their owne indifcretion, their fault is enident. And there. fore when we see some great disaster and adversity befall some men by

have beene the cause of their owne misfortunes by indifferetion and malice. The which the Grecians might at that time do with reason varo

But, what man is to confident, which having no feare of the common fame of the Gaules inconftancy; would have dared to commit fo noble a Citty vato their charge, who had fo many reasons to doubt of their Some Galler faith, being banishe out of their Country, for that they had fallified Country ion their faith with their owne Nation : and who afterwards being re- their alloyal. tired by the Carthaginians, at fuch time as they had Warre with the ty.

A Romans, and hearing a bruite of the relibite of mercenary Souldiers tor pay which they had pretended was die vino them, begin first to spoile Agragas, whereof they had the Guard, being about a thousand men. Afterwards they were put in Garrison into Erex by the Carthaginians : the which they would have befrayed whilest the Romans belieged in The which notable to effect, they retired to the Romans who received them: After which they speyled the Temple of Vinue

When as the Romans law the treachery and fallehood of thele Barbarians, having concluded a peace with the Carthaginians, they difarmed them, and fhipped them away chafing them out of all teats. These are the men whom the Epirotes made the Guardians of their Lawes and Common wealth, to whom they intrusted to faire and rich a City : Who will not then blame them . Who will not lay but they have beene the cause of their owne miseries? Without doubt it is a great folly and indifferetion to entertaine forces, especially of barbarous men ; and to put them into a Towne where they may bee the stronger , or more in number than the Cittizens. But wee haus spoken sufficiently of the Epirotes folly."

The Sclaueniuns before, and many times spoiled fuch as faild from C Italy and Phenicia, feeing that of late dayes they inhabited there. who separating the miclues formetimes from the army at Sea , spoiled many Italian Merchants, or flew them. They had also carried away a good number of Prisoners. When this had, beene often com-Plaines of to the Senate, they made no accompt thereof . Yet in the end they fent into Scianonia, Caine and Lucius Coroncanus in Emhaffie, when as the complaints of many came vato them concerning the outrages of the Illivians.

VVhen the ships were returned from Phenicia in safety, Tened The Illirians (wondring at the beauty and greatnesse of the spoile) had a great are Sciaueni. and longing defire to make Watre against the Grecians; for in truth, ans. it was the richest Towne of all Epirus . But for that her Countrey was then in Combustion, thee could not attempt it. Morcouer, after thee had pacified Scianonia, and at such time as thee held 184 The Romans besieged, which had alwayes continued sime, the Romans Embas. Embasie to fie arrived , who having a day of audience appointed them by the Tenca Queene

Queene, they made knowne vato her the outrages her men had done them. The Queene gaue care vato them with great pride and arrogancy.

After

-lago

20714 165.

After they had delinered their chargeshe made answere, that she would take order, that her Subjects thould not make open War against them: but it was not the custome of Kings to prohibite their private subjects to make what profit they could at Sea. At which words the yonget of the Emballadours made a bold and couragious safwere, but in bad leafon. A bold answer And therefore lay dhe, Madame it is the custome of the Romans to take of an limballa- a publicke revenge for private wrongs, and to relieve the affilled - So as if it please God, wee well take such order, that hereafter you shall not be much troubled to reforme this kinde of royall customes ... The Queene an ouer-weening woman, grew into luch a reger as neglecting the right of A Nations, thee fent men at the returne of the Embassadours, to kill the youngest who had vied this Speech.

The Romans being advertifed of this great affront, prepared prefently to Warre, lenied men, and made a good number of Veffels : Finally, they prepared all things necessary to take reuenge of lo great a etime. In the meane time the Queene lent in the Springa greater numher of thips into Greice than formerly : whereof one part faild to Cor. fue, and the other bent their course to the Port of Burage. Where misking a thew to refresh themselves with water and victuals, they refoffied to take the Towne, They of Durage being confident, and fea. B Durang furgition ring nothing, fuffered them to enter without Armes, voder colour of Water and victuals; although their true intent was to take the Towne by Treafon. But when they faw themselves within the Towne, they tooks their Armes which they had hidden in their velicls for water, and killing the Guards at the Gare, made themselves Maisters thereof. Those in the ships being ready, entred in like manner, and seized vport a great part of the Walles : And although that they of the Towne were milich amazed at this great and fuddaine accident, yet they made a long relistance, defending themselves valiantly; to as the Scienonians were forceil to retire. By this meanes it happened, that the Darazins who were in danger to lose themselves, and their Citty by their negligence, affer they had eleaped the perill by their vertue, did afterwards fettle a better order in their affaires.

Carfue belieged by the Schauonianse

The Sclauonian Captaines weighed Anchor prefently and put to Sea. iovning with those, who, as wee have layd, went to Confue, and made hafte loyntly to beliege the Towner They of Corfue being thus fuddainly surprized, and not finding themselves strong enough, sent to craue aide from the Acheins and Etoliens , the like they did to them of Appelonia and Durazo: intreating them not to fuffer them to bee thus shamefully chafed away from their naturall Countrey by the Barbari- D ans; who having pirty of their fortune, armed ten ships of Warre of the Acheins, and within few dayes after fayled to Corfne, hoping to raise the Barbarians siege at their comming . But the Illirians has uing recovered seven Vessels armed from the Acarnanians, with whom they had made a league, marched against the Acheens, whom they encountred necre vnto the Islands which they call Paxes, and there they fought. The Acarnanians and the Acheins thips tought equally, and continued long firme, onely their men were wounded.

But the Illirians interlaced themselues with their Enemies, who were tied four together, and enuironing them, they hindred them much: Then the Enemies Vessels were much troubled, being peirced and grapled withall, their Spurs being fastned to the Sclanonians Veslels : who entred them with fury, and vanquished them ea fily by reason of their multitude. By this meanes foure Quadriremes of the acheins were taken by the Illirians, and one Quinquereme funke, and all that was in A Victory of it : In the which was Marcus Caryneus, a man of great esteeme a- against the mong the Acheins, who had alwayes performed his duty well for the Acheins.

Countrey. But when as they which fought against the Acarnanians, faw that the Illivians had the Victory, they fled, relying much in the lightnesse of their Vessels : And faued themselves from the Battell, retiring to their houles. The Sclanonians growing proud of this Victory, befieged the Towne more boldly than they had done. They of Corfue having no more hope, after they had maintained the fiege for a feafon, corfu yeelded. in the end yeelded it to the Illirians, receiving their Garrison, and Demetrius of Pharos their Captaine. After which the Illirian Capraines returned to Duraze, and besi ged it.

In the meane time the Roman Confuls, Caius Fuluius with an Ar. R my at Sea of two hundred ships, and nehus Posthumus with the Army at Land, parted from Rome : So as Fulu us came to Corfue, thinking that the fiege had continued still. But when hee faw that hee came too late, for that the Illirians were withinit, hee resolued to pisse on, as well to understand what had beene done, as to try what Opinion they had of Demetrius: And for that he had vnderflood that his Enemies had brought him in difgrace with the Queene, and that hee feared her fury , he had fent men to Rome, to promite them the Towne, corfuyee led and whatfoeuer he held. They at Corfu being joyfull at the Romans arrivall, delinered vinto them (by the confent of Demetrius) the Towns and the Illirian Garrison. Finally, they put themselves voder C their protection, hoping that by this meanes they should bee no more subject to the outrages of the Illirians. When the Romans had received

them into league, they fayled to Apolonia, whither Demetrius guided them. As the same time Ancus Post bumus caused his Land-army to imbarke at Brunduzium, being about twenty thousand Foote, and two thousand Horse, all which met at Apolonia; the which being Apolonia yeelyeelded, they fayled to Durago, for that they had newes the II ded to the Ro. lirians had belieged it : who being advertised of the Romans comming.

they raised the siege for feare, and fled here and there.

When the Romans had received them of Durago into friendship, they sayled on into Sclauonia, taking many Townes in their way, and thur vp the Sardiens. In the meane time there came an Ein. Parthenia yeelbailie from Parthenia to the Romans, giuing themsclues and their Citty vinto them. Who being received with the antitanes, they tooke their way to 1se, having understood that the Illerians held it be sieged ! where they entred after they had raifed the flege : After which they tooke many Townes in Sclauonia by force, wherein they loft not onely many Souldiers, but also some of their Tribunes, with the Questor neere

vato Nutria. They tooke twenty of the Illirian shippes, which serued them to victuall their Campe. In regard of those which were within Ise, they were all deteated, and fled to Narente, except those which were of Pharos, which were given to Demetrius. Queene Tenca with a small company retired to RhyZon, a strong Towne, and farre distant from the Sea, seated vpon the Bankes of the River of

When the Consuls had put many Townes and great Seignuries into the hands of Demetrius, they returned to Durage, with their Armies both at Sea and Land. From thence Caius Fulnius returned to A Rome with the greatest part of both Armies. But Postbumus stayed at Durago, whereas he riggd forty Vessels, and after hee had leuied men in the neighbour Countries, he fetled his Garrisons, having in his company the Ardienses, and all the rest that were allied to the Romans. When the Spring came, Tenca fent an Embassic to the Romans to treate a peace, the which in the end shee obtained upon these conditions. That shee should pay them a yeerely tribute, and that shee should leave all Sclauonia, except some petty places: And as for that which concernes the Grecians, thee might not fayle beyond Iffe, but onely with two ships without any furniture of Warre. During these B actions Pollhumus lent an Emboffie to the Cheins and Evoliens, to aduertife them of the cause of the Warre, and of the Romans voyage by Sea: And to let them understand what they had done, and to reade the conditious of the peace. Who after they had obeyed the Confuls commaund, and had beene well received by these two people, they returned againe to Corfue; the Cittis of Greece being then freed from feare by this accord made with the Illivians. For in those times the Illivians did not assault any one in particular, but all the world in generall. These are the causes for the which the Romans past first with an Army into Sclauonia, and into that Countrey of Europe. Since they fent an Embaf- C fie to Corinth, and to the Atheniens, at fuch time as the Corinthians de. fired to make the Romans partakers of the Warre, which they made against them of the Istmus.

At that time Asdrubal (for here wee formerly left our discourse of the affaires of Spaine) had by his great vertues much increased the Carthaginians Empire in Spaine, and built a Towne which some called Carthagena, others Villanena, most commodious by reason of its scituation, as well for the affaires of Spaine as of Affricke. Of whose scituation, and of the benefit it may bring to the two Provinces, we will speake in another place when it shalbe fitting. The Romans seeing the D Carthaginians forces growne thus powerfull in Spaine, did not hold it fit to let things passe in this manner : But acknowledging their negligence for that formerly like menafleepe, they had by their owne weakneffe suffered the Carthaginians name to grow great there, they resolued to repaire this errour: Yet they durft not begin a Warre, fearing a descent of the Gaules, whose fury they apprehended much. And therefore they resolved to treate first with Afdrabat touching Spaine. and then to affuile the Gaules: And whatfocuer should happen to

By this mean's the Circuite of the whole Plaine containeth tenne thousand Furlongs in compesse. It is not in my power to

Vodergoethe danger, in holding it for certaine, that it was not polfible for them, to be Lords of Isaly, nor to keepe their owne Countre and houses, villesse they had subdued the Gaules. Thus they lent an Embussie into Spaineto Afdrubal, who concluded a treaty of A treaty mide peace: By the which among other thinge it was agreed, that the Romage and Carthaginians should not passe the River of Ebro with an Army, and Carthaginiane that they might ouer runne the rest of Spaine. Presently after the conclusion of this treaty, they prepared for Warre in Italy against the Gaules : the which wee have thought good to relate summarily A to the end that as wee have proposed the preparation for the others Histories may be more manifest. Wee will looke backe vnto the time when as the Gaules seazed first upon Italy. For in my Opinion the History will not onely be pleasant, and worthy of memory, but most necessary to understand with what people afterwards, and in what Countries Hannibal trusting himselfe, durst affaile the Roman Empire. And first wee will speake of their Province, what scituation. and what proportion it hath to the rest of Italy. For by this meanes they may the better vndeistand the things which concerne the knowledge of the History, in declaring first the property of places and B Countries.

point of the Triangle: Where in front lies the Promontory, which

the people of the Countrey call Cocynthe, and hath its afpect to the

South, deuiding the Ionian Sea from the Sicilian. The third fide,

which tends to the Pole Artique, and to the firme land, is limited by

the continuation of the Alps, the which beginning at Marfeilles, and

the shore of the Adriatique Sea, scauing some little space betwirt both.

Within on this fide which wee meane to bee bounded by the Alps.

and is as it were the Basis or foundation of the Triangle, there are

in those Countries which are about the Sardinian Sea, continue vato

All listy is of a triangular forme. That fide which lookes towards A definition the Eift, is confined by the lonian Sea, and the Adriatique Guife: of traly.

and that which tends towards the South and West, is inclosed by the Seas of Italy and Sicily. These two sides in yned together make the

from the Southerne Countrey, tending towards the North, Plaines which make the end of Italy, and are the greatest and the most fertill

in all Europe : whole figure is likewife Triangular. The Appenin Hill, and the Alps loyning together make a point

of the Triangle, neere vnto the Sardinian Sea, and aboue Marfeilles. That fide which lookes to the North is made by the Alpes, whereof That fide which hathits aspect to the South, is bounded by the Appenia Hill, the which hath three thousand and three score Furlongs in length. The

vadergoe

L10. 2.

shore of the Adriatique Sea holds the fashion of the foundation of the whole figure, whereof the greatnesse (which begins at the Towne of Senegaille, vato the Gulfe of the same Sea) hath two thousand fine

hundred Furlongs in compeffe.

built in Spaine by the Ca.theginians.

An accord

made with

Teuca.

The fertillity of Ital . About three pence . . . :

68

describe the great fertillity of the Country, so much it abounds in all forts of Fruites, that many times a Bushell of Wheate, after the meafure of Sicily, hath beene fold in our times for two Soulz, and foure Dencers: That of Barley for foureteene Dencers, and a Vessell of wine for almuch. Moreouer it is not credible the aboundance of Mill and Panique, which they call Indian Oatmeale. There is also a great aboundance of Akornes, which come from the Forrests which are in divers parts of that Region: Confidering that the Italians breed an infinite number of Swine, to Sacrifice, and for their vie and necessary provision of an Army; the which the Fertillity of this Country doth A

It is easie to conceive that the aboundance of other particular things

fupply aboundantly.

full of Ice.

necessary for the vie of Man, is great: Considering that when as Guests come vnto their Innes, they never make a particular price for the things they take, as they do in other Countries, but onely what every Man is to pay for his share. When as the Guests had beene honestly intrea-A price hard to ted, and have had what soever was necessary for their resection, they neuer payd aboue halfe an Assaire, which is worth three-halfe-pence. they feldome exceed this price. Moreover it is very well peopled; the Men are active, goodly, and strong for the Warre, the which is more B easie to be knowne by their Actions, than by that which can be spoken. The Gaules whom they call Transalpins inhabite the Mountainous places on either fide the Alpes towards the Rhone and the North. And on the fide of the plaines dwell the Turinois, and the Agoniens, and many other Barbarous Nations, which are of the same Race with the Transalpins, and differ only in their Habitation: The other are called Transalpins because they dwell beyond the Mountaines. As for the top of the Mountaines, it is so farre from being inhabited, as they do not find so much as the tract of a man, both by reason of the difficulty and vneafinesse, as for that it is alwayes coursed with Snow, and

The Genouois.

The Turingis

and Agoniens.

But the Genouous dwell aboue Marseilles, where as the Appenin Hill begins to joyne with the Alpes. Moreover they hold all that Coast which lookes to the Champion Country, and to the Sea of Italy: So as along the Sea they hold all vato the Towne of Pifa, which is the first City of Italy, towards the West, and towards the firme Land to Aretzo. Next to the Geneneis come the Italians, and of eyther fide of the Appenine Hill lye the Vmbrians. Then the Appenin Hill being distant about three score and three miles from the Adriatique Sea, leaning the Plaine, bends to the right hand, and in croffing Italy, extends D it selfe to the Sea of Sicily. The Country which is betwirt it and the Adriatique Sca, extends unto Senegaille.

The Pos.

The River of Poe, which the Poets call Eridanus, and which beginnes at the Foote of the Mountaines, where as they make in a manner a point of the Triangle (as we have fayd) takes his course to the plaine towards the South, and from thence bending towards the East. it enters by two mouthes into the Adriatique Sea. It is the greatest of all the rivers of Italy. For all the waters which descend from the Alpes

and the Appenius, fall into the Pos. It is farre greater in Summer than in Winter, by reason of the abundance of Snow which meles. It is nauigable from a place which the people of the Countrey call Volane, Volane, two hundred and fifty miles towards the Alpes. Its spring is but a small Rivolet; but after it devides it selfe in two, and enters into the Adriatique Sea by two Armes, which they of the Countrey call Padoug and Volane. The last is the safest Port of all those of the Adriatique Sea.

They which dwell spon the Poe, have fometimes called it Bodencus. Bodencus. A Finally, the Grecians spake many things of this Per, as that Phaeton go. uerning the Horses of his Fathers Chariott, fell into it : and how that the Heliades powre forth teares continually, the which are preserved by a Tree: and that the people of the Countrey since that day began to weare blacke Robes in figure of mourning, and have alwayes vied it fince; with many other things, whereof I will now to leave to speake, for that in my Opinion they doe not conduce to the preparation of our Worke. Hereafter not with standing we will treate of them. when any necessary occasion shall be offred : being most certaine that Timeus did not vnderstand those things which did concerne this

R Region.

Lib. I.

The Tyrreins have formerly held all the Champion Countrey, which is confined by the Appenine hill, and the Adriatique Sea, at what time also they enjoyed the Countrey called Phlegrein, which is about Capona and Nola: at what time also they purchased a greate esteeme of vertue. Wherefore Hiltoriographers must not attribute the power of the Tyrreins to the Region which they now inhabite. The Gaules frequen ed much with them, by reason of their neighbour-hood : who moved with the beauty and fertility of the Countrey, upon a small occasion made Warre against them, and having chased them away, settled themselues there. The Countrey betwirt the Poe and the Alpes, is inhabited by the Layes, then by the Vercellains. Neere voto whom are the Milanois in great numbers, and voon the banks of Poelve the Cenomans. In regard of those places which are neere vnto the Adriatique Sea, they are inhabited by people, which are aunciently deicended from Paphlagonia, whom they call Veneziens, who differ no. The Veneziens thing from the Gaules in their manner of living and habite, but onely come trom in their tongues: Of whom the tragicall Poets write many strange foo. leries. Moreover, that which lies betwixt the Appenin Hill and the Poe, is at its entry inhabited by the Ananes, by the Boloniens, by the D Eganes, and then by the Senogallois: These are they who (borderers , to all the rest) have inhabited neere vnto the Adriatique Sea.

Behold the principall Nations of all the Gaules which dwelt in Ita. ly, living in Villages without any inclosure, having no furniture for The Gautes their houses, but lay vpon the bare. They lived of flesh, and made living. no profession but of Warre and Tillage, leading a simple life without Arts or Sciences. Their wealth was in Gold and Cattell, for that they were things easie to transport where they pleased, when necessity pressed them. They did all striue to purchase Friends, for they much

part of their Neighbours, being terrified with their fury.

Rome taken by

70

Soone after making Warre against the Romanes, they defeated them with their Allies, and put them shamefully to slight. Within three dayesafter they tooke Rome except the Capitoll, and afterwards returned to their houses, having concluded a Peace with them, and restored their Citty: For that they were forced to returne, by reason of the inualions which the Venetiens made into their Country. From thencefoorth they began to make Warre among & themselves: For they which A. dwelt at the Foote of the Mountaines, seeing the others to increase daily in power, made Warre often against them. In the meane time. the Romanes recouring their Forces, prevailed over the Latins.

esteemed a man that was honoured by many. In the beginning they

not onely held this Countrey, but they also drew vnto them a great

turne against the Ramans.

the Gaules.

Thirty yeares after the taking of Rome, the Gaules returned with a The Gaults re- great Army to Alba: But for that the Romanes were surprized, and had no leisure to Leuy an Army, nor to require succours from their Allies, they made no relistance against them. And when as they returned twelve yeares after, the Romanes being presently advertised of their comming, and drawing together the succours of their Allid. marcht with great courage to incounter them with an Army, defiring a nothing more than Battell, by the meanes whereof they should soone decide who should have the Empire. The Gaules amazed at their Refolution, and withall there falling a mutiny amongst them, they made their Retreate little leffe than a flight, and so continued thirteene yeares without making Warre.

But when they faw the Romans power increase daily, they beganne to treate of Peace, the which they obtayned, and continued thirty yeares without Warre. The Transalpins renewed the Warre against them. Wherefore fearing to be affailed on two fides, they intreated them, that for asmuch as they were of one Nation they would not be their enemies. Moreover they fent them rich presents, intreating them to turne the Warre against the Romans, and that they would affish them with all their meanes: Whereunto being eafily periwaded, they marcht all with one confent against the Romans by Tuscany (for a great number of the Tuscans held for them) and having made a great spoile, they retired out of the Romane Provinces to their owne Houles withour bythe Gaules vpon the Relosse. Where as there fell out a great debate vpon the deuision of this great booty, fo as they not onely loft a great part of their booty, but alforhe best part of their Empire: the which doth vsually happen to the Gaules, by reason of their gormondize and drunkennesse. Foure D Diversyldories yeares after toyning with the Samnites they affailed the Romanes, of whom they made a great flaughter, in the Region of the Camertins. Some few dayes after they affailed them againe, and had a Batteli neere vnto the Country of the Sensinates, where they gaue them a great defeate, and forced the rest to recover their Houses.

againft the Romans.

Pillage made

Ten yeares after they made a great affembly of men of Warre, and descending into Tuscany they besieged Arezo. The Romanes comming to succour the Arezins, fought neere vnto the Towne, and lost the battell.

Battell with the Confull Lucius: In whose place they did choose Marcus Curio, who presently sent an Embassie into Gaule, to retire the prifoners; who at his comming was flaine by them, contrary to the Law of Nations.

The Romanes incenfed at fo wicked an Act, made a new Leuy of men, and resolued to enter the Gaules Countrey. But they had not A deseate and done any great matter, when as the Senogallois went to incounter rune of the them; whom the Romanes charged, and flew the greatest part, and senogallon by those few which remained were chasted out of the Country. They re- the Komans. covered the whole Country, and re-peopled the Towne again, calling A it Senogallia, as it had beene formerly, when it was fifft inhabited by the Gaules. This Towne (as we have tayd) is scituated vpon the A- The scituation driaticke shore, where as the points of Italy do end. When the Bolo- of Senogallia, mians faw the Senogallois chased by the Romanes from their Countrey, they ray sed an Army to make Warre against them, calling all the Tufcans to their ayde, fearing least the Romanes should doe the like vnto

Presently after they fought, where most of the Tuscans were staine, The Bolonians and a few of the Bolonians laued themselues by flight. Yet they fain-descated by Romans. ted not for this defeate, but the yeare following drew together all the B Forces they could make, and all the Youth that could beare Armes, and marcht against the Romanes, where they were defeated and slaine, fo as they were in a manner vtterly ruined. Wherefore their pride abated, they made an agreement with them by Embassadours. These things hapned, three yeares after the descent of Pyrrhus into Italy, and five yeares after the Gaules had beene defeated in Delphos. Behold how Gaules in Del in that time Fortune (as a mortall plague among the Gaules) persecuted photo them in all places. But the Romanes made a double profit by the battels which we have formerly related: For being accustomed to fight with the Gaules, who had beene held very fierce and fearefull, they became C good Souldiers against Pyrrhus. Thus by little and little they abated the pride of the Gaules, fo as afterwards they were much more affured, first to fight with Pyrrbus for Italy, and afterwards against the Carthaginians for the Soueraignty of Sicily.

The Gaules weakned by the meanes of the former Battels, lived in peace forty flue yeares, without any breach of the accord made with the Romanes. But after that the old men, (who had videtgone the dangers, and felt fo many losses) were dead, the Youth who were of a harthand bad disposition, and had not felt the mileries of former I) thires, grew infolent. These (as it is willingly the nature of men) began presently to vidertake the Warre, and to bee enemies to the Romanes, whatfoeuer should succeed, and moreouer to fend to crave succours from the Transalpins. It is true, that in the beginning the Princes did mannage the affaires without the consent of the people: So as it hapned, that when as the Transalpins were come to Rimeni, the common peo. ple of Bolonia, being ignorant of this enterprize, and fearing this Galus flaine, deffeent, mutined against their Commanaders, and put to death Etas and Gallas their Kings; then they fought with the Transalpins. The

Romanes likewise amazed at this descent of the Transalpins, drew their Men to field: but when they were advertised of the other deseate of the Gaules, they tetyred to their Houses.

Fine yeares after, Marcus Lepidus being Consull, Caius Flaminius made a Law for the people, by the which that Region of Gaule, which they call the Marquisate of Ancona, vnto Rimeni, from whence the Senogallois had beene chased, should be deuided amongst the Romane Souldiers. For which cause there suddainly grew a new Warre: For Warre betwixe most part of the Gaules, especially the Bolonians, who were neighbours vnto the Romanes, were much incenfed therewith, thinking that A the Romanes did not fight for principallity or Glory, but for pillage and their ruine. Wherefore the Millanneis and Bolonians confenring together, sent suddainly to the other Gaules, which dwell beyond the Mountaines along the River of Rhone, whom they call Gessates, for that they fight for pay, (for so the word imports) offering to their Kings Congolitan and Aneroeffe a great summe of present money. They acquaint them with the great felicity of the Romanes; and what a benefit it would be if they could vanquish them.

By this meanes they mooue them to make War against the Romans; the which was easie to perswade, considering the former Reason. They promise them also to make them Companions in this Warre, reducing to their memory the prowesse of their Predecessors, who had not only defeated the Romanes in battell. but after the Victory had taken the Citty of Rome with wonderfull celerity: Where they had taken great moneths withfpoiles, and after they had beene mafters thereof seauen moneths, they reftored them the Empire willingly, and returned into their Countrey fafe with all their booty. In propounding these things brauely vnto them, they incouraged these Kings and the Gaules, so as there was neuer descent made out of that Country, of a greater Army, nor more valliant men, nor better furnished.

Amazement of the defects of the Gaules.

The Gaules

were feauen

in Rome,

The occasion

to renew the

the Romans and

Gaules

When the newes thereof came to Rome, the Citty was fo amazed, C the Romans for as they presently made a new Leuy of men, and began to make prouifign of Victualis, leading their Army fometimes unto their Frontiers, as if the Gaules had been there prefent, who notwithflanding were not yet come out of their Country. Their things were very beneficiall to the Carthaginians, to augment their Empire in Spaine. But the Romanes confidering that thele affaires were more prefling, for that thele people were too neere enemies, they wereforced to lay aside the atfaires of Spaine, vntill they had pacified Italy, And therefore in renewing the accord with Afdrubal Lieutenant Generall for the Cartha- n ginians, they wholly attended the Warre against the Gaules, studying only how they might refig their fury.

When as the Geffates had drawne a great number of men together the Transalpine neere vnto the Rhone, they passed the Mountaines, and entred the plaine neere vnto the Poe: Where as the other Gaules eight yeares after the yeilding of that Region, and in like manner the Millannois and Bolonians, loyned presently with a great multitude. But the Venetians and Cenomans pacified by an Embassic from the Bemanes, preferred

their friendship before the Alliance of the Gaules. Wherefore the Kings for feare of them, left a part of their Army in Millannois to guard the Gountrey, and marche with the rest into Tuscany, being aguard the Gountey, and marene with the retrinto ingenty, being a-bout fifty thousand Foote, and twenty thousand Cars and Horse men. The number When as the Romans had newes that the Ganles had past the April of the they lent Lucius Emilius the Confull with an Army to Rimens, that being there before the Enemy, heesthould flay their passage. They alto caused one of the Pretors to march into Tustany, for the other Confull Caim Apilim, had in the beginning of his Confullihip paft in. A 10 Sardinia Withan Army ac Sea. 1 ans of Co. 1

The City of Rome was heavy, and much troubled, and did not attend this great attempt of the Gaules without great leare. They then remembred their former defeates, and feared this Nation, as the ruine of the City of Rome, and therefore they had long before prepared a great Army : they dayly made new leuies of men, and The diligence they adacrifed their Allies to bee ready and in Armes. Moreouer, of the Romans. they enjoyned them to fend anto the Senare the Rolles of the Bands of their Youth, desiring to know the number of Solidiers of all the Italian Army. They likewise made provision of Corne and

B Armes, and of all other things necessary, in greater abundance than they had done in former times. The other people of Italy were no leffe diligent, they were fo much amazed at the descent of the Gaules : foas they did not thinke to fight for the Remans, nor for their Empire, but every man for his owne fafety, for his City , and for his Country ! Wherefore all the Italians did willingly obey the Romans in this Warre. I will here The preparatfet downe the preparations the Romans made for Warre, and what ons which the number of men they had in those times, to the end you may plainely Romans made; fee how great they were , and what forces they had when as Hanni-C bal prefumed to affaile them , and with what Troopes making Warre

against the Aemane power , hee brought the Citty into io great danger. First, the Confuls weat to field with four Romane Legions, whereof eyther confilted of fine thouland two hundred Foote, and two thousand Horse. They had moreour by reason of this arming of the Gaules, raifed other Troopes. The Tuscans and Sabins had The number drawne together three score and ten thousand Foote, and about foure of Souldiers shoulded House

As foone as the newes came that the Gaules past the Alpes of Balonia, thefe were fent into Tufeany, vnder the command of the Prouoft of the Citty. After these the Pinbrians and Sarfenates inhabiting Mount Appenin, were affembled to the number of twenty thousand men. The Venetians allo, and Cenomans were about twenty thouland, all which were appointed to keepe the Appenin Hills; and to fall vion the Bolonois when occasion should bee offered. Behold the Troopes which at the first they sent against the Gaules. There was moreover another Army within Rome to guard the Citty, and to attend the pleasure of the Senate upon all occasions: whereof there were twenty thouland topt, Romans, and fifteene hundred Horse, and of their Allies thirty thonsand

.

Foote, and two thousand Horse. Moreoner they had the Rott of the Army of the Latins, which confifted of four love thousand Foore, and five thousand Horse; and of the Samutes of three score and ten show fand men, and leven thouland Horfe. Of the Lapiges and Melapiens fifty thouland Foote, and fixeteene thousand Horse, of Murfes, Marrheiens, Ferrentins and Vestins, twenty the wand Foote, and foure thousand Horfe. Of the Lucains thirty thousand Foots and three thousand Horse. There were moreover at that time two Legionsin Sicily; and about Tal rentum for the guard of the Country: whereof either was of foure thouland two hundred Foote, and two hundred Horse. Moreover, the multitude of the Romans and Campanois, was about two hundred and fifty thousand Foote, and three and twenty thousand Horse. By this meanes the number of the Troopes which were subject to the Senate and people of Rome, exceeded an hundred and fifty thouland Foote, and about fixe thouland Harle. But the whole force of Italy was gener rally of featen hundred thousand Foote, and three score and tenne thouland Horie. Against the which Hannibal having but twenty thousand men o durst enter into Italy. But this shall bee for ano-

The Gaules finally passing the Appenin Hils, entred into Infeany by the Gaules. Without any relistance, putting all to fire and sword : Finally, they marcht speedily to Rome. Being comencere vnto a Towne which they Eall Clufe, within three dayes icurney of Rome, they had newes that the Roman Artiny (which as wee have fayd, had brette fent to guard Tuleany) was drawne together and tollowed them. Wherefore they presently turned head furiously upon them. And when they werecome neere vato the other at the Sun-fetting then they campt, leaving fome little space betwixt them. Night being come, the Gaules made fires in their Campes after their vivall manner, and left their Horfe-men The pollicy of there, giuing them charge to part at the breake of day, and when they fliould be discouered by the Enemies to goe on their course. In the meane time making thew of a fight, they part withall their Foote, and march directly to Felula, of purpole to drawe on their Horfe-men. and to breake the Enemy which followed them.

A Victory of

The Romans leeing the Gaules House, men part at the breake of day with great noise, thinking it was for feare, hasted after them indifcreetly, and drew neere ento them. Who being loyned, the combate in the beginning was furious, for that the Gaules did charge them on all fides according to their resolution. Finally, the Romans lost fixe thousand men, for that the Gaules were more in number and of greater D courage. All the rest of the Army fled, whereof a great part retired to a little Hill, strong by sciruation and nature. The Gaules began to befiege them : But for that they were tired with watching the Night before, and with the toyle of the day, they returned to take their refection, leaving a strength of Horse-men to keepe the Hill, with a resolution to give an assault with all their forces, if they did not yeeld Within three dayes. At that time Lucius Emilius the Confull, who (as wee have fayd) was at Rimini with an Army, having &ducrtifement

advertifinent that the Gaules had pall Tufoang and marcht to Rome with all their forces, his vied all adiligence to come and fuceour his companions. When he had past the Appenin Hill, and was lodged neere water the Enemy of they which had retired to the Hill; knowing the Confuls comming , which they easily discourted by the fires in the Night, they presently tooker courage, and sent some of their men vnarmed vnto him by the Forrest to let him vnderstand how things bid happened. They when conwirt handers, beer a college bad

The Confull feeingsthat all delayes in fo great a danger of his com-A panions were prejudiciall, he gave order to the Tribunes of the Sould? ers, to march at the breake of day with all the foote : And in the meane time he takes his way towards the Hill with all the Horse-men. The Commaunders of the Gaules doubting of the Confuls comming by the fires in the Night, affembled to adulfe what they had to doc. Then King Ancroche was of opinion, that it was a folly to lofe time with the The aduice of Enemy, and to bring their conquest in danger, before they had put so great's spoile in lasety (they had in truthan infinite number of Prisoners, and abundance of all other things) and therefore they muß firth returne into their Countrey, and there leave all the baggage, and then returne into Italy if they thinke it fit : to the end the Souldiers might The retreate fight with their Enemies without any incumbrance. The Gaules liked of the Gaules. of this counsell, and the next day drew forth their Enfigires before the breake of day, returning into Gaule along the Sea-shore, laden with

all forts of pillage.

When as Lucius Emilius had retired those which had fled to the The pursuite Hill, he pursued the Gaules with his Army. Yet he did not hold it of Emilians, ficro present battellito so great a multitude, but rather resolued to attend some opportunity, either of time or place, where hee might amaze the Enemy, or make them abandon the booty in fome fort. At the same time Caius Attilius the other Consull, who was lately arrived at Pifa from Sardinia, landed with his whole Army, and marched directly to Rome by the Sea-shore before the Gaules. They were not farre from Telamona a Towns of Tulcany, when as some of their scours fell by furprize into the Romans hands, who discouered voto the Confull that the Gaules were not farre off, and that Lucius Emilius pursued them. These things being understood, Caius Attilius won, caius drillius, dering at this fortune, and hoping partly of the Victory, for that Fortune seemed to haue deliuered the Enemy betwirt their two Campes, he gaue the Legions to the Tribunes of the Souldiers, and gaue them charge to march against the Enemy, as much as the opportunity of place would give them leave.

In the meane time seeing a little Hillypon the way, very commander dious for their Warre, to the which the Gaules feemed to tend, hee tooke the Horse-micn, and resolved to get it before them, and to vndergoe the danger, hoping that if the Romans had the Victory by this meanes, they would attribute the honour vnto him. The Gaules ignorant in the beginning of the Confuls comming, and doubting by the things which they faw, that Lucius Emilius had past before night with his horf-

The order of

the Gaults

76

men, to gaine the Country which was advantagious for the Warre. they presently seat all their Horse; and some of their most active men to recour this Hill. But when they were aductifed by the Priloness that Attilius held it . they prefently caused their Foot-men to march, and order their battell in the Reare, as in the Front, for that they law Emilius followed them in the taile , and that the other attended them in front, as they had learned by the Prisoners, and by the things which had happened. They which were with Emilius, were not yet confident, although it were a common besite that the Army of Sardinia was arrived at Pifa. But they were affured when as they faw the com- A bat at the Hill : for the Enemies were very neere, and therefore the Emilian Horse rejoyced much, and tooke a way by the side of the neerest Hill to goe and succour those which defended it. Emilius in the meane time marcht after the Gaules in the same

order hee had beene accustomed. When the Gaules faw themselves thus involved by the Enemies, they put you the Rease the Gessates and Milannon against Emilian who followed them, and upon the Front the Piementois, and those which inhabite along the Poe, appointing the Bolonians and the Cars with all the baggage apart without the two Battalions, and all the pillage vpon a little Hill, with some Horsemen B to guard it. When they had thus ordained their Battell with two fronts, it seemed not onely terrible to behold, but also of a wonderfull efficacy for the combat. The Bolonians and Millannois, made choice of such as had Breeches, and were most at easein their appar-But the Gefates for the great courage and wonderfull defire of glory which they had, stript themselves, and put themselves before the Battalion naked, onely with their Armes, having a conceit that by this meanes they should be more dive and disposed to fight: For the Bushes (which were thicke there) would stay them by their Clothes. and hinder their fighting.

Caius Attilius

First, the Combate which was at the Hill, was in the fight of both Armies, whereas the Horse men charged one another, and fought valiantly. There Cains Attilius was flaine, fighting too rashly, whose Head was presently carried to the Kings of the Ganles, Yet the Romane cauallery fainted not, but were the more incented to fight; fo as in the end they not onely defended the Hill, but defeated all the Gaules The battellof Horse-men. In the meane time the Foot men approach, and the comthe Foot-men bate began, the which was not onely horrible and wonderfull to be. hold for those that were present, but likewise for those which shall heare it spoken of. First considering that the battell was of three Ar-D mies, every man may imagine, that the fight was not onely new and fearefull to the affiliants, but also their manner of fighting. Moreover, who will doubt but the Gaules had the worst, being charged as well in the Reare as in the Front? Or it may be the better, for that they fought altogether against the two Armies, and that the two sides repulsed their Enemies, so as at the same instant they defended one another: And that moreover they could not passe on, nor hope for slight backe. ward? There is no doubt but a Battell with two Fronts hath the benefit, that the Souldiers have no meanes to five. In regard of the and maner, they find hope of Victory, for that they faw their Enemies in closed asit were delivered into their hands . On the other fide they feared the fury and order of their Army, the found of Frampers and Clairons was terrible, with the which all the Troope made a greatery and shoute. To as there was an incredible noise. They could not beare the Trumpers and Souldiers, and moreover, the neighbour places fee med to ecchoe forth their cries.

It was a terrible thing to fee the forlorne hope march naked. Beleeue A me, there great naked bodies, with their motions vader their Bucklers were maruelous and fearefull. The beauty and riches of their Apparent rell gaue also a great luster. For the whole Army shined with chaines of Gold, and Silkes wouch with purple. The which the Romanes obferuing, they were partly amazed, and partly encouraged with the hope of spoile. Finally, the taile of the Army which was armed, was not gauld by the Roman Archers, who doe viually march before the Batta-Rôn. But the forlorne hope which fought naked before their Troopes. were contrary to all hope much annoyed: For they could not cover their great naked bodies with their French Bucklers : And therefore the torlorne R the Arrowesfell easily upon them. Finally, when they saw themselves hope of the thus beaten, and could not bee reuenged of the Archers by reason of Gaules. the distance, and for the multitude of Arrowes which slew from all parts, they cast themselves like desperate mad.men, some voon their

Enemies, where they were flaine tothers retired upon their owne Troopes, who being all bloody, daunted the courage of the rest, and put them in disorder.

By this meanes the fiercenesse of the Gestares, which made the forlornehope was abated. Then the Milannois, the Bolonians, and the Turinois maintained the burthen of the battell: where they did not fight a fatre off with their Arrowes and Dares as formerly, but hand to hand with their Specres and Swords and the Combate was as furious as euer any was, for enery man performed his duty. It is true, that their Tar- The Asmes

gets and Swords were not equall. For the Gaules Swords were heavy which the and blunt, and their Targets weake : The Romanes couered thems felues with stronger Targets, and carried short Swords and sharpe. And therefore the Gaules were still defeated in what manner so ever they fought, whether in troope, or man to man: Yet they flood firms in A defeate of battell, vatill that the Remane Gauellery came downe from the Hillin the Gaules Argreat fury: Then they were broken and flains here and there. The

D Foot men died in the place where they had their Stations appointed: But the Horse-men fled. The Gaules lost in this battell forty thousand men; there were onely taken ten thousand with King Congolitane. A. Thetaking of meroeffe, which was the other King of the Gaules, fled with some few king Congulis. which followed him to a neighbour-place, who some dayes after slew The death of

After this defeate, Lucius Emilius the Confull, feat the Enemies spoyles to Rome, and restored the booty to those to whom it did belong. From thence he went thorough the Genousis Countrey into that of Bo-

King Aneraefte.

yeild to the Re-

mans.

78

The Bolonians lands, making great spoyles a And having in a short time inrich's his Arm my with all forts of booty, he brought it backe to Rome, with the Atmes. chaines and braceless of gold wherewith hee did adorne the Capitolla being a kind of ornament of gold, which the Gaules are accustomed to companies and neckes; the male of the spoyles and all the prisoners were before him in triumph. Behold those exeat attempts of the Gaules, which the Romans not onely feared, but all Italy in like manner came to nothing.

as The Romans hoping now to chale the Gaulas out of Italy Jent Quin- A the Fulnius and Titus Manlius late made Confuls, with a great Army, into Gaule ... Who at their entry forced the Relanians to lubinit themselves to their obedience. But they sould not proceede in the warre, but were forced to retire by realon of the continuall Raine and the

Afterwards Publing Furies and Caines Hamining being created Confuls; came againe into Gaule with an Army : and after they had received the Ananes into triendship, which are not farre from Marfelles, they marched disease into the Country of Milan with their Legions, where as the River Adaiovnes vnto the Poe. The Milannois had made a great leuie to repulle their enemyes. By whom when the Romans had receiued great losse, not onely at the passage of the River, but also in fortifying their Campe they parced thence and tooke their way to the Country of the Generals where after they had joyned their Army to theirs, for they were their Allies, they made a new descent into the Milannois by the higher Country, which lookes toward the Alpes, ruining all where they paft.

The Princes of Milan hearing the resolution of the Romans to bee immutable, resolved to vindergoe the hazard and to fight with them. Wherefore after they had drawne an Army together, and taken the Enfignes of gold which they call vamoucable out of Miserva's Temple,& made provision of all other things necessary, they marcht against them with great affarance, planting their Campe right against them, to the number or after thouland Men. It is true, the Romans finding themselves not frong enough, were of siduice to call the Gaules to their side, with whom they were in league. But for that they feared their repolt, & they were to fight with men of the fame Nation, they held it dangerous to trust in such men in so great a danger, and especially to put their safeties in their handsat fuch a time, and in fuch an action : Finally, being neere the River, they call the Cenomans, and cause them to passe. When all were past they brake the Bridge, depriving them at one instant of the meanes D to loyne with their Enemies, and leaving their Menno hope of fatery but in the victory.

When this was done they put their men in order, and offer battell to the Milanson It feemes the Romanes had ordered this battell differently by the advertisement of the Tribunes, for the meanes to fight in troope, or man to man; For when as their men were in battell they tooke the Pikes from the Triary, and gave them to fuch as were in the Front, giving them charge to entertaine the fury of the Gastes, untill their first heate

of fighting were spente. Which being done a leaving their Pikes, thew should flye to their Swords; ordayning it in this manner . for that them? had feene by the former Warres withat the Gaules had a furious poynt? and afterwards their hearts were faint and effeminate, and that moreouer their Swords as we have fayd, were only fit to give one blow, but The meaning afterwards their length grew crooked, and the edge turned by reason of the Gaute of the breadth: So as if they did not fuffer them to fet the poynt to the Swords. ground, and to make them straight agains with their Feete I the second blow wrought no effect. IN A Second Free to be to a Millerice Londing

The Romanes following the Commaund of the Tribunes wcharge their enemics with great blowes upon the breft with their Pikes, The Gaules on the other fide imploy all their fury to cut them. Then the Romanes abandoning their Pikes, fought hand to hand breaking by this meanes the fury of the Gantes ! And taking from them all meanes to steppe backe, which these people are accustomed to vie in their Charge, for that their Swords are blunt and unprofitable, by reason of their length, but only to give one blow a farre off. But the Romans by meanes of their short Swords, wherewith they did not frike like vnto them, but thrust often through the bodies and throates of the B Gaules; so as they flew a great number.

Behold how the providence of the Tribunes preuailed much: without doubt the Confull had not made choife of a place fit to fight: Confidering that in ordering the battell upon the River fide, hee had taken from the Romanes the meanes to march, which is viuall vnto them.

Wherefore if during the Combate they had beene forced to retyre, the Romanus they had all fallen into the River by the errour of the Confult. Yet against the they had a goodly Victory by their owne forces, and retyred to Rome Millannin. with a great multitude of Prisoners and spoyle.

The yeare following the Gaules weakned with 10 many battels loft. C fent an Embassie to the Romanes for a Peace, making them goodly promiles. But Marcus Claudius, and Caius Cornelius choien Confus. vsed all diligence to draw their Army into their Country, to the end the Senate thould not yelld voto it. Wherefore the Gaules having no more hope of peace; being as it were in despaire, rayled a new Army, dwell on this and intertayned thirty thousand Geffares, who as we have fayd, dwell fidethe thine, on this fide the Rhine, having them all ready and in Armes attending the descent of the Romanes. When as the Consuls were entred the Millanzon Country in the Spring, they besteged the Towne of Acerran, which lyes betwire the Poe and the Alpes. And although it deerran belie-D were not in the power of the Millannois to succour the besieged, for that the Romanes held the passages: Yet their full intent being to railethe siege, they cause a part of their Army to passe the Pee, to whom they give charge to befiege Clafidium, a Towne belonging to Clafidium bethe Allies of the Romanes, hoping by this meanes the Confuls should be forced to rayle their fiege. But prefently when they had the newes. Marciu Claudius makes hast with the Horse-men, and the most actius of the foote, to succour the belieged. When the Gaules were aduertifed of the Confuls comming, they prefently rayfed the fiege, and

A defeate of the Genles by

80

went resolutely to encounter the nomines offering them battelld i At the first the Gauler had the better 20 for that the Romani Horse men were furprized by theirs. But being afterwards covironed by the Bomane Cauallery; they were broken and defeated: Many were drowned ha. uing cast thomselves into the River, flying the Enemy: The greatest part were flaine, and the rest taken Prisoners.

chion's 50 But when they which were beforeboin Acuras, had notice of the defeate of their men neere voto Clafidiam athève retired to Ali lan. the Capitall Citty of the Countrey. Then Carnelius having gotten A the Towne of activate well furnished with Come and all other Munition; hee pursued the Gaules of and planted his Campe neere vinto Milhair, And for that the milanneis came not out to fight , the drew backe his Army, spoyling the Countrey. Then the Milannois pursuing them, began to charge them in the Reare, and make a great fluighter: whereof fome fled, vnrill that Cornelius turning head against the Enemy with the Legions, encouraged the whole Army to fight. Who willingly obeying the Confuls commaundment, ifell with great fury vpon the Gaules, who having lately beene looken beaten . made no long refistance; but presently turned head, and recovered the walpes. Cornelius pursued them, spoyling the whole Countrey, and from a thence hee marcht to Millan, which he tooke by force mand brought it vnder the Romans obedience.

After all these defeats, the Princes of the Gaules seeing there was no more hope in their affaires, submitted themselves to the will of the Remans. Thus ended the Warre of the Gaules , having never vinto this day heard speake nor read of a greater, be it for the obstinacy of courage, or the refolution of Souldiers is or the cruelty of battels, or the great flaughter of men, or the greatnesse of Armics: Although the countell, the enterprize, and the daily aduice were vnprofitable: For that the Gaules marnage their affaires by rage and fury, not by reafon ... Of whom we might have confidered in how short a time they have beene chased our of their natural! Countrey by the Romans, in deauing them a small portion within the Alpery wee have thought it good to relate fummarily their first attempts, the successe of affaires, sand finally their last ruines: For that I hold it fitting for a History, to make fuch accidents knowne to thole of future times ato the end that our men for want of knowing them, may not eafily feare the rath descents which Barbarians doe often make : and that they rather try their fortune, than to omit any thing that is necessary, nor to subject themselues vnto them: Certainly such people are easily and without difficulty broken and defeated if they refult their first fury. I imagine that they which have written the Gelts of the Perfiansagainst the Grecians, and of the Gaules against the Delphiens, have done a great favour to the Greeiaus to fight for the liberty of the Countrey. There is no doubt but a man will not be amazed for riches, forces, or the multitude of men, if he fights for the defence of his Countrey, if hee hath before his eyes the actions of those times, and consider how many thousands of men, what forces and what Armies, the virtue of Souldiers with va-

lour and reason hath vanquished, broken and deseated. The Grecians have not onely beene terrified by the Gaules in former times, but The Greciani also many times in our age: which is the thing which bath moved mee terrified by the most to relate their actions summarily, beginning with the Originall. But to returne where we left, after that Afdruball Generall of the Carthaginians had continued eight yeeres in Spaine, hee was in the end traiterously slaine in the Night in his lodging by a Gaule, by reafon of some private hatred : Hee was not onely excellent and expert afaruballaine in the Art of Warre, but was so eloquent to moue the hearts of A men, as hee much augmented the Carthaginians Empire. Then they gaue the charge of the Army which was in Spaine to Hannibal, being then a young Man, for that hee had a good beginning, and a wonderfull great courage for his age. Who at his comming made declaration that hee would bee an Enemy to the Romans, the which fell out soone after. From that time the Romans and the Carthaginians grew icalous of one another. To speake the truth, the Carthaginians laboured fecretly to furprize them for that they had chaled them out of Sicily. On the other fide the Romans knowing their intent, gaue no greate credit vnto them : fo as it might easily bee conceined the Warre would foone breake out. At the fame time the Achaiens with Phillip King of Macedon, and their Allies, made Warre against the Etoliens, which they called the Warre of the Allies.

As wee have related the Warre which the Romans' made against the Garthaginians in Sicily and in Affricke, and the things which followed, and being now come according to the order of our preparation, to the beginning of the Warre betwirt the Allies, and to the second of the Carthaginians, which they call the Warre of Hannibal, seeing wee have resolved to begin our course with those c times, it is reasonable wee should come to the Gests and Exploits of the Grecians: to the end that making by this meanes a preparation of all parts, wee may begin the History which wee haue resolued on, when as wee shall come to the same end of all things.

As therefore wee have not undertaken to write the actions onely of one Nation or another, as other Historiographers have done, as of the Grecians or Persians, but of all the parts of the world together, which are come to our knowledge, (for that this present time hath beene of great vie, whereof we will speake more amply in another place) it shall be fitting to make a summary mention of the most knowne Nations and Countries of the whole World, before the beginning of our worke.

In regard of the actions of the Asians and Egyptians, it shall bee fufficient to deliuer those of our time : confidering that many haue written the deeds of times past, whereof no man is ignorant: Neither is there any thing innouated, which is not according to the Commentaries of Historiographers. In regard of the people of Achaia, and the house of Macedon, it is fitting to search out the times past

82

finmmarily: As for that which concernes the Masedonians, the proofe will bee eafie : And as for the Achaiens, there bath beene made (as wee have formerly fayd) an augmentation and wonderfull according our time. For when as many laboured formerly to reduce Morea to one accord, and could not effect it, considering that all men aime more at their private profit, than the liberty of the Countrey, there hath beene at this day made fo great a change as they have not onely con. tracted friendship, and a frice league, but moreover they vie the same Lawes, the same weight, the same measure, the same money, and more, the same Princes, the same Counsell, and the same Judges: A So as there is no defect in Morea for the making of a Burgefle, but that they dwelt not all in one Towne: All the rest was alike and the same thing.

The Name of well entertay-

It shall not bee therefore valitting to shew how the Name of the Achaiens hath first reigned in Morea. You must vaderstand that they which were first so called , had no better Countrey ,nor more Townes, nedin Morea, nor more Wealth, nor more virtue. Without doubt the Arcadians and Lacedemonians doe farre exceed the other people of Morea, both in number of men and Townes: Neither is there any Nation in Greece which passeth them in prowesse and virtue. What is B the cause then that these men whom wee have named, and the other people of Morea, have willingly suffred not onely the Comminatey of the Achaiens, but also to take the Name? It were a folly to say that it was by chance. Wherefore it were better to feeke the cause without the which wer cannot shift those things which are done with reason, nor those which seems to bee done without it. For my part I conceive it was the equality, and the common liberty which was kept amongst them all, as a certaine president of a true Common-wealth: For there is no Citty in all Greece, where there are found better Lawes, or Behold the cause which hath caused the greatest part of Morea willingly to follow, this Common-wealth Some thorough reason and perswafien, others forced by little and little with the time, and yet they have presently pacified their disconrents. And for that they did not from the beginning leave more to one then to another, but would have all things equalite all men, it prefently brought the Acheins to this great Authority, vung two meanes of great efficacy, that is, Equality and Clemency: Behold the eause which wee must imagine, for the which all Merca being of one will and accord, attained to this prosperity and peace wherein wee see it at this day.

It is true, that this manner of lining, and meanes of government of D a Common-wealth was long observed by the Acheins: the which is probable by the testimony of many witnesses. Yet wee will pro. duce but one or two at this time. You must vnderstand that at what The Pythagori. time a Company of the Pythagorians were burnt for a secret conspiracy in the Region of Italy, which they then called great Greece: It happened that the Countrey and the Townes were much affliced with murthers and sedition, by a strange alteration of Common weales whose

The History of POLYBIVS. Lib. 2.

Princes were wickedly flaine. And therefore Embassadours came from all parts to pacific their debates. Who leaving all the rest, they referr'd themselues in all their quarrels to that which the Acheins should decree. Soone after they resolued to vse their Lawes, and to frame their Common wealth like vnto theirs. Without doubt the Crotoniates, Sybarites, and Caulonites, after they had ended their quarrels in a friendly manner, edified a Temple in publique, to Inpiter Omarie, where they might affemble the people, and give them justinestions. Moreover having accepted the Institutions and Lawes of the Acheus. A they would onely line in them, and erect their Common-wealth. But the tyranny of Denis of Syracufa and the Gaules, who at that time spoiled the Countrey, hindered them from bringing their enterprize to an The Lacedemic end. Moreover, after the defeate of the Lacedemonians beyond all hope, nians and Thebefore Luttres, and that they of Thebes had already troubled the Em. bains. pire of creece, there was a great mutiny and a strange combustion throughout all Greece, namely, betwixt the Lacedemonians and the Thebains . For that the Lacedemonians conceived they had beene vanquished, and the others did not thinke they had gotten the Victory. Notwithstanding either of them by a common consent made choice of the A beins among all the Grecians, to whose judgement they submitted themselves touching their quarrels, not having so much regard to heir forces or power (for in truth it was the least of all the Prouinces of G eece) as to the faith and inflice of the people, which at this time was held great in the opinion of the World. It is true, they had then but bare virtue, having done nothing worthy of fame or estimation. Wherefore their comminalty did not increase much for that they had not any Lord which was worthy to gouerne them, for that they had beene alwaies kept under by the Empire of the Lacedemonians or Macedonians.

But after by fuccession of time they had found Governours worthy of their estate, they presently purchased honour and glory. They reconciled all Morea, which was an excellent worke : whereof no man doubts but Arate the Sicyonien had beene the Authour and contriuer: the which Philopomene the Megalopolitein finished, and afterwards confirmed: and that Licerta was the third which amplified and augmented it, and subsequently all his Companions. Hereafter wee will endeauour as much as the Subject shall require, to relate their deeds, the manner and the time: Yet wee will make a fummary mention of the actions of Arate at this time, and hereafter, for that hee hath compre-D hended all things in his Commentaries according voto truth plainely

and amply. But as for others our discourse shall be something more diligent and more copicus.

It is true, that in my opinion, the declaration would bee more casie, and the History more plaine to those that desire to know it, if wee take it from the time, when as the Acheins, who had beene disperled into diurs Citties by the Princes of Macedon, drew them. selues againe together as it were in one body, and afterwards they augmented in such fort, as they came to this great amplitude whereof

M 2

Princes

cquality

wee have hitherto spoken in particular, and which continues vnto this day.

They of Patras and the Dymenforius made a league together, in

A league betwixt the Dr. menferins and

Tisamenes.

Sygus:

the hundred and foure and twentieth Olympiade, at fuch time as Ptolomy the Sonne of Lagus, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolomy CerauthemofParas nien dved, without doubt they all dved during this Olimpiade. Behold in what estate the Acheins were in former times: They began to be gouerned by Kings, at such time as Tylamenes the Sonne of Horestes chased from Lacedemonia, after the descent of Heraclites, held the Countrey which is about Acheia. After whom Kings governed continually by fuccession vntill the time of Sygns. After whom the Regall power began to be tedious, for that the Children of Sygus did not gouerne the Prouince legally, but by Tyranny. Wherefore they chaled away their Kings, and governed in common: wherein they lined diuerfly according to the diverfity of the times, vntill the dayes of Alexander and Phillip, yet firiuing with all their meanes to governe their Common-weales in a Comminalty, which contayned twelve Townes, who are yet in being, except Olens and Elin which an Earthquake fwal. lowed up before the Battell of Leuttres. Behold the Citties, Patras. Dymes, Phare, Tritee, Leanty, Egire, Pellene, Bure, Cerannie, Cary. B. nie. Olene and Elix.

The alliance oftwelue Cit.

But in the time of Alexander, and before the Olimpiade which we have mentioned, they grew into so great differition, namely for the Kings of Macedon, that the Townes thus deuided, held it would bee a great good vnto them to make Warre one against another. So as some drew vnto them the forces of Demetrius and Cafander, and soone after those of Antigonus: The others were imployed by the Kings. whereof there were many at that time in Greece. But in the hundred and foure and twentieth Olimpiade, as wee have fayd, they began against to be reconciled, at such time as Pyrrhus King of Epirus past into Italy.

Theteginning of the loague.

First, they of Patras, Dymes, Tritee, and Phare, Were reconciled. when as there was no title of common alliance betwirt them. Fine yecres after they of Egire chaled away their Garrison, and lovned to the rest: whom the Buriens followed killing their King : and soone after the Cerauniens.

Ifeas King.

When as I/eas (who at that time was King of the Cerauniens) faw that they of Egire had chased away their Garrison, and they of Bure had flaine their King, seeing himselfe in a manner involved with Warre, hee relinquishe the principallity, leaning the administration of the Common-weale to the Acheins, after the Couchants concluded D with them to faue his life. But why haus wer brought these things from fo farre? To the end first that the World may know by what meanes, and at what time, and who were the first among the Acheins. which recified this comminalty againe, the which at this day wee fee flourish : And that knowing their order, every man may easily believe not onely our History, but also our actions. Beleeue mee, they have alwayes observed one course concerning the government of their Com. mon-wealth, and one reason by the which keeping continually an

equallity among them, and defeating those who of themselves, or by their Kings laboured to take their Country, they have in the end prevailed in all their interpriles, as well by their owne forces as by the helpe of their Allies.

Finally those things which have beene since done in this Province. ought to be attributed to the acheins, who being companions to the Romanes in many great affaires, have not attributed any thing vnto themselves of that which was done, having no other thought but of liberty, and the common accord of Morea. But we shall see it more

plainly by their actions.

Lib. 2.

All these Circles which we have named, did administer the Common-wealth from the beginning flue and twenty yeares with the Acheins, making choyle of one Quefter and two Captaines. Afterwards they resolved to have but one, who should have the charge of their principall affaires. But Gerynee was the first which had this honour. When his foure yeares were expired, Arate the Sicyonien was chosen at the age of ewenty yeares. Who presently by his singular Virtue, and great courage, freed the Country from Tyrants, and refto. red the Common-wealth of the Acheins, to the which from the be-B ginning he bare a great affection. Some time after having governed eight yeares, he was chosen againe: And then he beganne to thinke of The Fort of the meanes by the which he might take the Fort of Corinthe, which Corinthe taken Antigonus then held. The which after he had effected, he freed all by Arate. Morea from great feare: And when as the Corinthians were freed from Tyranny, he joyned them to the Acheins. Some few dayes after he did the like to the Megareins.

These things hapned the yeare before the battell of the Carthaginians, by the which they were forced to abandon Sicily, and to pay tribute vnto the Romanes. When as Arate had in a short time finished C all his interprises, he spent the remainder of his life in the government of the Common weale, studying by all meanes how to chase the Masedenians out of Morea, to ruine the Kings, and to preferue the common liberty of the Country. And therefore he resisted the attempts and practifes of Antigenus Genate, whilest he lived, and the covetoulnesse of the Etoliens, who with Antigonus grew so audacious and ouer-weening, as they were not assamed to divide betwize them by a common confent the Townes of Acheia. But after the death of Anti-Loung, and that the Acheins and Bioliens had made a league, when as Demetrius made Warre against them, the dissentions and discords were D somewhat pacified, and they contracted a common and mutuall friendthip betwixt them.

But after the Death of Demetrius, who Reigned onely ten yeares, and at fuch time when as the Romans passed first into Sclauenia, the Acheins made themselues wonderful great: For all the Kings which Reigned in Morea fell into despaire, aswell for the death of Demetrius who was their Commaunder and Emperour, as for that they taw Arate 1 rine with all his power, to deprive them of their Crownes, propounding to fuch as shall due it willingly great honours and dignities, terrify.

Lyfdas.

86

Ariflomacus. Cleomines.

Theenuy of

ing and ving threates to fuch as should be obstinate and wilfull. Finally he did admonifi them all to leave their Crownes, and restoring the Country to liberty, they should imbrace the League of the achoins. Wherefore Lysidas the Megalopolitaine, who during the life of Demetrine, had wilely fore-seene future things, presently layes downe his Crowne. Arifomacus King of the Argines, Xenon of the Hermionians, and Cleamines of the Phliasiens, renounced their Royall. Principallities, and inyned themselues to the League of the Acheins. But for that their Forces were by this meanes growne wonderfull great, A the Etoliens as men ambitious by nature, enuied them, and hoping to gainst the A- beable to breake the League of the Townes which were allied, as they had done in the beginning, they promifed to Alexander to share with him those of the Acarnaniens, and to Antigonus those of the Acheins. By this meanes they gayned under colour of the same hope Antigonus Antinenus Tu- then Governour in Macedony, and left by Philip Tutor to his Sonne; tour to Philips they also made Cleomines King of the Lacedemonians. When as they faw that Antigenus had the government of Macedony, who was a Souldier and an enemy to the Acheins, for the losse of the Fort of Corinthe, they were of opinion, that if the Lacedemonians were companions in this Warre, in affailing the Acheins on all fide they should p eafily defeate them. The which undoubtedly had happed, if Arate a man of great Virtue and Courage, (which they did not confider) had not taken upon him the defence of the others.

They began a most wicked War with all their Forces; wherein they were not only frustrated in their expectance, but they made Arate more Rour and Resolute, being then Commaunder of the Acheins and the whole Nation, by his pollicy and diligent providence in all things, as we shall see by that which followes. For when like a man well aduised. he had confidered that the Etoliens were ashamed to declare VV arre against the Acheins, for the benefits they had lately received from them during the Warre of Demetrine, and that for this cause they had solicited the Lasedemonians to attempt it: And that they were transported with enuy against the good Fortune of the Acheins, so as they were nothing incenfed against Cleemines, who had taken from them by ficalth Teges, Mantines, and Orthomene, very firong Townes of Etelia; but contrary wife they confirmed them willingly vato him; and that moreour they fought all occasions of Warre, onely for a defire they had to Reigne, the Acheins having never offended them, fuffring the King to violate his Faith varo them, and that by fraud he had taken from them such rich Townes, to the end that the forces of Cleo- D menes (increased by this meanes) might with more ease defeate the Comminalty of the Acheins.

Arate then(as I have fave) and the other Captaines confidering thefe things, resolued not to declare any Warre, but lonely to resist the attempts of the Lacedemonians with all their power. Behold the first Resolution of the Captaines. But soone after when as they saw that Cleomenes builta Citty without feare, which afterwards was called Athenes, in the Country of the Megalepelitains, and that he declared

Lib. 2. The History of POLYBIVS.

himlelfe an open enemy to the Acheins, they make an affembly, where it was refolued to make open War against the Lacedemonians, and not

by Dissimulation.

This Warre called Cleominique beganne thus at that time! In the The cleomewhich the Acheins beganne first to refist the Lacedemonians with their owne Forces, without the helpe of any other, both for that they held it a greater honour to defend their Countrey and Townes themselves then with affishance of others: And they likewise indeauoured to entertayne their friendship by all meanes with Ptolomy, fearing least hee should be discontented, if they should require succours from any others then from him. But when the Warre was begunne, and that Chomeses in ruining the Common-weale, had turned a just Empire into a Tyranny, gouerning the Warre with Policy and Courage : Araic A good confi, fore-eeing future things a farre off, as a man who understood the deration of Counsell and prefumption of the Etaliens, was of opinion that they drate, must breake their attempts. And considering that Antigonus was a man of great experience in the Arte of Warre, and more found of his Faith then any other: Knowing that Kings by nature have neither friend The nature of nor Foe, measuring Friendship and Hatted according to their profit, he Kings R resolued to addresse himselse vato him, and to let him visibly see the cuent of the Warre, and finally to make a League with him. He had many realons why he should not do it openly : For if Cleomenes and the Etoliens had beene aduertifed, they would have made greater prepara. tions for the Warre . and most of the Acheins would have left him being amazed at luch an alteration, for that they would have the oht. the ir Commaunder would have fled to the enemy for refuge like win in in despuire. Wherefore to auoyde these inconueniences, he notionely kept thefe things fecret, but he lpake and did many things contrary to his thought, by the which he shewed the contrary of that which hea C practifed.

Seeing then the Megalopolitains to bee more prest with Warre then any other, beeing neighbours to the Lacedemonians, and having no hope to obtaine fucceurs from the Acheins, being subject to the same Warre, and being moreouevid League and friendihip with the Macedenians, for that they had done great pleasures to Philip the Sonne of Amyneas, there was no doubt but as soone as Cleomenes should begin the Warre against them, they would require succours from Antigonus and the Macedonians. Finally he declared his secret to Nicophanes and Nicophanes Corcides Alegalopolitains: They had beene friends to his Father, and corcides. D seemed fit men to mannage this Businesse. By their meanes hee incites the Megalopolisaines, to fend an Embissie to the Aheins, to intrete them to demaund fuccours from Aneigenus. The Megalopolitains fend Nicophanes and Cereides to the Acheins, with Committion after their A good invenconfent to go to Antigonus, the which the Acheins did eafily allow. This Embassie went to King Antigonus, and let him understand their Charge : and in regard of the Affaires which concerne their Country, they deliuered only those things which were most necessary in few words: But they made a long Discourse of the whole in generall, as Aiate

had instructed them. They layd before him the attempts which the Esoliens and Cleamenes might make, confesting that this Warre for the prefent was of great confequence for the Acheins. But if the others preuailed in their interprize, it would be much more dangerous for him. They make no doubt, but the Acheins being affailed at one inflant by these two forces, they would bee easily ruined: So there is leffe doubt , that if Cleomenes and the Etoliens haue the Victory , that they will not bee fatisfied therewith: For you must understand that Mores, no nor all Greece cannot glut the couctoufnesse of the Etoliens. In regard of the ambition of Cleomenes, although hee feemes for the present not to affect any thing but the principallity of Morea, yet if he preuaile, he will neuer cease vntill he hath Conquered all Greece: Whereunto he can neuer attaine before he hath ruined the principallity

By these reasons and such like, they moone the King to thiske carefully of things to come, and to confider what may sceme fitted for his affaires, whether to Allie himfelfe to the Acheins and Beeciens, and to make Warre against Cleamenes touching the Empire of Greece, or leauing the party of lo many people, to have it some after against the Eteliens , Beociens , Acheins , and Lacedemonians in Theffaly , for the prin- R cipallity of Macedony. But if the Etoliens be ashamed, to feme to breake the accord made with the Acheins, during the Warre of Demetrius, and flould ftill make thew to perfift in friendship, as they did yet, the Acheins would be too strong to defend themselves against Clequenes. And therefore if Fortune seuours them, they shall not accessiny mans succour. But if contrary wife it should bee rather for the Etoliens, they intreated the King that he would be pleased to give them fuccours, and that (not losing the opportunity of the time,) hee would preferue Mores, before it should be vitterly ruined.

They fayd moreouer that he had no reason to care at that time for Faith and Recompence, and that Arate would finde the meanes in the greatest heate of affaires, to give him satisfaction, and that hee would advertise him of the time when he should neede succours. When as Antigennshad heard the Embassie si hee did wonderfully commend the prudence of Arate, and made answere that hee was ready to undergoe the danger. Moreover he wrote letters to the Megalopolitains, by the which he fent them word that hee was ready to give them succours, fo as it were with the confent of the cheius.

This done Nicophanes and Cercides returned to their Countrey: Whereafter they had delivered their Letters, they made report of the D Kings good affection. The Megalopolitains joyfull of this newes, fent an Embaffie againe to the Acheins, intreating them to contract with Antigonus, and that they might relye in him for all his bufineflee Aras hearing allthis by Nicophanes, and the good affection the King bare vnto the Acheins, and to himselte, was wonderfully joyfull, borh for that he was not frustrated of his hope, but for almuch as Asrigonas, (contrary to the hope of the Etoliens,) did not feeme to Bye his friendshippe. Hee did not finde that reasonable which the

Megalopolitains aimed at, that the Acheins should submit themselves vnder Intigonus in all this Warre: For he was not of addice to require the fore-fight fuccours of any man but in extreame necessity; and if that happied, he of Arate, would not have it done at his request alone, but by all the Acheins. In trueth he feared that if Antigonus, having the victory by the defeate of Cleamenes and the Lacedemonians, should in the end make any enterprize against the Comminalty of the Acheins, they should not lay the blame vpon him, as if he had indifferently given the advice for the drawing of the King into their Countrey, who was offended for the A taking of the Fort of Corinthe. But inter as Clear is a color

The History of POLYBIVS.

When the Embassadours of the Megalopelitains came into the Coin cell, and had made relation of Antigonus his Letters, and of the Kings loue and affection, and had made a remonstrance vnto the Achems for a peace with Antigonus, and that it seemed the whole assembly found it good, Arate commended the Kings affection, and the good defire of the whole affembly. Yet he let them understand by many reasons that they should indeauour to keepe their Townes and Countrey with their owne forces, but if they could not effect it, then they could not doe any thing more commendable and more profitable. But if R Fortune were contrary vnto them, that they must first doe all that could be possible: And if there were no more hope, then they should require fuccours from their friends. The whole affembly allowed eaffly of his Councell; and it was resolued, that for the present they should ordaine no new thing, and that the Acheins should mannage this war alone.

But when as (during these negotiations) Ptolomy had furnished Clear menes with men, and other things necessary for the Warre, desiring by this meanes to make him an enemy to Antigonus, for that hee had greater hope to bee able to Conquer the Realme of Macedon by the meanes of the Lacedemonians, then of the Acheins, and that the C Acheins were first Defeated by Cleamenes by a surprize neere vnto Lycea, and that afterwards they made a great loffe neere vnto the Town of Megalopolis, and that finally the third time, they were so beaten, Defeated, and flaine, neere vnto the Towne of Dymee in a place which they call Hecatombee, as they were in a manner quite ruined : Then Diuers deleats Arate seeing himselfe inuironed with so many miseries, knew it was of the Achiene. notime to Dreame, and that hee was forced (as hee had formerly resolued) to demaund succour from King Antigonus. For the effeeting whereof hee sent his Sonne in Embassie to confirme the Articles of the agreement. Yet hee was in doubt and much troubled, for D that hee did not hope Antigonus would fuccour him, if they did not deliner him for his security the Fort of Corinthe, which they called Acrocorinthe with the Towne : Neyther did hee fee any meanes to deliuer it to the Macedonians without the confent of the Corinthians. And therefore hee deferred the Councell to adule of the meanes of fafety. In the meane time C'eomenes glorious of his good Fortune, ouer-ran the whole Prounce, taking Townes aswell by perfwasion as by terrour. When by this meanes he had taken Gaphie, Pellene, Phenes, Argos, Phlie, Cleone, Epianre, Hermion, and Trizene, and in

Acrecarinthe yeelded to An. tigonus

90

the end Corinthe, hee feated his Campe neere vato the Towne of the Sicroniens, and by this meanes freed the Acheins of that care whereof wee have fooken. For when as Arate had the newes, that the Corinthiens had chaled away the Garrison of the Acheins, and sent an Embassie to Gleomenes to deliuer him the Citty, having found a good occasion, hee yeelds voto antigonus the Fort which the Acheins held. By this, meanes hee repaired the wrong which hee had done vnto the King, and it served him for a pledge, and as it were a Fore and retreate for the future Warre.

But when as Cleomenes understood the league which the Acheins A had made with Antigoniu, and that the Fort had beene freely delinered vato him, hee prefently raifed his Siege, and feated his Campe neere vato 1stbmus, and rampred diligently with Pallifadoes and Ditches, the place which lies betwire the Fortrefle and the Mountaines. which they of the Countrey call Onies, as if hee had a hope to make himselte Lord of all Morea. Antigenus who had his Army ready, expected onely the opportunity of the time. But when hee faw by thosethings which had happened, according to the advertisement of Arate, that the time approached of Cleomenes voyage into Theffaly. hee causeth his Army to march towards Isthmus by Beocia, having B aduertised the Acheins of his affaires : For the Etohens being disconted at his descent, sent him word, that hee should not passe within the streights of Thermophiles, and if hee vindertooke it, they would take Armes to hinder his passage. Thus Antigonus and Cleomenes lodged their Armies before one another. The one to enter into Morea. and the other to keepe his Frontier. And although the Acheins had Revolte of A received great losses, yet they fainted not. But being sudd anly adripote of Argos untiled of the revolte of Arifote of Argos against Cleoments, they relieued him under the conduct of Timoxene, and tooke the Towne of Argos taken by Arges, which was of great consequence vnto them : For by this meanes the fury of Cleamenes was much aboted, and the Souldiers hearts broken, as appeared plainely: For although that Cleamenes Army was much stronger by reason of the opportunity of places, and abundance of victuals, having also good and resolute Souldiers, yet there was lo great and suddaine an alteration after the taking of Argos. that Cleomenes leaving all, made a retreate, sauouring of a flight: So much hee feared that hee should bee inclosed by his cruell Enemics.

Acresormebe taken by Antigonus.

the Acheins.

From there e marche directly to Argos, where hee made great attempts to carry it by affault. But for that the Acheins refissed like D braue men en the one fide, and the Argines on the other, for feare of the fault committed, hee was deceived in his hope: And in paffing by Mantinia, he led his Army to Sparta. When as Antigonius was entred into Morea, hee tooke Acrocorinthe. Then hee made hafte to goe to Argos, where he much commended the Argines, and settled an order for the affaires of the City. From thence he returned againe into Arcadia with his Army, and chased away the Garrisons out of those Forts which Cleamenes had built, the which he restored to the Megalopolitains pas-

fing by the Region Egitane. Then he went to Egia, where he called an assembly of the Acheins: and made a great discourse of the present affaires. and shewed them in few words the times to come. Finally, being created chiefe of the whole league, he past the Winter in the Count. tries of the Corinthians and Sicyoniens with his Army. Then in the Spring he went to the field, to whom the Acheins loyned, and being come within three dayes to the Towne of Tegee, hee belieged it. The Tezetains feeing the Macedonians very busic in making of Trenches. Teges yeelded Mines, and all other preparations to take the Towne, they veelded, be vnto Autigonus. A ing void of all hope: Whereas after he had fetled a good order, Antigonus marcht fuddainly to Laconice. By this meanes approaching neere vnto Cleomenes, who kept vpon the Frontiers, hee had some small encounters with the knemy. In the meane time they were aductifed by their Spies, that there were succours come from Orchomeneto Cleomenes. Wherefore Antigonus turned head to Orchomene, and takes Orchomene tait without refistance. From thence he besieged Mantinea, which was ken with other also presently yeelded. Then hee led the Legions to Herea Townes, and Telphula, the which in like manner were yeelded in a short time. After this in the beginning of Winter, hee fent the Macedonians to their houses, and retired with the mercenaries to Egia, there to consult of the present affaires.

At that times Cleomenes advertised that Antigonus had dismist his Army, and that he stayed at Egia, which is about three dayes iourney from Megalopolis, a vast Towne, and ill peopled : especially for that the greatest part had beene slaine in former battels, as we have faid, necre unto Lices, and Laedices : and that moreover at that time it was not carefully kept, by reason of the presence of Antigonus, he had a hope to furprize it. Wherefore hee marcht fuddainly, being guided by some Messeniens, who being chased and banisht from their Countrey, had C retired to Megalopolis : and brought them by Night into the City. But day being come, he was in danger to be defeated with his whole Army. confidering the great refistance the Megalopolitains made : the which happened vnto him three Moneths before, when he affailed a Citty feated in Colea. It is true, that in the end he had the Victory, as well by reason of the multitude of his men, as for that he had formerly gotten the places of advantage.

After he had taken and spoiled the Citty , and chased away the Me- Megalopolis galopolitains, hee razed it veterly, to the end they should have no razed. more hope to re-edifie it. In my opinion hee did it tending to that which the Lionenfes, the Megalopolitains, and the Stimphaliens with other bordering people, conceine, that Traytours, or those which loue revoltes, are neuer in safety. Without doubt the wickednesse of one man blemisht all the virtue of the Clitoriens : This was Thearce whom with reason the Cliteriens denyed to bee borne in their Theares, Countrey, faying hee was of Orchomene, and the Sonne of some stranger. Moreouer, for that there are some which preferre Philarchus before all others that have written this History, although that many times he speakes and judges of things contrary to Arate, I have thought it

good, nay rather necessary, not to conceale this: To the end they may discerne truth from falshood, and the rather for that we have followed Arate. Hee hath tooken many things throughout the whole History as Affection hath transported him; which are not needfull to debate at this present, holding those things to be delivered by vs, which hapned at fuch time as we Write, that is to fay during the Cleomenique Warre: For that they would be more then sufficient to discouer the errours and faults of this Author.

First when he labours to set toorth the cruelty of Antigonus, and of the Macedonians, and moreover that of Arare and the Acheins, he Jayd A that as soone as he had Conquered the Mantiniens, they caused the a to suffer great outrages and cruelties, and that the Citty which was one of the noblest and most auncient of Arcadia, fell into so great mifery and ruine, as it mooued all Greece to weepe and lament. And when as afterwards he feekes to make the cruelty feeme greater, and to moone the Readershearts, he relates a burning of Women, their haire scattered up and downe, their Paps naked, the teares and lamentations made by men and women, who dragg'd after them their little Children and their Parents broken with age. This hee doth often throughout his whole History, to let euery man see the agrauating of B their miseries. Leaving then this basenesse and effeminacy of his heart let vs seeke the things which are most proper and profitable for the History.

The duty of a Historiogra-

92

What is required in a Tra-

A Historiographer ought not to mooue the affections of men, not feeke occasions fit for it, neyther let him pursue the miseries of men(the which belongs to the makers of Tragedies) but let him deliver truly the favings and doings of men, although they be not great. Without doubt a History and a Tragedy, tend not to one and the same end, but rather are quite contrary. For they must labour in a Tragedy to draw by coniecture the hearts of the Auditors to Hope, Feare, Care, Pleafure, and such like affections. But in a History hee must imploy his whole indeauour to relate truly the fayings and doings of men. Where-fore things that are likely and coniecturall, are necessary in the one, to abuse the Assistants, and those which are true in this being Written for the profit of the Readers.

You must vinderstand likewise that this Historiographer many times doth not yeild the cause in his History, nor the reason of things, without the which they cannot eafily mooue any to pitty, or indignation in humane affaires. But what is he that will not finde it strange to fee a Cittizen whipt: yet if any one be so by reason of his offence, wee finde it reasonable. And if any one strikes a free man to punish and amend him, shall wee not hold him an honest man and praise worthy? Murther in a Cittizen is likewise forbidden, and seuerely punisht: But if any one kils a Thiefe or an Adulterer, is hee not held for innocent? And if any one kils a Traytor to his Country, or a Tyrant, shall he not be commended by all the World, held deare and honoured? VVee must therefore looke to the end in all things, and to the intention of the man, not to that which is acced, but to the causes and Discourses,

with confideration of the differences. The Mantiniens leaving first the Common-weale of the Acheins, gave themselves and their Countrey willingly to the Eteliens, and Some after to Cleomenes. In the The revolte of meane time, whilest they lived under the Lacedemontans, the acheins tooke them againe under the Conduct of Arite, foure yeeres before the Descent of Antigonis: where they were fo far from being punished for the offence committed, as this casie and suddaine re vnion of two people into one Common-wealth, feemed incredible to the whole V Vorld.

For as soone as Arate was entred, he forbad his men to touch their good: Calling the Burgesses afterwards together, wishing them not to care, and that they should inioy their goods, and be affired to line in peace, as long as they were vnder the Acheins Common weale. The Mantiniens who seemed to be without hope, were wonderfully The courtesses reioyced at the words of Arate: VVherefore they presently changed viage at trate their opinion, receiving those into their Houses, to whom formerly to the Manie they had beene deadly enemies, with whom they did communicate nients, their Goods and VVealth. Finally, they omitted nothing of that which seemed necessary for the setting of a firme triendshippe; and in B truth it was not without cause. I doe not know if ever any fell into the hands of more gracious enemies, or being falne into fo great inconveniences, have relieued and raifed themselves with so little losse; the which proceeded from the humanity of Arate and the Acheins. Afterwards feeing a farre off the feditions which were renewed amone ft them , and the practize of the Etoliens and Lacedemonians , they fend an Embaffie to the Acheins, to deliuer their Town into their protection and to receive a Garrison. VVho presently sevied three hundred men, and sent them to Mantinea, these three hundred men of the Acheins nation, leaving their Countrey and all their estates, they remained at C. Mantinea to preferue their liberty. They had moreouer two hundred Souldiers that were strangers.

Soone after there grew a sedition among the Mantiniens; wherfore they called the Lacedem nians, delivering them the Towne; and to The great vib-the end their wickednesse might be full and complear, they murthered red by the Man all the Acheine; a crime which was most execrable. For seeing they timene. would leave the party and friendship of the Acheins, they should at the least haue sent backe the Garrison safe into their Country. It is a Cultome which enemics observe daily by a Common Law. But to the end they might with more ease shewe their affection to Cleomenes and D the Lacedemonians, there proceeded to this great cruelty and basenesse, who in breaking the Law of Nations would not spare their Friends. Seeing then they have practifed such great crucky towards those, who having lately taken their Towne, intreated them like men withour offence, and now defended and kept their Towne, of what paines shall wee judge them worthy ? V Vhat punishment may wee ordayne for fo foule an outrage? Shall they be fold with their wives and Children? But by the Law of Armes they may doe it to those, which have not committed fuch crimes nor fuch cruelties. They were therefore wor-

 N^3

thy of a greater punishment, and a more gricuous example. Wherefore if they have suffered no more but that which Philarchus mentioned, we must beleeve that the Grecians were not mooued to pitty, but rather commended the judgement of the Acheins; who had resolved that fo great a cruelty (the like whereof had neuer beene spoken of) should be grienously punished.

The Mantiniens fold,

94

Seeing then the Mantiniens at that time had no other harme, but the losse of their goods, and were fold by their enemies, who will not hold this Historiographer to be a lyer, and moreouer to have A Written incredible things: And to the end he might (hew his ignorance, he hath not observed that the Acheins at the same time did not the like vnto the Tegeases, whom they tooke in battell: For if the cruelty of the Asheins had beene the cause thereof, there is no doubt but the Tegestes had suffered in like manner. But seeing that this Rigour fell onely uppon the Mantiniens, it is apparent that the cause of their choller was diuers. Moreouer, this same Historiographer tells vs, that Aristomacus the Argine, of anoble Family, and of an auncient Tyrannicall Race, was Tyrant of Arges, who being taken by Antigenue and the Acheins, and brought to Cenchrea, hee suffered the most vaiust Death that euer man indured.

Arifemacus.

He makes him moreover (as it is his custome) to cast out lamentable cries, the night that he was strangled: And that the neighbours terrified partly with the cruelty, and partly defirous to know what it was, some of them wonderfully incensed ranne thither. He also sets downe other effeminate things, which we will leave for the present, beeing content with that which we have here related. For my part I conceiue that if Aristomacus had done no other thing against the Acheins, but to turne the Common-weale into ruine, and the liberty of the Country into Tyranny, that he hath worthily deserved very great punishment, Although that this gentle Historiographer desirous to attribute great glory vnto him, and to begge pitty from the Auditors, by a comme. C moration of the paines which he indured, he doth not once fay, that he was a Tyrant, but that hee was descended of a Tyrannicall Race. What could he say worse, or more pernitious? For the very name is the field where all cruelty is fowne, and which imbraceth all the out. rages and villanies of men. And admit that Aristomacus had indured great torments, as Philarchus fayth, yet he was not sufficiently punished for that which he committed in one day: for when as Arate entred into Arges with a Troupe of Acheins, without Discouery, labouring to restore the Argines to their liberty, hee was in the end forced to D leave the Towne, for that hee found not any man would take Armes, for the feare they had of this Tyrant.

Wherefore Ariffomacus taking his occasion (for that they had consented to the comming of the Acheins) put to Death fourescore Cittizens in the presence of his familiars. Beleeue me it will bee tedious to relate the cruelty which he committed in his life time: He held it of his Predecessors by right of inheritance. And therefore wee must not thinke they have done him wrong, if they have made him serve for an example

example with torments: For it would have been much more voworthy, that so wicked a man after the murther of so many, and after so many thefts and spoyles, should have died unpunished like an Innocent. Neither can they charge Antigonus nor Arate of cruelty, to haue put a Tyrant to death in Prison, whom they had taken in open Warre, and whom they might with reasonand honour haue taken during a peace, and have pur him to a cruell death. But of what punishment will not you hold him worthy, who besides all these things brake his accord with the Acheins. A little before hee had relinquish the A tyranny, being destitute of all hope and succours after the death of Demetrius. At what time the Acheins did not onely faue him, but entertaine him so courteously and graciously, as they remitted all the wrongs which hee had done during his Reigne, and gane him great adnancements in their Common-wealth. Finally, they made him Chiefe of the Acheins. But this wicked man amongst all others, forgetting that great humanity and clemency, began presently to plot how hee might make a league with Cleomenes, retiring himselfe in that greatest neede soone after to the Enemy : whereby the Acheins were in great danger. Who some few dayes after was taken in Warre, was henot B worthy to dye in the Night in the Prison at Cenchrea, as Philarchus faith, but hee should rather haue beene carried throughout all Morea, Aristonacus andafter that hee had suffered infinite torments, to have dyederuelly. Arthropaes, Yet hee was onely strangled in Prison, although hee had committed all forts of Villany.

The History of POLYBIVS.

Moreouer, the same Historiographer holds a long discourse of the miseries of the Mantiniens, as if heethought it were the duty of an Historiographer onely to relate cruell and vniust actions. In regard of the virtue and magnanimity of the Megalopolitains, which they shewed at that time, he makes no mention, as if the duty of an Histoc ry were rather to remember the wickednesse and vices of men, than things well and commendably done: Whereas the Readers of Hiftories shall reape more profit by deeds which are worthy to bee imbraced and followed, than those which are vniust, and to bee avoided Moreouer hee pursues his Discourse, how that Cleomenes tooke the Citty, and that hee fent Letters to Meffena to the Megalopolitains, aduiting them to returne into their Countrey which was whole, and to be of his party: And how the Megalopolitains could not endure they should finish the reading of the Letters, and could hardly forbeare from doing ourrage to the messenger, with many other petty triviall things, D to shew the magnificence and modesty of Cleomenes towards his Enc. mies. But he forbeares to tell that which followed, and which was very proper to the History, which is the praise and memory of things well done. But who hindred him : If we hold them honest men who in words and will maintaine a Warre for their Allies, and if wee doe not onely praise with admiration, but also give thankes with Presents, to those that endure the spoile of their Countrey with fire and sieges, what commendations shall we give then to the Megalopolitains? What The great fiaffection shall wee beare vnto them? Shall it not be great and ample? delity of the

Augalopolitains

96

First, they left the Province to Cleamenes, and abandoned their owne Countrey, rather than to breake their Faith with the Acheins. Finally, although that contrary to hope, and the opinion of all the world. they might have returned into their Country with safety, yet they defired rather to be banished, forsaking their houses, Sepulchers, Temples and goods, and finally, all their estates, than to be taxed to have broken their Faith with their Allies. Was there ever any thing done that was more rare and excellent? Whereunto then should an Historiographer make his Auditours more attentiue ? With what examples A could hee better exhort men to keepe their Faith, and to follow things well done, But Philarchus makes no mention hereof, and is in my opinion blind, when as braue exploits which are worthy of memory offer themselnes.

nerall.

to ninescore

Crownes.'

thousand

Hee saith moreouer, that the Lacedemonians made a spoile within The third part Megalopolis of three Millions, and fixe hundred thousand Crownes, whereof Cleomenes according to the custome had twelve hundred thousand. But who will not maruaile at the beastlinesse and ignorance of this man, touching the Riches and power of Greece: the which are things which an Historiographer ought to know. Truely, I dare boldly affirme, that they could not gather together this Summe in all B Morea, out of the money of all their moueables, excepting their perfons: I meane not in the time when it was impouerished by the oppressions of the Kings of Macedony, and by the divers Warres which they had amongst themselves, but at such time when as all the Townes were firmely united together, and when as Fortune seemed to smile on them. But to flew that what wee fay, proceeds not from ouer-weening or want of reason, it appeares thus. Who knowes not that when the Acheins iovned to the Thebeins, made Warre against the Lacede. monians, and that they were to raise an Army of ten thousand men, and another at Sea of an hundred Triremes, and that they had calculated the charge, it not onely emptied their publicke Cofers, but al- C fo their houses and the whole Province : and that finally, they could hardly draw together three Millions, and fixe hundred thousand Crownes, whereof there wanted an hundred and fifty thousand.

There is not any man that dare affure, that the spoile of Megalopolis at that time, did amount to aboue ninescore thousand Crownes: and that the people, as well Burgesses as Slaues retired to Messina. Whereof behold a great argument: For when the Mantineans were not leffe strong, nor of meaner estate than the Arcadians, as this Historiographer fayth, were enuironed by a fiege, so as when they yeelded, no man could steale away, nor carry away any thing. Yet the whole spoile, reckoning it at the vttermost, accompting the bodies, was estee-The pillage of med but ninescore thousand Crownes. Moreouer, who will not wonder at that which hee faith afterwards, that an Embassie from Ptolomy came ten dayes before this battell, to let Cleomenes understand that he was not refolued to contribute any longer to the charges of this Warre. and that hee aduised him to agree with Antigonus? The which Cleome-

You must not hold that strange which I now affirme of Morea.

nes hearing, he resolued to hazard the battell, before his Souldiers should heare the newes, lest they should mutine, when they should be out of hope of their pay. But if it were true, that he had lately gotten three Millions, and fixe hundred thousand Crownes in Megalopolis, what neede hath he of Prolomyes contribution, feeing that ninescore thousand Crownes were more then sufficient to defeate Antigonus forces ? Is it not a great weakenesse in him to say, that Cleomenes did expect pay for his Souldiers from Prolomy, and withall, that he had taken so great a booty of money in Megalopelis? My Discourse A should be long if I should pursue the vices wherewith this good Historiographer doth generally abound : but this shall suffice for this

prefent.

L1b. 2.

After the taking of Megalapelis, at fuch time as Ansigonus win- an Arnyleuitred in the Citty of Argos, Cleomenes drew his Army together, as edby cleomefoone as the opportunity of the time would give him leave. And ha- nes. uing preached vnto his men, he entred into the Countrey of Argos. Many blamed him for this attempt, as being too bold and rash, in regard of the scituation of the Countrey, which is difficult and strong by Nature. Others which were of a better Iudgement, B held it wisely done. For when as he saw that Antigonus had left the greatest part of his Army in the Countrey, and had with him but a small handfull of Mercenary Souldiers, he had a conceit, that hee might eafily enter the Province without danger: And if he put all voto fire and Sword, euen voto the Walles of the Citty, the Argines through necessity would charge Antigonus, who thorough his basenesse must endure such outrages. Finally, if hee be forced to come to fight, moved with the cries of the people, who shall hinder him to have the Victory, seeing he hath a greater Troupe of men ? If he doth not abandon the Citty as it is fitting, hee can C carry backe his men without danger into his Countrey, after that he hath ouer-runne the Champion : Leauing a great amazement and terrour to his Enemies, and affuring the hearts of his owne Souldiers. The which succeeded according to his project . Autigonus For when the people saw the whole Province thus spoyled, they blamed. began to blame Antigonus: who notwithstanding discharging the Duty of a wife and discreet Captaine, would not goe to field Cleomenes in the meane time ouer-ran their whole Countrey without feare. By this meanes he returned safely into his Countrey, after that hee had at pleasure ruined the Province, and left a great amazen ment amongst the Argines, and made his owne men more hardy for the future VVarre.

But when the Spring came, the Macedonians and the Acheins returning from wintering, went to field: Antigonus marcht to La-conice with his Army, confisting of ten thousand Macedonians, of Nations turning from wintering, went to field : Antigonus marcht to Lathree thousand Archers, three hundred Horse, a thousand Bow- which werein men, and likewise as many of the Gaules: Moreouer, three thou. ontigonus Arfand Foote which were Mercinaries, with three hundred Horse, and about a thousand Megalopolitains armed after the manner of

the Macedonians, whereof Cercides had the leading. As for the Allies, hee had two thousand Foote of Baniere, and two hundred Horse: athouland Foote of the Epirotes, and fifty Horse: and as many of the Acarnanians: and belides all these, a thousand and fixe hundred Sclanonians, whereof Demetrine of Phare was Captaine. Thus the whole Army confifted of twenty eight thousand Foote, and twelve hundred Horse. Cleamenes being advertised by his Spies of the Enemies descent, hee placed forces vpon the passages, by the which they might enter into his Countrey, fortifying them with Trenches and Trees cut downe: And hee himselfe went with his Ar-A my to a paffage which they call Sellafie, thinking as it happened, that the Enemy would take that way. His Army was about twenty thousand men. There were two Mountaines in this passage, whereof the one is called Eng by the people of the Countrey, and the o. ther Olympus. There is a way betwixt both which runs along a Riner vnto Sparta. When as Cleamenes had lodged himselfe in these two Mountaines, and had carefully fortified them with Trenches and Pallifadoes, hee put the Souldiers which were drawne together with the Allies into Eur, whereof his Cozen Euclide had the Commaund, and stayed himselfe in that of Olympus with the Lace- B demonians and Mercenaries. Moreover, hee placed his Horse men in the Plaine, with some of the Mercenaries, vpon the two Bankes of the River.

When as Antigonia was come into those places, and finding the scituation of them, and the wonderfull industry of Cleomenes to dispose of his Army, hee was not resolued to fight at that time. And therefore hee camped neere vnto him, vpon the banke of the River of Gorgile .: whereas staying some dayes . hee turned about the Countrey and the Enemies Campe and fought to draw them to battell by skir-Bankes of Gor. mishes. But when hee found nothing without defence, for that the C Providence of Cleomenes had carefully rampired all places, hee gave ouer his enterprize: But in the end they resolved by a common confent, to make an end of their Warre by a battell. Behold how Fortune had drawne together two great Captaines, equall in virtue, The order of Counsell and Wisedome. Thus Antigonia opposed in Front to Antigonus Bat those which held the Mountaine of Eua, the Macedonians with their Targets, and the Scianonians: and hee put the Leginaries in diuers bands to fuccour the one and the other : to whom hee gaue for Commaunder, Alexander, the Sonne of Ameta, and Demetrius of Phare.

After these marcht the Acarnanians and they of Candy: Finally, the placed two thousand Acheins for a supply, to succour them at need. Then he set his Horse-menneere vnto the River-side in Front of the Enemies Horse, whereof Alexander had the charge with two thousand Foote-men. As for Antigonus, hee lodged neere vnto Mount Olympus with the bands of Adventurers, and the Macedonians : where hee resolued to fight with Cleamenes. VVhen hee had put the Mercenaries into battell, hee caused the Battalion of the

Macedonians to march. The place which was straight, would not fuffer them to doe otherwise. They had given charge to the Sclaus. mians to begin the battell, as soone as they should see a white cloth, which should be aduanced neere vnto Mount Olimpus, at the foote whereof they lodged at Night, under the River of Gorgile. The Megalopolitains alfo with the Horse men were to enter the combate, as foone as they should see a purple Robe, advanced in the Aire from the Kings Quarter.

Lib. 2.

The houre of the battell was now come, the Sclauonians had alrea-A dy discouered Antigonus signe. They encourage their Companions according to the opportunity of the time, making no doubt but they had the victory in their hands. Then they endeauoured with wonderfull resolution to gaine the Mountaine. But the Foote-men which were lightly armed, whom Cleomenes as wee have fayd, left in the Plaine with the Horse-men, seeing that the Bands of the Acheins had not the courage to second them, charg'd them woon the Reare, so as they were in great danger : For on the right hand, and in Front Euclide had the better with his men : and the Mercenaries on the left hand, fighting obstinately, made agreat spoile vpon the Reare. By this meanes they were fuddainly environed with two Troopes of Enemies. When Philopomenethe Megalopolitaine faw this diforder, hee fuddainly gaue good aduice to the Captaines. But for that hee was a young man, and had neuer had charge they gaue no eare vnto him. Wherefore addressing himselse to those of his Nation, Companions fayth hee, the Victory is ours if you will follow mee. And in charging the Enemies Horse, they affailed them with great courage. Wherefore the Aduenturers strangers, who fought in the Reare of those which affail'd the Mountaine, hearing a great noise, and seeing the Combate of the Horse-men, settred to aide and succour C them, whereunto they had been at the first ordained,

The order of the Enemies being by this meanes broken, the Sclanonians and Macedonians with others whom Antigonus had appointed, fell vpon them with great violence and fury. So as afterwards all the World was of opinion, that the industry and courage The courage of Philopomene had defeated Enclide at that time. And therefore of Philopomene they fay, that when as Antigonus demaunded of Alexander why hee is the cause of had sent the Horse-men against the Enemy, besore hee had seene the signe, and that hee had answered, it was not hee, but a young Megalopolitaine which had done it without his privity, heethen replied, that this young man had performed the duty of a good Cap-

taine, and Alexander that of a young foole.

But they which kept the toppe of the Mountaine with Euceli. de, shewed their basenesse, seeing the Enemies ascend : for they shou'd not have attended vntill they had gain'd the top with safety: But relying vpon the aduantage of the place, they should have encountred them, and charged them from aboue : and if necessity had required, they might have retired fafely on the right hand, to charge the Enemy againe. In doing this they had easily broken, defeated

Macedonians

98

Sellafia.

Eug.

Olympus.

Ruclide.

Antigonus

Campe feated

D

100

philopomene.

and put the Macedonians to flight. But they did the contrary, as if they had the Victory certaine in their hands; for without mooning from the place which the Chemenes had appointed them, they stated expecting the enemy, with hope of a greater defeate: For that they should be repulsed and beaten from the highest place of the Mountaine. But they soone suffered the pennance of their basenesse. For after that the Macedonians had recovered the Mountaine, without any refistance, and were come into the Plaine, they fell voon their enemies, fighting hand to hand with fo great fury, as they presently draue them backe into the hollow Caues and inaccessible places.

In the meane time the Combate was cruell among the Horse-men. where it was worth the fight, to behold with what heate, force, and courage the Acheins fought, confidering they all fought for the liherty of the Countrey. But among all others they made great effeeme of Philopomene : for when his Horse was over-thrown with a Pertuisane he fainted nor, fighting long on foote with great courage. Finally in the end hee died valliantly, being that thorough the thinne-bones with an Arrow. On the other fide the Kings had begunne the fight at Mount Olympus with the mercenaries and fuch as were lightly armed. They were about five thousand men, who fought sometimes man to B man, and fometimes they tried the Fortune of the whole Troupe. There the Victory was long in suspence; finally they parted equally from the battell.

But when as Cleamees was advertised that Emlide had abandoned the Mountaine, and that the Allies had turned head, and that the Horsemen were in great despaire, and that all trembled for feare, 'hee resolued to goe out of his Fort, and to put his whole Army in Front vpon one side of the Campe; and therefore hee caused them to sound a Retreate. By this meanes when those that were lightly armed were drawne together, the two Armies charged with their Pikes and laue- C lings. The Combate was cruell, and the charge performed with fo great courage on either fide, as the Victory was long doubtfull, and the judgement difficult who deferued the greatest honour: For that fometimes the Lacedemonians retired, and againe they made the Ma-

cedonians giue backe.

The victory of Anrigonus againft Clcome-

Finally, when as the Eacedemonians were vanquished and put to flight, they were flaine hecre and there like sheepe. Cleomenes saued himselfe in Sparta without any wound, beeing accompanied by some of the Horse-men. From thence hee retired the night following to Sythia, where he imbarqued in certaine shippes which lay long ready D for the necessities of the Countrey, and failed with his friends to A. Lacedemonta- lexandria. When as Antigonus was entred into Lacedemon finding no ken by Antigo reliftance, hee intreated the Lacedemonians graciously and courteously in all things; but especially in suffering them to live and governe their Common-weale after the Lawes of the Country. When he had staied certaine daies there, he returned into Macedony with his Army, hauing newes of the descent of the Sclauonians, and of the spoile they made. Behold how Fortune disposeth of great affaires as she pleaseth.

There is no doubt but if Cleamenes had deferred the battell a little or staicd in Sparta after his deseate, keeping them in hope, in the end he had prevailed in his affaires after the retreate of Antigonus. Antigonus sedeman. came from thence to Tegee; to whom hee left their Common weste intire. Three dayes after he arrived at Argos, at fuch time as the pear ple were gathered together to celebrate the Nemean games, who prefently went foorth to meete him. All the City had their over fixt vine pon him and beheld him, all the World commended him, all the alfembly of Greece, and enery City in perticular did him Honour, not onely Humane but Diuine.

From thence he made hast to go into Macedon, where as he found A the Sclauonians spoiling the Country sto whom hee gaue battell, and the Sclauonians spoiling the Country; to whom hee gaue battell, and got the Victory after a long combate. But hee cried so much during The Victory of Autignous athe fight, as within few dayes after hee died of a fluxe of blood; fo as gainfithe sela, the Gregians loft the great hope they had conceived, not fo much for nonians. his skill in Warre, as for his vertue and royall perfections. He left the Realme of Macedony to Philip the sonne of Demetrius, But if you demaund of me why I have helde follong a Discourse of this present Warre, you must know I have done it of purpose. For as this time concurres with that whereof wee meane to speake, I have held it fit R and necessary, to let the World understand, according to my first reiolution, what the estate of the Macedonians and Grecians were at that The Deathof time. At that time Ptelomy died of ficknesse to whom succeeded many great Prolomy Philopater. The like did Seleucus the sonne of Seleucus, who Princes, was furnamed Callinice; and in like manner Pogon; to whom his brother Antiochus succeeded in the Realme of Syria.

The like in a manner hapned to those which helde the Kingdomes of Alexander after his death, as Selencus, Ptolomy, and Lysimagus; for those died in the hundreth foure and twenteth olympiade, as wee have formerly related; and these in the hundreth thirty nine. Seeing wee haue exposed the preparation of all our History, and sufficiently decla-C red at what time and how, and for what causes the Romanes after the conquest of all Italy assailed forraigne Realmes, and what the estate then was of Greece, Macedony, and the Carthaginians. I have thought it fit to make an end of this Booke, with a Commemoration of these actions, and this alteration of Kingdomes: Seeing that according to our intention we are come vnto the times when as the Grecians made the VVarre of the Allies, the Romanes against Hannibal; and to that when as the Kings of the lower Asia, fought for the Empire of Syria.

The end of the Second Booke of Polybius.

L1b. 3.



THIRD BOOKE of the History of POLYBIVS.



102

Ee have thewed fufficiently in the First Booke. how that wee have taken for the beginning and foundation of the Remane actions, the V Varre betwixt the Allies, that of Hannibal, and that of Syria: Wee haue in like manner set downe A the causes. for the which wee have beene forced (in reducing the beginnings farther off,) to write the History of the Second Booke. Now we will indeauour to make you understand the

Warres themselues, and the causes why they were undertaken, and dispersed in so many places, having let you understand, in as few words as possible we may, the attempts of the people of Rome. Seeing that which wee haue undertaken to write is but a Worke, and as it were a spectacle; (that is to say,) how, when, and wherefore all the Countries of the VVorld have beene reduced under the obedience of the Romans, B and that this hath a notorious beginning, a prefixed time, and the end certaine. VVee have thought it good to deliver summarily the accidents which happed from the beginning vnto the end of these VVarres: Immagining that they which defire to fee our Worke, will more easily come to the knowledge of the whole History. Beleeue me that our understanding conceives many things necessary for a perticular History, by the knowledge of the generall; for the vnderstanding whereof, the experience of perticular actions is of no small importance; and if they

be both loyned together, fo as it may bee but one description, they will be wonderfull profitable to the Reader. But as for the contents of our Worke, wee have fufficiently spoken thereof in the two first Bookes. And as for the perticular actions which have happed they. have taken their beginning in the Warres which we have Related and thereend at the death of the Kings of Macedon. So as from the beginning vnto the end there were fifty yeares; during the which there were as great and admirable things performed, as euer were in so shore

To speake whereof, wee will beginne to write from the hundreth and fortieth Olympiade, and will observe this order. First wee will A shew the causes for the which this VVarre, which they call of Hannibal, beganne betwixt the Romanes and Carthaginians : So as entring into Italy, they reduced the Romans to fo great an extreamity, as they suddainly grew in hope to be Lords, not only of the rest of Italy, but allo of the Citty of Rome. And afterwards we will continue our marration, vpon what occasion Philip King of Macedon, after that he had mide VVarre with the Etoliens and pacified Greece, entred into hope with the Carthaginians. And as for Antiochus, Ptolomy, and Philopaser, they in the end had Warre together for the lower Syria, after a long differtion. Moreover the Rhodiene and Prafiens making VVarre B against them of Constantinople, forced them to abandon Pontus. And there ending our Discourse, we will beginne to speake of the manner of living of the Romanes, of their Lawes and of their Common-weales By the which as proper to them, they have attained vnto fuch great. The Countries power, as they have not only made subject to their obedience, Italy, the Remande Sycile, and the Gaules, and like wife Spaine in a short time; bubin the end they have undertaken the Empire of the whole World, after they had vanquished the Carthaginians by Armes. Then passing on we will shew, how the Kingdome of Hieron of Sararoffe was defeated and rujned. The like we will do of divers troubles which were in Aeros. C Moreover how after the death of King Ptolomy, Antiochus, and Philip, The Warres being agreed touching the division of the Realme left vnto the Sonne, which Anie. began the Warre. Philip against Egypt and Samosi, and Antiochus a- chus and Phi-gainst Syria and Phenicea. The made.

And when as we have fummarily fer downe the affaires of spaine, Lybia, and Sycile, we will prefently turne our Discourse to Greece, as the affaires shall change. For after that we have related the VVars at Sea, which Attalus and the Rhodiens made against Philip : and having Attalus fet downe the Romanes V Varre against him, how and by whom it had D beene mannaged, and what successe it had, observing the order of things, we will come to the indignation of the Etoliens, who proclaimed VVarre against the Romanes, and drew Antiochus out of Asia. And when we have delivered the causes, and related Antiochus nauigation into Europe, we will first shew how he fled out of Greece; and being vanquished by Armes, how he abandoned voto the Romanes, all the Countries which lie on this fide Mount Taurus. Thirdly, we will Mount Taurus shew with what power the Romans conquered the Empire of Afia, after

L1b. 3.

Eumenides. Ariarate. Morea.

104

they had wholy defeated the Gaules, who wandred vp and downes and how they freed the whole Countrey on this fide Mount Taurus from the feare of the Barbarians, and the infolency of the Ganles. And when we have related the inif-fortune of the Etoliens and Cophalins in their Warres, we will make mention of those of Eumenides, of Prusia. and of the Gaules, the like we will do of that of Ariarate against Pharnace. From thence dispatching the accords of them of Morea, and the increase of the Rhodien Common-wealth, we will make an end of our worke, fetting downe in the end the Voyages which Antiochus firna- A med Epiphanes, made into Egypt. And in like manner the Warres of Perfia with the ruine of the Kingdome of the Macedonians. These are things whereby we may cafily understand how the Romanes in a short fubmitted the whole Earth under their obedience, affailing them in perticular. And if it were lawfull to discerne vertue from vice, by the good The Conquent or bad fuccesse of affaires, or from the praise or dishonour of men, we of the Romanes must of necessity make an end here, and turne our Relation to things which in the beginning we propounded to fet down , for this hath continued fifty three yeares: during the which the Romes Empire hath gotten so great an increase, as the whole World might well know, that they must do what their people commaunded. But for that such things, R cannot be rightly judged by the good Fortune of affaires, confidering that many times those that seeme to be well done, are the cause of great inconveniencies, if they be not done in time: And contrary-wife they which are fallen into some disaster, many times turne their mis-fortunes to good, if they know how to have patience. We have thought it fitting to adde to that which we have Written, what the nature of the Victors were, what meanes they held in the gouernment of their Empire, and how the rest of the Townes, Regions, and Countries yeilded willingly voto them : And moreover what course of life, and what hawes they held with all the World, aswell in particular as generally with all their Common-wealths.

By this meanes they which live at this day, shall plainy see whither it be good to flie, or voluntarily to submit to the Empire of Rome; and they which shall come after may judge whither the actions of the Remanes be commendable and worthy of memory, or altogether blameable. Behold wherein the profit of our History will confift, aswell for the present as the future time. They which mannage a Warre, and they which undertake so judge of it, do not propound the Victory for the last end, nor wholy so subject himselfe. Beleeue me, a wise man doth not make Warre with his neighbours, to see the defeat and ruine : D Neither doth any man faile in diuers Seas, onely to make Voyages; nor purfues many Sciences and Disciplines, in regard onely of them. Without doubt we pursue these things, for that which followes, seemes pleasant, profitable, or decent, and therefore wee may with reason fay, that the end of our Worke hath beene to know the condition of all things, after the Conquest of the World made by the Romanes, vn-

till they fell againe into new combustions.

Of which troubles I have refolued to write, making as it were, a new beginning:

beginning: For that there hath beene great and memorable things. having not onely beene present at the greatest part, but also a com- Polybius hath fort and anliftant.

This trouble grew, when as the Romans made Warre against the other things Celtiberians, and the Carthaginians against Massiniffa, King of Ly. which he hath bia : and what time Attalus and Prusias were at Warre in Alia. And then Ariarate King of Capadocia expell'd his Realme by Roferne. by the meanes of Demetrius, was soone after restored by him. But Demetrius the Sonne of Seleucus, lost his Realme and life by the con Demetrius lost A spiracy of other Kings, after hee had held Syria twelue yeeres. And his Re line the Romans restored the Grecians to their Cittles, whom they had friency, charged to bee the Authours of the Persian Warre, after they had accepted the excuse of their innocency. Soone after they made Warre against the Carthaginians, for the causes which wee will specific, so as they resolved first to transport them, and afterwards wholly to ruine them.

And for that the Makedoniuns abandoned the part of the Romans, and the Lacedemonians the Common weale of the Leheins, there followed the vtter ruine and destruction of all Greece. This R shall serue for the Preamble of our Worke. I have neede of the fauour of Fortune, to the end that by the meanes of life I may finish this my resolution, although I hold it for celtaine, that if a long life should faile mee, yet there would bee alwayes some one found among fo great a multitude of wife and learned men, that The defire and would finish our Worke, and endeuour to bring vnto per affection or the fection that, which suddaine Death might hinder and preuent the end of his

As wee have related at large the deeds which feeme most memorable. defiring that our whole worke might bee knowne to the C Reader, as well in generall as perticular, it is now time vnto the declaration of our defigne. The greatest part of those which have written the deeds of Hannibal, desiring to shew the cause of the Warre which kindled betwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians, Tay, that the fiege of Sugante was the first : and the second, that contrary to the accord made with the Romans, they had past the Riuer of Ebro.

For my part, I am of opinion that these were the beginnings, but not the causes; for there is a great difference betwirt the causes and beginning of things : vnleffe fome will fay, that the Voyage of Al x- The beginning D ander the great into Afia, hath beenethe cause of the Warre which of a wouse and he made against the Persons. On which the dailed the cause dishe made against the Persians : Or that the descent which Antiochius ier. made at Demetriade, hath beene the cause of that which was begun against the Romans the which is neither true nor likely.

But what man is so much blinded with ignorance, that will affirme and maintaine, that the preparations which were made partly by Alexander, and partly by Phillip in his life time, for the Warre of Persia : Or by the Etoliens , to make Warte against the romans, before the comming of Antiochus hath beene the caults of the

Warre! Thescare the opinions of men, who doe not obserue how much the beginnings and the cause differ: and that the causes in all things are the first, and the beginning are the end of causes. I am of opinion that the beginnings are called the first workes of things which are resolved and concluded, and that the causes are those which preceed the decree and resolution, and makes vs so to judge: as are the thoughts, the aduices, the discourses of reason and such other

This will be apparent for that which followes: For it will be easie for any man to see for what cause the Warre of Persia was made, and A whence the beginning came. The first was the returne of the Greci-Water in Per- answith Xenophon into their Country, by infinite fierce and barbarous Nations: where not any one durst make head against him in so

long a Voyage.

Ageflans

fe.

106

phillip.

The second hath, beene the Voyage of Agesilans King of Lacedemonia into Alia by Sea. Where having found nothing answerable to his forces, nor that presented it selfe, hee was forced to returne into Greece, for the troubles which were kindled there: as if he had triumphed ouer the Barbarians. For which causes Phillip King of Macedon, having experience of the basenesse and sloth of the Per- B fians and relying voon the readinesse of the Macedonians in matters of War: being likewise drawne with the hope of great gaine, he prepared Warre against them with all his forces, as soone as he found himselse assured of the amity and friendship of the Grecians: taking his occasion, that the Persians had vsed great cruelty against

And therefore wee must say, that the causes of this Warre are those which wee have first related, and the occasions are those whereof we now speake: and the beginning was Alexanders Voiage by Sea into Alia: And in that which was made against the Romans Vn-C der the conduct of Antiochin, the wrath and indignation of the E-Warre against toliens was the cause. You must vinderstand that for the opinion which they had conceived, that the Romans made no accompt of them as long as the Warre of Phillip continued, they not onely called Antiochus vnto their Succours, but also resolued to put all in hazard, so great their spleene and fury was for that which was past.

It is true, the liberty of Greece was the occasion, under hope whereof they laboured by all meanes to draw the neighbour Citties to their Enterprize: But the beginning of the Warre was the Voy- D age to Sea of Antiochus to Demetriade. Wee haue beene tedious in this Discourse, not to blame any one of the auncient Historiographers, but for the profit of those which have a desire to learne. For as Philitians cannot cure their Patients, if they have not knowledge of the causes of the Diseases wherewith they are troubled: So they which treate of Histories, are altogether unprofitable, if the reason of the place, of the time, with the causes and occasions bee not knowne.

parifon.

The cause of

the Etoliens

There

There is therefore nothing more necessary, nor more to be desired, than to know the causes of all things that happen: For opportunity doth many times redifie great affaires, and it is easie to preuent their beginnings.

The History of POLYBIVS.

It is true that Fabius a Roman Historiographer faith, that the cru- Fabius. elev and inhumanity of Hannibal towards the Sagontins, and the ambition and insatiable desire of Rulein Asarubal, haue beenethe caufes of the Warre betwixt the Romans and Hannibal, Generall of the Carthaginians. Then hee fayth that he had much augmented the A Carthaginians Empire in Spaine, and that being returned to Carthage, hee fought to tirannize the Common-wealth, and to overthrow their Lawes. The which the chiefe men discouering, they opposed themsclues against Asdrubal. Wherefore leaving Affricke in a rage, hee returned presently into Spaine, and afterwards mannaged the affaires according to his owne fancy, and without the authority of the Senate of Carthage. Moreover, he faith, that Hannibal who from his youth had beene at the Warre vnder him, was of the same enterprize : and therefore after he was Lord of Spaine, hee followed the courses of Afdrubal. So as this Warre which was made against the Romans, R was begun by him in spight of the Carthaginians, and that there was not any man in Carthage which loued the Common wealth, but did much blame the deeds of Hannibal against the Sagontins. Moreouer. hee fayth, that after the taking of Sagont, there was an Emibaffic fent from Rome to Carthage, demaunding Hannibal to bee pu-

nished for the breach of the accord, and if they would not yeeld visto it, they should declare Warre against the Carthagin ans.

But if a man should demaund of Fabius what could succeed better, nor more reasonable, and expedient for the Carthaginians, than to deliver voon the Romans request the authour of the offence, and C him that had committed the fault, to punish him : Seeing that as hee fayth, they had dislik't the actions of Hamibal: and by this meanes might revenge by another the common Enemy of the Countrey, and maintaine the estate of their Citty in peace, chasing away the authour of the warre, confidering that this might bee well effected by a bare resolution? What can he answere? Nothing without doubt. Contrariwise they were so farre from doing it, as they maintained the The Warre Warre seuenteene yeeres continuall against the Romans: Neither did continued 17. they cease untill destitute of all hope, they not onely hazarded their yeeres. Countrey, but also their lives.

Finally, to what end doe wee vie this discourse of Fabius or of his writings? It is not to cry him downe : For his lying writings are apparent to those which reade them. It is onely to advertise those which Riue the credit, not somuch to regard the title of the Authour, as the truth of things : For there are men which doe not beare fo much respect to the writings, as to him that made them, and which thinke that for as much as Fabius lived in those times, and had beene of the Senate, that hee could not but speake truth. It is true, and I am of opinion, that we must give beleefe and credit vitto him in

many things, but yet wee may not beleeve all: for wee must consider things as they are, and how they agree.

of the Warre Carthaginians.

108

Finally, to returne to our Discourse, we must not thinke that the first The first cause cause of the Warre, which the Romans had with the Carthaginians, was betwirthe Ro- the indignation of Amilear, firnamed Barca, Father to Hannibal. mass and the And we must vinderstand that he was not vanquished by the Romans, during the Warre of Sicily; (for he preserved the Army which was a-The fore fight bout Erix with great Iudgement) but when he faw the Carthaginians of Amilear, Fa- had loft the battell at Sea, hee thought good to yeeld vnto the time, and made a peace with the Romans, yet heeleft not his indignation, A fo as he expected continually an opportunity to be reuenged of them. And if the Carthaginians had not found themselves troubled with the mntiny of their Souldiers, hee would prefently have renewed the VV arre with all his power: and therefore being hindred by an intestine mischiese, he deserr'd it to another time.

The Romans confidering the danger wherein the Carthaginians were by the mutiny of their Souldiers, threatned them with VVarre. To prevent the which, the Carthaginians made an accord as we have specified in the former Booke, without which no man can understand Sardinia aban- that which wee have now fayd, nor that which followes. Finally, they R quit them Sardinia, as vnfurnished both of counsell and aide: For that the Romans would not otherwise desist from their Enterprize, and they payed them beside the Summe already accorded, seven hundred thouland Crownes: which was the second and the greatest cause of the

VVarre which afterwards began.

The fecond Cause.

doned by the Carthazinians.

The third Cause.

Enemy to the Remans.

VVhen as all the people of Carthage were entred into the like indignation with Hannibal, and that Amilear faw the mutiny of the Souldiers supprest, and the affaires of the Countrey pacified, he began to make VVarre in Spaine, feeking to make vse of it, as a preparative to leade them against the Romans. Behold that which we must imagine for the third cause, that is to say, the good fortune which the Car-C thaginians had : For that their hearts grew great, and therefore thev vnderrooke this VV arre more boldly. There is proofe sufficient, that Amilear was the principall cause of the second Punique VVarre, although he were dead ten yeeres before : but it shall suffice for the prefent to relate that which followeth: At what time that Hannibal was vanquished by the Romans, he retired to Antiochus leaving Affricke, the Remans advertised of the Etoliens attempt, sent an Embassieto Antiochus to know his will, and to discouer by this meanes his preparation for Warre. But having vnderstood that he held the party of the Etoliens, and that he was resolued to make Warre against the Remans, they frequented daily with Hannibal, feeking by their continuall familiarity, to draw him into suspition and dislike; wherein they were not deceived: For Antischus thinking he had beene gain'd by the Romans, suspected him long. But it happened on a time when as the King called him to his Councell, whereas he had good liberty to speake. And then after many discourses, in the end as it were by indignation, hee began to vie these termes. VVhen as my Father Amilcar

Amilear was to passe into Spaine with an Army I was about the Age of nine yeares: and when as he facrificed to Iupiter, I was neere vnto the Altars.

But when as the Sacrifices were ended, my father caused the rest to special to the retire backe; and having called me alone, he demaunded kindly of me, stochus. and as it were with imbracings, if I would go the Voyage. The which when I had not onely accepted, but moreover intreated him like a childe; then taking my right hand, and laying it vpon the Altar, hee would that touching the things facrificed, I should sweare that present-A ly when I came to age, I should be an enemy to the Romanes. And therefore Sir, as long as you shall be their enemy, you may relie confidently in me, and have no suspicion of Hannibal: but when you shall that when the be reconciled, or that you shall contract friendshippe with them, then came to age. expect no other accuser, and have a care to keepe your selfe from me, he would be an as from an enemy to the people of Rome, for I shall be always as enemy to the as from an enemy to the people of Rome; for I shall be alwayes oppo- Komanes. fite vnto them with all my power.

Antiochus hearing this kind of Speech, and that Hannibal spake truly and with affection, in regard of his griefe, he presently abandoned all suspicion. Behold then a manifest testimony of the hatred and bad in Law to Hans. B affection of Amilear towards the Romanes; for heeleft Afdrubal his mital. sonne in Law, and his sonne Hannibal for their enemies, such as there could be none greater. It is true, that Death tooke an order that Afdrubal could not shewe the hatred he bare them. But Hanvibal had time at will, so as prenailing in his interprize, he hath sufficiently made knowne the hatred which he held from his Father. And therefore they Agodconfiwhich have the Gouernment of a Common-weale must carefully con-necessary or al fider this, and ruminate in their understanding to know the humours of Gouernours. those, with whom they make any accord or friendship; whither it be for the necessity of the time, or to give over the Warres; to the ende C they may alwaies defend themselues from those which seeke an opportunity to do enill, and to make vie of those whom they know to bee their Subjects or true friends, when necessity shall require. These caufes which we have specified, are those of the second Punique Warre, and the beginning of that which we will now relate.

The Carthaginians hardly induring the loffe of Sycile, which Thecauses of the Romanes had taken from them. It is true that as we have faid, Sar- an harred. dinia which they had surprized by Treason during the mutiny of Affricke, and this summe of money which they had caused them to pay, did much increase their hatred. And therfore it was likely that as soone D as they should grow great in Spaine, they would transport the VVarre into Italy. But after the death of Afdrubal, who after the death of Amilear was Generall of the Carthaginians, they defired to know the will of the Souldiers, before they would place a new Commaunder. Neuer Commaunder did And when as the newes came from the Campe, that Hannibal had bin apything worchosen Captaine by a generall consent, they presently assembled, and shily which was confirmed with one accord by the election of the men of VVar. Han not pleasing to mibal having received all power, and confidering that to linger was of no worth, he marcht with his army to the skirts of the Oleades to ruine

them.

Carteia taken by affault.

110

them. And therefore he belieged Carteia, the chiefe Towns of that Countrey, and tooke it by affault after some dayes resistance. So as the other Townes being terrified yeelded of themselves to the Cartha-

After this Victory the Army retired to winter at Carthagena with great booty: whereas Hannibal vfing great bounty, deuided it amongst the Souldiers: So as hee gained their hearts wonderfully, leaving them in great hope for the future. In the Spring hee led his Army a-Countries con- gainst the Vacceens, and presently conquered Ermandique : Afterwards her tooke Arbacale by force, not without great danger, having A held it long befreged: For that it had beene well defended by the greatnesse of the Citty, and the multitude and courage of the Inhabitants.

mbal.

After this, hee suddainly felt by chance into a maruellous danger, by The Toletains, a charge which the Toletains have him, at his returne from the Vacceens with a great booty: For it is a people which exceeds all the rest of this Province in courage and multitudes of men, with the which also there ioyned the Fugitiues of Ermandique. Whereunto the banished men of the *Oleades* had perswaded them. Without doubt the Carthaginians had beene vanquished and defeated, if they had offered Battell; but Hannibal gaue order to the contrary, and striking Saile to B enemy, he planted himselfe vppon the Banke of the River of Tagus: giuing charge vnto his Horse men, that when they should see the Enemies enter into the Water, they should charge the Battalion of foore, He lodg'd forty Elephants along the Bankes.

By this meanes all things succeeded happily, for that he had the ri-

uer and the Elephants as it were, for Combattants: For the Barbari-

ans thinking that the Carthaginians were retired for feare, they cast

themselves confusedly into the River with great cries. Wherefore a

annoy the enemies, who dura not relye voon the Ford. They which

Ebro, that durst resist the Carthaginians, except the Sagontins. It is

occasion of Warre to the Romanes, before hee had seized uppon that

which his Father Amilear had aduited him to do.

true that Hannibal would not fall voon them, least hee should offer an D

The river of Tagus.

great number of them were defeated vpon the Bankes of the River by the Elephants which stood there, and slew them at their landing. Some C Hanibals victowere also flaine in the River by the Horse men, for that the Horsemen ry vppon the Barbarians. being at ease and without Armour, could better helpe themselves, and.

hundredthou lana men.

An Embaffie

from the Re-

In the meane time the Sagontins sent often to Rome, aswell for the care of their owne private affaires, as also fore-seeing future things, and likewise to advertise them of the good Fortune of the Carthaginians in Spaine. Finally the Romanes having thereupon many and divers aduertisements, they sent an Embassie into Spaine, to discouer the course of Hammibals actions: But he was retired to Winter at Carthagena,

were in the Reare, and might eafily recover the Banke, retired, vntill in the end the Carthaginians cast themselves into the river with all their bands and companies, and put them to flight. The Tolerains army. with the Olcades and Vacceens, confifted of a hundred thousand men. After which defeate, there were not any found beyond the river of

having mannaged his affaires to his owne liking. Being suddainly arrived there, he cals them and gives them audience, and power to deliver their charge. The Embassadours at the first signifies voto him, that he should demaund nothing from the Sagontins, being allied vnto the Romanes : And moreover that he should not passe the river of Ebre, for that it had beene so concluded by the Treaty made with Afdruball. The which being heard by Hannibal, like a young man and greedy of Warand who casily did what he would with the Senate of Caribage, by the meanes of the heads of his faction, together with the harred he A bare against the Romanes, he answered the Embassadours as a friend to swertothe Rothe Sagonins, blaming the people of Rome, who when they had late- man Emballily received Letters from the Sagontins, for a mutiny which was growne amongst them; to the end they might send some Embassie to pacific it. they had wickedly put to death some of the principall of the Citty: Whereof he threatens them to take reuenge, faying that the Careha. ginians had a Custome not to disclaine outrages : On the other side, he fent vnto Carthage, to advertise them of that which they were to do. confidering that the Segentins relying vppon the Alliance with the Romanes . had done great outrages to many Townes subject to the Car. B thaginians.

Finally as one full of inconstancy and rage, and inflamed with a defire to make Warre, he propounded no other valuable reason, pursuing only certaine frivolous and impertinent causes. The which is incident to thole, who transported by their passion forget their duty. But had it not beene much better to fay thus? That the Carthaginians do rightfully demaund of the Romanes, that they restore vnto them Sardinia. and the filuer, which for fo many yeares they had vniustly drawne from them, during their great affaires, and if they did it not, they will proclaime Warre against them. Where as contrariwise it seemes c now, in leaving the true cause, and supposing a falle one of the Sagona tins, they would make it not only without occasion, but also with great outrage. And although the Embassadours vaderstood well, that vppon necessity they must enter into Warre; vet they went vnto Carthage

where they vied the like speech.

It is true the Romanes meant to Transport it into Spaine and not into Italy, and to have Sagent for a Fort. Wherefore in the interim, they laboured first to pacifie the Wars of Sclauonia, as if they intended to make a Warre that was long and tedious and farre from Italy. It hapned at that time, that when as Demetrius King of the Scianonians for Demetrius King D gat the many favours which the Romanes had done him, for that hee faw them prest on the one side with the feare of the Gaules, and on the ther by the Carthaginians, and that all his hope was in the King of Macedon : for that hee had bin a pertaker of that Warre, which Antigoniu made against Cleomenes, ruining the Townes of the Selauonians which were subject to the Romanes, forcing the City, and exceeding the bounds limitted in the Treaty. The like hee did to most parts of the Iland of Cyclades: So as ne ruined all like a Tempest. beeing accompanied with fifty strong Vessels. Whereof the Romanes

being advertised, seeing at that time the Principallity of Whitedon to Triumph, they laboured with all their present meanes to pacific the affaires of Sclanenia; hoping it would produce caffe: And that foone after, they hould punish the basentile of the selanonians, and the ingratuade of Demetrics. But marrers past otherwise then they expected. For whilest they imploy their time efferein? Hannibaltakes Sagent much sooner then they conceined. So as the Warre grew hot, not in Spaine, but against the City of Rome will thoroughout all Italy. Yet the Romanes pursoing their enterprize fent Lucius Emilius into Sclavonia, the first years of the hundred and fifteth Olympiade, with A a very great Army to keep that Province in peace, and from future the ore minuted and investors.

of Sagont.

of the head of

an interprize.

H2:

Hannibal parting from Carthagena with his whole Afmy, goes to Sagons, a Towne scienated beyond the River of Ebro, at the foote of The scituation the Mountaine which deuides Spaine from the Celifberien , about a mile diftant from the Sea. The people of this Countrey exceede all the rest of Spaine in abundance of fruites wand in multifuldes of men. and they are the most Warlike. Hannibat tenting into these limits with his Army signd having ruined all the Countrey, The beliedged it with all manner of Engines, conceiuing that the taking thereof B would proque wonderfull commodious for his present Affaires. The difference First he considered that he should deprive the Remanes of all hope to make Warre in Spaine : and that moreover he flould firike a great terrour into the rest; and that by this meanes the Townes of Spaine reduced already under his obedience, would keepe their faith the better. Belides it was likely, that they which defired to line fill in their liberty, would soone yeild: And that thirdly he immagined, that he might then confidently pursue the Remainder, leaving no enemy behind him.

He hoped more ouer, to gather much Treasure for the intertaine- C ment of his War; and that he should gaine the hearts of the Souldiers for the booty that every one should get at the sacke of the Towne; and that finally he should purchase the love of the Cittizens remayning in Carthage, with presents that he will send them of the spoiles. Beeing moduled with thefereasons, he wholy attends the siege of this Towne. and inflames the hearts of the Souldiers, spurring them on sometimes with rage against the Enemy; sometimes with hope of Recompence; and fometimes he ferues them for an example, as well in making the Engines, and approaching them to the Wals, as in going formetimes to those places which were most dangerous. Finally, hee performed D all things fo extraordinary well, as if hee had beene but a fimple Souldier.

Sagont forced by Hamibal.

And when he had toyl'd his Body and minde herein for the space of eight, moneths, in the end he forced Sagont. Whereas after he had made a great booty of gold and filter, and taken many men, he kept the money for the charges of the War, as he had formerly resolved, deuiding the Prisoners among the Souldiers, according vnto their seperall dignities and set the sest of the spoile vnto Carthage.

After these things, hee was not deceived in his hope, to as things succeeded according to his defire: for his Souldiers were much more ready to vidergoe all dangers : and the Carthaginians much more ready to please him. Moreouer, this boory of money was a great meanes for the enterprize he had in hand.

During these actions, Demetrius King of the Sclauenians, discouering the enterprize and preparation of the Romans, hee presently tified Dimale. caused the Towne of Dimale to bee carefully furnished with men and victuals : and as for the other Townes of Sclauonia, hee chased A away those that were of a contrary faction, suffering none bur such as held his party. Then hee made choice of fixe thousand old Souldiers out of his Army, and put himselse into Phare. In the meane The arrivall time the Confull Emilius arrives fafely in Sclauonia with his Army: of Emilius into where being aduertifed that the Enemies were confident and refolute, for that they were in hope, that the descent of the Romans should not prevaile against them, relying much in the scituation and munition of Dimale, hee thought good before all things, to doe his vitermost endeauour to take it : thinking (as it afterwards happened) that this being taken, all the rest amazed with feare, R would easily yeeld vnto the Romans. And after that hee had made fome speeches vnto the Souldiers, hee planted his Engines of Bartery against the Towne, and befieged it: which being forced on the seauenth day, did so much amaze the Enemies, as presently Embassies came from all the rest of Schanoma, yeelding vnto the

The which being received into Friendship, and having treated The Townes with every one according to their condition, her causeth his Army reduced to the to march directly to Phare, whereas the King of the Sclausnians Romaneobedi. made his abode. But for that hee found this Towne strong by sci- ence. tuation, and mann'd with the choise of the Army, and moreover, well furnished with Victuals, and all kinds of munition, hee feared the fiege would bee long and difficult. Finally, being long in supence, The warlike he takes this counsell. Hee vseth all diligence and labour to gaine the policy of Emi-Iland in the Night, and doth lodge a great part of his Army in the lus. thickest of the Forrest : as for himselfe, at the breake of day, hee gaines the neerest Port vnto the Towne with twenty shipps. The Sclauonians feeing the Enemies hipps, and making no accompt of their number, they goe forth with a great Fleete to hinder the landing of the Romans, where they charg'd them, and for a time n the Combate was very furious, there comming still Succours vnto them from the Towne by files, fo as in the end all the Citty was drawne thither.

Then the Romans who had layne all night in Ambush in the Forrest, hearing the noise, ranne with all speed by couered places, and gaining a little Hill which was strong by nature, within the Towne and Port, they tooke from their Enemies all meanes of returne. The which the Sclauonians well perceiuing, they leave their first enterprize to repulse the Enemy, and drawing together in one troupe,

L1b. 3.

The victory of

114

121 101

the Romans vp-

on the Sciano.

Demetrius a

little nudge-

Pharezazed.

ment.

man of great courage and

450

Bians.

they encourage one another, as men resolued to go and fight against thosewhich held the Hill. On the other side the Romans seeing the Sclauonians approach, put themschies in battell, and charg'd them, fighting with great resolution and courage : The other part of the Army at Sea, landed, march't, and preft the enemy in the Reare. Wherefore for as much as the Romans charg'd them on all fides, and that the Sclauonians were prest before and behind, the Combate was long and cruell. Finally, the Romans had the Victory. The greatest part of the Sclauenians were most miserablely flaine, some saued themselves within the Towne, and the rest sled into the Desarts A of the Iland.

Demetrius the Night following faued himselfe contrary to the opinion of all the World, by meanes of certaine Vessels which hee had appointed in three places for his fafety, the case so happening : and retired to Phillip King of Macedon, with whom hee spent the Remainder of his dayes. Hee was a man of great courage and ouerweening, but of little judgement in Martiall affaires. forchee ended according to the life which hee had formerly led: For when as at Phillips d'fire hee had begunne to besiege the Towne of the Messenians, hee was most shamefully slaine by the Enemy, B for his great and ouerweening boldnesse. But wee will speake of these things more particularly, when wee shall come vnto that time. When as Emilius had so suddainly gotten Phare, hee razed the Towne to the ground. And having within few dayes reduced The Towns of the rest of the Townes of Sclauenia to the Romane Obedience, and decided all the affaires of the Prouince as hee had resolued, hee returnes to Rome in the beginning of Autumne : where hee was received with wonderfull great glory, triumph, and good esteeme of all men, to have done not onely like a wife and discreete man, but

But when in the meane time newes came to Rome of the razing of like a resolute. Sagont, some have written, that the Lords of the Romane Councell were not of opinion to make Warre, and they alledge causes and reasons which held them in suspence. But what can bee spoken more vnreasonably? How is it likely, that they which the yeere before had fignified Warre vnto the Carshaginians, if they entred the Sagontins Countrey, fhould now growe doubtfull, whetherafter the taking of Sagont, they should make Watre, or not ? But is there any thing leffe worthy of credit, to fay, that the Senate on the one fide was wonderfully heavy and afflicted, as if all D had beene veterly loft: On the other fide that the Fathers brought all their Children to the Senare, so as they were aboue twelue yeeres of age, and that being partakers of the Councell, they neuer reuealed, or made knowne the secrets to any? Without doubt these things are neither true nor likely, vnlesse the Romans haue that gift of nature, to bee wife from their Cradles.

We have discoursed sufficiently of these writings which are of Cherea and Solilus: neither have they so much shew of a History, as of old wives

Tales: and are like vnto those which they vsually tell in Barbers shops, The Romans then after the newes of the taking of Sagent, and the murther of their Allies, fent presently an Embassie to Carthage, to let them understand two things, whereof the one seemed to bee of consequence, for ignomy and losse of the Carthaginians, and the other had a shew to draw their Empire in hazard. For they demaunded, that they should either deliuer Hannibal to bee punished for the breach of the publique Faith, or else they should hold themfelues affured of Warre. When as the Embassadours were come to Roman Embas. A Carthage, and that the Senate had given them audience, they deli- fadours fentes uered their Commission: which was not without the indignation of Carthage. of the Carthaginians : who made choice of Hanno to debate their Hanno's answer Right, who at the first made no accompt of Adrubals treatie, as to the Romane having neuer beene made with the Romans : and if it were fo, the Embaffadours, Carthaginians were not bound unto it, for that Aldribal had exceeded his Commission, and had done it without the authority of the Senate or people of Carthage. Whereunto hee alleadged in the

like case, that the Romans had beene of opinion, that the accord

made in Sicily by the Confull Luctatius should bee broken, for

The History of POLYBIVS.

B that it had beene made without the authority of the people of Rome: Finally, hee infifted ftill vponthis accord whilest his Speech continued, and reade it often, faying, that there was no mention made of Ebre, and that the Allies of the one and of the other were one referred: and that moreover, it did nothing concerne the Sagontins, for that at the time of the accord they were not allied vnto the Romans. The Embassadours repuls'd with great words this contention concerning the right of the accorde, as a thing which concernes the honour of the people of Rome: faying that the quarrels might C bee decided, if the Sagontins were in there entire. Burnow that Sagont is razed, and that the faith and accords are wickedly broken, they should either deliver the Authour of the Crime to the Romans to the end that all the World might know, that sagons hath not beene ouerthrowne and ruined with the confent of the Carthaginians : Or if they will not, but confesse that the Towne bath beene destroyed with their consent, that they should prepare to Warre. Thus ended their discourse, which they held more amply and in

generall. I have held it most necessary not to passe ouer this particular infli-D lence, to the end the truth may not bee hidden to those which deale in publique affaires, or which have cause to consider exactly of these things: Or else have a desire to know whether they erre, being deceived by the ignorance and fortifinesse of Historiographers, for want of knowledge of the treaties which from the first Punique Warre, vnio our times haue beene made betwirt the Ro mans and the Carthaginians. The first then was made between thele two Nations's immediately after that the name of King was chased out of Rome, Lucius, Innins, Brutus, and Marcus

 \mathbb{Q}_2

Valerino

116

The Romane songue chan-

Valerius being Confuls, under whom also a Temple was dedicated to The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, eight and twenty yeeres before the first voyage of Inster Capitoli. Kerxes into Greece: the which wee have interpreted with the greatest diligence wee could possibly. Beleeue me, the Romane tongue hath beene so changed fince that time vnto our dayes, as they which are the best instructed in Antiquities, vaderstand not much of it, but with great difficulty.

This accord containes in a manner thus much: The people of Rome, cord bewist and the Carthaginians shall live in Amity and Friendship : The like shall the Romans and their Allies doe. The Romans and their Allies shall not faile beyond A the Promontory of Beauty, vnlesse they be forced by storme, or the violence of their Enemies. If any one takes Port for these causes, hee I conceine that shall not buy, nor take any thing, but what necessity shall require for Sathis Promonto. crifices and for Ships. And that within the fift day they shall set saile for their retreate. They which shall arrive there for the trade of Mer-Promontory of chandize, shall be free, except the duties which belong vnto the Re-Affricke, where gifter, and to the Citty, who shall give a Certificate of all that which as now the Cir- shalbe fold in their presence, in Affricke or Sardinia. If any Romane arriues in sicely, where the Carthaginians are Lords, they shall doc him no wrong. The Carthaginians shall doe no outrage to the Arde. B ates, Anciates, Arrentins, Circins, Tarraconnois, not the other Latins which are subject to the Romans. And if there bee any other Citty which is not subject, it is not comprehended. If the Carthaginians take any one, they shall restore it entire to the Romans, neither shall they build any Fort in Italy. And if they be entred into the Prouince as E. nemies, they shall not stay a whole night. Behold in a manner what the first Treatie contayned. You must vnderstand that the Promonto-The Premon-ry of Beauty, is right against Carthage, having its aspect to the North. Beyond the which towards the South, the Carthaginians would not fuffer the Romans to faile with any ships of Warre.

The reason was as it seemes, for feare they should come and discoper the places which are about the Banks of Barbary, which the Carthaginians call the Merchants Countrey, by reason of the fertility thereof. And therefore if any one driven by a ftorme, or preft by the enemy, caft himselfe woon that Quartet, it was not lawfull for him to take any thing but what was necessary to repaire his ships, or to facrifice : Being likewise sorced to weigh Anchor, and let fails the fift day. As for Carthage and the other Countries of Affricke, which are on this fide the Promontory, and as for Sardinia and Sicily, whereas the Carthagigians were Lords, it was lawfull to fayle thither for trafficke : For D the effecting whereof the Carthaginiens had swome to observe and

But it feemes that in this meany, that the Carthaginians make mention of Affricke and Sardinia, as of their owne Prounces, holding other termes of sieily, which adde the Countrey wherein they are obeyed. The Romans, also doe the like for the Countrey of the Latins : and as for the rest of staly, they make not any mention, for that it was not yet subich vnto them. Afterwards there was another treaty, made, where-

in the Carthaginians comprehended the Tyrriens and B. farthins: There was also added to the Cape of Beauty, Mastia, and Tarfeion: Without the which it was not lawfull for the Romanes to pretend any Countrey, nor to surchase or build any new Citty. Behold the Contents: The Roman and their Allies, the Carthaginians, Tyrriens, and Bifarchins, The second and their Allies, shall live in friendship. The Romanes nor their AL lies Hall not faile beyond the Promontory of Beauty, nor of Malia, or Tarfeion, to rob and spoile, nor to Trafficke, nor to build any Towne. If the Carebaginians take any Towne in Italy, which is not A subject to the Romanes, they shall have spoile, and restore the Towne vnto the Romanes. If they have taken any of the free people, which were Allied to the Romanes, they shall not bring them vnto any Port which belongs vnto the Romanes: And if they bring any one thither, and he be knowne to the Romanes, they shall be set at liberty. The like shall be done vnto the Romanes in those Townes which are subject to the Carthaginians.

The History of POLYBIUS.

If a Roman refreshes himselfe with Water and Victuals, the Carthaginians shall do him no wrong, with whom they have concluded a peace and friendship, and if they do it, the outrage shall be held pub-B licke. And as for Sardinia and Affricke, the Romanes not their Allies may not Trafficke nor haue any Towne, or buy any thing but what is necessary, for Sacrifice or the repairing of their shippes. And if any thip be cast upon that Coast by Tempest, they shall set Saile within the fifth day. In regard of Sicily; the Romanes may Trafficke where the Carthaginians are obeyed : The like they may do at Carthage, and vie the fame rights which the Carthaginians observe. The which in the like case the Carebaginians may doe at Rome. In this Treaty it seemes that the Carthaginians shew that Sardinia and Affricke Were wholy theirs, and that they would deprine the Romanes of the right of Por-C tage. But as for Socily of that part onely which they hold.

It was also Articulated, that the Carthaginians should not make pathetical Warre against the Ardiasins, the Antiates, the Circins, Turraconneis, the Romanes & nor against the other Latine Citties which lie vpon the Sea and comprehends the Latine Region. As for the reft of waly, there was no mention made. Since there was a third Accord made, at fuch time as Fyrrhus King of the Epirotes pale into Italy, before the beginning of The third the Punique Warre. Wherein were comprehended the lame Articles, Assort. adding moreover, that if they agreed with Pyrrhus, they thould give fuccour one vnto mother in the Country that was affailed And if ex D ther of them had need of affiltance, the Carsbaginians fliceld furniff Ships alwell for the paffage, as for the Combate, either of them paying their Souldiers. The Carthaginians thould fuccour the Romans by Sea, and no man should be forced to Land his men. But as I have vn. derstood, the oath of the first Treaties was made in this manner.

The Canthagnaians Iware by the gods of their Countrey : And the The manner of Romanes by the Spone, according to their auncient Cufforne, calling Sweating of thereumo the powers of Mars the Warlike. Behold the manner which the Remant & they observed to sweare by the Scone. The Herald of Arnies, after in their receives

Philinus a Hi.

storiographer.

the Treaty of Peace was concluded between the two Nations, having the Stone in his hands, vsed these Words. I pray vnto the gods that all things may come successefully vnto me, if this Accord and Oath which I take, be done inftly and without fraud. But if I do or thinke otherwise that I may die alone, as this Stone shall fall out of my hand, all the rest being sound and safe in their owne Country, their Lawes, Houses, Temples, and Sepulchers, and without speaking any Word

more, he let the Stone fall out of his hand.

As these things are true, and are at this day to be seene, graven in Tables of Brasse, in the Temple of Inpiter Capitolium, where they are A carefully kept by the Ediles. Who will not wonder at the Historiographer Philings, not for that he knew it not (for without doubt manv auncient Romanes and Carthaginians, I fay of our time, and which have beene very curious of fuch things, do not know it :) But for that he hath dared to write things quite contrary; faving that in these Ac. cords was contained that the Romanes should quit all Sycily, and the Carthaginians all Italy? Wherefore the Romans had broken their faith and promise, at their first Voiage into Sycily. And yet this is not found Written.

Philinus hath written this Discourse in the second of his Books, the B which relating lightly in the first Booke, we have referred to this place. to the end we may debate it in perticular : holding it necessary, least some one might stray from the Truth, following the errour of Philinus. It will not be happily without reason, if some one will hold the Yoyage of the Remans into Sycily worthy of blame, for that they had receiued the Mamertins into friendship, and presently sent forces after in their extreame necessity, considering that a little before they had spoiled Meffine and Rhegium with great cruelty, beeing two of the richeft Townes in Sycily But this were to judge like an ignorant man, that in paffing into Speily they had broken their faith and promife. Af- C ter that the Warre of Speily was ended, there was another Accord made. whereof this is the Tenor. That the Carthaginians should not onely voide out of Sacily, but out of all the Islands which are betwist it and Italy. And the Allies of the one and the other should have no Rule in neither of their Countries a nor should make any Forts, nor draw foorth any Souldiers, nor make Alliance with either of their Allies: and that the Carthaginians should pay thirteene hundred and twenty thousand Crownes withinten yeares. Whereof fixe hundred thousand frould be preferrly paied, and that moreover they should deliver all the Romano Prisoners without ransome.

Amorheraconed the Romans and the carthagi-

Another ac-

cord.

Befides all this the Remanes declaring Warte vinto them, when they Aftiguide it it the people of Rome and Carriage made, from the firRPunique Warre

were much troubled and afflicted in Affricke, they forced them to make a new Treaty: Where it was fayed, that the Garthaginians should leave sardinia; and pay (befides the fumme agreed vpon,) featien hundred thousand Crownes. After all these Treaties, the last was made in Spaine with Afdrubal, where the Carthaginians were forbidden to paffe the River of Ebre or Therwin Armes. Behold all the Treaties which

vato the second, which the Carthaginians mannaged under the Conduct of Hannibal. But it is doubtlesse, that as wee have shewed this the Romanes did not breake their faith when they past into Syvily, as doth plainly appeare: So afterwards they declared Warre against the Carthaginians without reason: when as they made the Treaty for Sardinia: for truely there can be no reason found therein. Contrariwise we see plainely that besides all the agreements, the Carthaginians left Sardinia. and payed a greater fumme of mony, being forced by the malice of the time. And as for that, wherewith the Romanes shelter A themselves, that they were forced thereunto, for that they had outraged their Merchants at Sea: This had beene formerly decided, when as the Carthaginians delivered the Prisoners without Ransome. These are things whereof we have spoken, when in the precedent Booke we haue related that which was to be faid in perticular. Let vs now come to the causes of the second Punique War, and let vs see which of the two Nations is to be blamed.

The Carthaginians objected those causes which we have related. In The causes pro regard of the Romanes they brought none for the prefent, for the indignation they had for the razing of Sagont. Yet behold those which the Warre. R they and others do viually object. First there is no comparison betwirt the Treaty which Afdrubal made and that of Luctating, although

the Carebaginians will have it so. For it was fayd in that of Luctating. that it should hold good if the people of Romeconsent vnto it. And as for that of Aldrubal, there was no fuch condition: Where it was ex. prefly fayd, that the Carthaginians should not passe beyond Ebro. And ir was favd in the other, that the Allies of either part should live in peace: Vnder which termes were not only comprehended those which then were not Allied: For it would have beene Articulated, that the

C should newly enter, should not be comprehended, whereof there is nothing Written. For with that whereof formerly they had given order that none of those which should enter newly into Alliance, should be wronged: Who will believe that either of these powerful Nations would restraine himselfe from receiving those he should think good into Alliance, or to defend those that were received? In trueth I conceine that in making their Treaty, their chiefe intent was, that their Allies should live in safety, and that it should not be lawful for them to receive the Allies of the one and the other into alliance: and it was pro-

one nor the other should make any new Alliance; or that they which

uided that the new alliances might not draw Souldiers out of the others D Provinces, nor beare any rule there; and that they should all Line in peace.

Matters standing in these Termes, it is manifest that the Sagontins The Sagontine were alfied vnto the Romanes long before Hannibal: The which is fo Allied along probable as the Carthaginians cannot deny it: For the Sagentins for a sime with the mutiny which grew in their Towne, sent not vnto the Carthaginians Romanes. although they were their Neighbours, and held the greatest part of Spaine; but retired to the Romanes, by whose meanes the sedition was pacified and supprest. If they say that the razing of Sagant hath beene

the gaufe of this Warre, they must likewise confesse that the Carthagi-

menshad no reason to make Warre against the Romanes, aswell by the

Treaty made with Luctatius, wherein it was contained that they should

do no outrage vnto the Allies, as by that which was made by Aldrubal,

by the which the Carthaginians were restrained from passing the River

of Ebre in Armes. Likewife if they will fay, that the Carthaginians

had taken this Warre to heart; for Sardinia which had beene taken

Lib. 3.

from them, and for the fumme of money which they had payed: I make no doubt that they were not to bee blamed, if attending the opportunity, of the time they fought to reuenge: Yet I con- A ceine there wilbe some, who not duly considering neereof, will imagine it idle and to no purpose, that I examine these reasons so dilligently.

The opinion of diligence of a

120

For my part I am of opinion that if a man be so well furnished with polybius in the all things necessary, as he needes not any affistance, yet the knowledge of things past wilbe pleasing vnto him, and it may be necessary. If likewise any one dare not relie vpon this, aswell in private affaires as publicke, confidering he is a man: and that he knowes well that this present selicity may be lost, considering that the Fortune of men is fraile and without continuance: Then I say that the know-B ledge of things past is not onely pleasant but necessary. But how may a man finde aide and fuccours to defend himselfe, being wronged in his owne Countrey? Or draw all the VV orld vnto his owne opinion, making a new enterprize? Or affure the hearts of his men when Fortune fauours him, if hee haue not a true particular knowledge of the deedes of his Ancestors? Beleeue me by this meanes he shalbe ready and instructed in present affaires to be able to say, and doe things, whereby all enterprizes shalbe discouered, and the Truth vnderstood. For things that are done and past, are good instructions for those that shal succeed and come after. shewing vs the C meanes, aduife, and policies, whereby wee may purchase grace, helpe, and comfort: Or contrariwife, procure hatred, malice, or indignation, and so mooue to Iustice and reason. All which are of great Consequence vnto a man, aswell for his private affaires, as for the publicke.

And therefore I am of aduice, that Historiographers and they which give themselves to read Histories, should not so much respect the Actions, as their Consequence and that which goes before. For if you take from a History which mentions but the deeds, how, nor wherefore it hapned, and what the end was, that which shall re- D maine will have no instructions, and will be but a kinde of Contention: Although happily it may seeme at the first sight something pleafant, but for the future they shall reape no profite. It is true, some will say that it is no easie thing to recouer such a History, and that they cannot well finde it for the greatnesse and number of Bookes. Beleeue me, they doe not understand how much more easie it is to haue, and to read forty Bookes made with good order. whereas the deedes and actions of Italy, Sycily, and Affricke, from the voiage

of Priviles hito Italy, vintothe taking of Carthage are comprized a And as for those of the other parts of the World, from the flight of the menes unto the Warre which the Romans had against the Acheins, neere vinto the Isthmus: Then to make provision, or to reade so many Bookes of formany particular Historics: For as they exceede ones in greatnesse and number of foit is a difficult thing to comprehend and thing certaine. First, that all write not of the same things, and omit those which have beene done at the fame time : the which if they were

The Hiltory of ROLYBIVS.

conferr'd together, would the better discouer the truth.

A 11 Finally, they cannot attaine to that which is necessary to the History, which are the things which precede the actions, and concerne the caules. For our part, wee will consider the Warre of wanter. chui, as having taken its occasion from that of Phillip, and that of Phillip from the Punique Warre, and the Punique from that of Sicily: Whereas'all the accidents which have happened in the meane time. and may bee referred to one beginning; are diligently observed. All which things may be easily understood by him that hath written a genetall History of the which is impossible by them which speake of particular Warres, as of the Persique or Philippique: vnlesse perchance B fome one holds opinion to be able to vaderstand a whole Warre by the knowledge of one Battell: which is impossible. And therefore our History ought to be more esteemed, than that of particular Warres, for that it is more excellent to have learned some thing perfectly, than to haue onely heard of it.

But to returne from whence wee straved, when the Roman Em. baffadours faw that the Carthaginians disguised matters, they spake no more. But the most ancient among them taking up the skirt of his The Roman Roabe, and slewing it to the Senate, behold faith hee, wherein I Embassadours bring you Warre or Peace : take which you pleafe. Whereunto the fignific Warre C Chiefe of the Carthaginians answered, deliver which you will. And thaginians. when he had spoken, he deliuered them Warre, many of the Senate cryed out, that they accepted it. Vpon this discourse the Embassadours and Senate retired. Hannibal wintering at Carthage, had given leaue to his Souldiers to returne into their Countrey, if happily there were any that defired to fee their Kinsfolkes and Friends: To the which Hamile end that having endured fo much toile, they might fortifie their bo. bal gaue for dies and mindes, to endure new labour. Moreouer, he instructs his the defence of brother Afdrubal by what meanes (if hee were forced to part Spaine, out of the Prouince) he should defend and gouerne Spaine against all D the attempts of the Romans. Then hee fends a great Garrison into Affricke of men which he drew out of Spaine: for hee had caused Souldiers to come out of Affricke into Spaine, making cunningly this division of his men; to the end that the Affricans being there, and the Spaniards in Affricke, they should grow better by mutuall obligations.

They which past into Affricke, were Thersites, Mastianes, Orites, Spawiards and olcades: having appointed the number of them to be cwelve hundred Horse, and thirteene thousand eight hundred & fifty Foot: and

polybius hath made forty Bookes.

The equipage of Warre as wellfor Sea as Land, left in Spaine by Hannibal , to Af-

122

The number of Hannibals Army ina Table of Copper feeneby Pely.

belides these eight hundred and fifty Slingers, of Maio, que and Minergye, called Balleares, with their Hand by reason of the vic of the Sling. ... He communds they hould todge the greatest part in off ricke. and that the rest should remaine at . Cartbege for its strength. He doth also leavy foure thousand Foote, the choice of the youth within the heart of Spaine : the which hee causeth to march to Carthage, not formuch to fortifie it, as to serve for Hostages. Hee also lest in Spaine to his Brother Adrubal fifty Quinqueremes, two Quadriremes, fine Triremes, and among the Quinqueremes thirty two armedand furnished with the fine. Triremes. Hee also left him about A foure hundred and fifty Librahenices, which is a mixt Nation of d ubat his Bro. Phanicians and Affricans : and three hundred Hergerons : Eighteene hundred Numidians and Moores, bordering ypon the great Sea : B. leauen thousand eight hundred and fifty Foore, Affricans: Three hundred Genenon : Five hundred men of Majorque and Minorque : and one and twenty Elephants. No man onght to wonder at our diligence in this description, It I so observe it in the affaires of Hannibal in Spaine, that even they which practifed it, could hardly observe: Nor blame vs for that after the manner of lyars, we relate I know not what petty trivial things, the more cafely to give credit vnto our writing. For B when I had feene at Languium a Table of Copper, which Hannibal had left there, when as he ouer ran Italy, wherein this number was contained, I thought fir to give credit ynto it; and therefore wee have followed it heere.

When as Hannibal had prouided for Affricke and Spaine, hee respecked the returne of such as hee had sent to move the Gaules, by whose Country he was to passe his Army. You must vnderstand that he had fent men to winne them by Presents, and to view the passages of the Mountaine, for that he was advertised that this Region was very fertile, and very well peopled with resolute men, and good Souldiers, and mortall Enemies to the Romans, for the Warre which they made against the Ganles, expecting that his Warre should be onely in Itaby, if hee might passe his Army safely by the streights of the Alpes with their helpe. After the returne of his men, and that he was adnertifed of the expectance and defire of the Gaules, and that the paffages of the Hills were rough and painefull, not altogether inacceffible, he drew his Army together in the Spring. It is true, that the newes which at the same time hee received, of that which happened at Carthage, inflamed his choller the more against the Romans, hauing thereby a confident hope of the fidelity and affection of his Na- D tion. When as all the Army was drawnetogether, Hannibal made an Oration, not to any one part, but publickely to all the Souldiers, by divers meanes perswading them to imbrace the Warre against the Romans: and how that hee and the other Captaines of Carthage had ben e demanded of them for to be put to death, for the taking of Sacont. Hee acquaints them likewise of the fertility of the Province whither they made their voyage, making great effecte and respect of the Friendshippe and alliance of the Gaules. After which speech, seeing

The Oration which Hanniba made to his Souldiers.

them all refolutes and than they demaunded nothing busso parte; he confinenced their good will and prowelle. And after he had told them the Hay when they should truste up their baggage; he dismit them. In the meane thine, when he had made all necessary preparations for his The number of Voyage, the difford individually, when the day of parting was Horsendwood come with four leote and ten thousand Foote, and twelve thous which were subfall Horfe and baft the River of Ebrong

"Therewithin few dayes, her brought under his obedience the Ilerge; ting from sind Office Barguifins, the Erino fins, and Andels fiens: the like they Spaine. did to all other Townes Vino the Prients Mountaines . razing fome. And as hee performed this fooner than any man could conceive. To he did it not without many cruell battels; and great loffe of men. He ferled Hain Governour of this Countrey, and made him likewife Lord of the Barrafins of that hee did not greatly trust those people, for the Alliance they had with the Romans: and hee gaue him ten thouland The number of Foote, and a thousand Horse for the guard of their Countrey, leaving men which with him all their baggage which march twith him. Hee fent backe to Hanno toe the like number of Spaniards to their houses, partly for that hee under the suard of flood they were grieved with the length of the Journey, and the diffi- Spaine. B cult passages of the Mountaines and partly to give hope voto others to returne fometimes into their Countrey : and that they which he left in their houses, should march more willingly into #4/9, if he needed suc- Hamibals Ar-

cours. He march't then with the reft of his Atmy, which amount my of 50, thou ted voto the number of fifty thousand Foote, and mine thousand find Foote and And passing the Pyrence Mountaines, he drew neers ynto the mouth

of the River of Rhone, not so well accompanied with great numbers as good men, who had beene alwayes victorious. But to the end this may not feeme too obscure by the ignorance of places, wee have C thought it fit to thew in few words, from whence Hannibal parted. and what great Countries hee past, and into what parts of Italy he entred. It is true, wee have not let downe the names of the places, as many Hi-Rorlographers doe, thinking that all will the better bee understood, if they have the knowledge thereof : For my part, I am of opinion, that the relation of the names of places, whereof we have knowledge, are of great profit, for the more easie vinderstanding, and more certaine memory of things. But where the places are voknowne, their names are like vnto that manner of voice, which belides the hearing, fignifics nothing. By this meanes it happens, that leeing our under-D flanding doth not comprehend any thing by the name, and the which knowne, cannot breed any great profit, that the relation is altogether fromlesse. And therefore wee must finde meanes, by the which speaking of places that are vnknowne, we may make the truth to be

vinderstood by the Readers with all our power. The first and principall knowledge, common to all men, is the Ditifion of this World wherein wee are contained, by the which weeknow (even Ideors) the East, West, South and North. The second is by the which attributing to every one of these parts the parties of the world.

World, wee come in some fort to the knowledge of places which we haue neuer feene. But as the sound Gircle of the Earth confifts of many parts, whereof come are inhabitable, and others in femulation on The division of public to ours, inhabited by the Anapades & Wes mult for the prefent the World in fredke onely of the formation of the Country which was inhabite, three parts. And for that it is divided into three pasts, and bath three mames, where of they call the one Mis, the other affriche, and the third Tompe It is a diulition which the Rivers of Tanais and Nile make; loyning to the fireights of Hercules Pillars Afra is feated betwirt. Nate and Ta taking its extent towards the East and South. In regard of Af- A frickle, it is feated betwint the Nile and the Pillars of Harcules, taking its extent vider the South, and towards the Hinernall west vinto the Equinoxiall, and to the streights of Gibeliar. Finally, these two parts seeme to hold more the Countrey under the South, from the Eaft following our Sea then towards the West and

The History of POLYBIVS Y

And as for Europe, it is limited drawing towards the North, and continuing from the East vinothe Weft: whose greatest extent lesto. wards the North, betwier the River of Tanass and Narbonna, which is not farre from the Countrey of Marcelles towards the West, and the Mouthes of the River of Rhone, which lose themselves in the Sardini- B un Sea. The Ganles Hold all that Countrey, from Narbonna vnto the Perimee Mountaines, the which extend themselues from our Sea vnto the Ocean, and as for the rest of Europe from the Perinee Mountaines vito the Well, I meane vito the Pillars of Hercules, it is enuironed on the one fide by our Sea, and on the other by the maine Ocean. The Countrey about which our Sea doth flowe, who the Pillars of Hereules, is called Spaine. And as for that which hath its aspect to the Ocean, it hath not yet any knowne name that hath come to our knowledge : although it bee fully inhabited by Barbarous people, of whom we will speake particularly when we come to their Ranke. For as the C Region which is neere vnto Ethiopis, whereas Afia and Affricke loynes, is at this day vnknowne, whether it be firme land continued towards the South, or inclosed by the Sea: So likewise the Countrey is at this day vnknowne, which betwirt Tanais and Narbonna drawes towards the North : fo as they dreame which speake or write any

It was necessary to make this digression, to the end that the deeds which we are to relate, might not be altogether obscure to those which know nor the places, and that they might come the knowledge of the truth as much as is possible, by the Regions of Heauen and Earth, For D we have beene alwaies accustomed to turne our face consinually to that which they teach vs by reason and example : The vnderstanding must alwayes have regard to those Countries which are interposed in the relation. Leauing then our discourse, let vs returne to the continuance of our speech. The Carthaginians at that time held all the Affnicaine shore, whereas our Sea flowes, from the Philomien Altars, neere vinto the Bankes of Barbary, vnto the Pillars of Hercules (this containes about fixteene thousand Furlongs) and in passing that little Sea which is

betwist Affricke and Europe they had Conquered all Spains, wnto the Perince mountaines, which divide that Province from Ganles From the which vnto fleeights of Gebelsen, where fland the Pillars of Heron! les, there is about eight thousand Furlangs: And from the freight val to the new Towne, which some call Carthage, from whence Hawhi. bal parted to go into Haly, three thouland furlongs : And from Carthas the Fare, two thousand fixe hundred furlongs : From thence to the Emportes, fixteene hundred : And from thence to the mouth of the River of Rhone fixeteene hundred furlongs. Behold the measure of those places which the Romanio have made with great diligence! From! the pallage of the Rhone, following the Binkes towards the Spring, vnto the passinge of the Alper into Fraly, thirteene hundred furlongs; and the passage of the Mountayne is held to betwelve hundred! After which they come into the Champion Countrey which is about Pocio And therefore Hannibal was to march nine thouland furlongs, from Carthage unto the entry of Italy. And if we will observe the way, he had already past the one halter Booif we will consider the difficulty of the Country, he had the most troublesome taske to performe. Hannibal endeauoured by all meanes to passe the Perinee Mountaines, not without some feare of the Gaulet is least knowing the passages, they should interrupt his woyage into (taly.

In the meane time newes came to Rome of that which had beene fooken and done at Carthage, by the Embaffadours, and that Hannibal had patt the River of Ebro with his Army, much fooner then they expected, making halt to go into Italy , for the which the great men of Rome were not a little amazed i. Conceining that hee would moone the Nation of the Gaules against them, being alwayes desirous of Warre, the Preninces Wherefore after the Election of the Confuls, the diuided the Pro- tothe Confull. ninces: Whereot Spaine was for Publius Cornelius, and Affricke with C Sycily for Tytus Sempronius: To whom they appointed fixe Legions for

that yeare, and as many Allies as they should thinke good; and as great an Army at Sea as they could make the

Whilest they Leuied men at Rome; and that the Army at Sea and Munitions were preparing, and all the necessary Equipage for the Sea. they laboured to people their Collanies, which they had lacely in Gaule neere vato the Poe. There were Citties newly built, and Cittizens enioyned to be there within thirty dayes, to either Citty fixe thouland men: whereof the one which was on this fide the Poe, was called The building Plaifance, and the other on the further fide Cremona. The Boloniens and Cremonal and remembring the auncient quartels, abandoned the Roman party, being advertised of the Descent of the Car. The revolted thaginians, leaving the Hostages which they had given in the former Warre, whereof we have made mention in the lat Booke And taking Armes suddainly, they solicited the Milanneis to do the like, making a tumultuous burly-burly in the Countrey affigued to the Collinies, so as all the people terrified fled to Moderna, with the three historia befiged Deputies which were come to divide the Land ! Whom the Beloniens pursued, and belieged the Towne. The fiege continuing fortherine,

126

they made a flow to parley of Pehod v Aird when as the Princes of the Gaules had cauled forme Emballacionatio come visco them "they flated them contrary to the Lant of Nations refuling to fend them bicke, if there is about eight thousand Fuberoulsbade stew reguled Japan

made by the the Romatti

The parting of the Remas

When the news of this accident was come with them! Lutim Man. lim the Pretor , who was when prefene with an Army inflamed with Rage , makes halt reduced nother Bished, Whereof the Boldben Seing adopting, they lay dan Ambuild in the Fortest neere the Will, and furprizing their enemics at their comming, they flew a great number of the Romans . The gold with great difficulty reconcring the fields, 12- A ued themselves: Where although the Souldiers affored themselves for a time in yot finding that the Belowere purfied them in the Reare, they hed to reconcrethe Towns of Canter. When the newes came vino Rome, the Roman fearing that their farmy would be indangered by a long fiege, they appointed dulling the Preson to ficeour the Befreged with the Trouges prepared for the new Letty of the Confull, enjoyning hingmoreouer to make a Leny of others. Behold the effate wherein the affaires of the Gaules flood which the comming of Hannibal. In the meane time the Confulls having made ready all their necessary Equipage, parted from Rome: whiersof Publim Cartellar bent his courfe to Spaine, with threescore vessels of watre, and Sempronius into Affricke with a hundred and three score Passacremes, taking the Warre so to heart, as he made to great a preparation at Lythinm, that it feemed he should preferrly beliege Carthage. A in drive and to the first of the control of the

As for Cornelius & he tooke his way by the Country of Tuleuny and the General and arrived on the fifth day at Marcelles, and entred with his Army at the first mouth of Rhowe in for it passeth into the Sea by many mouthes. And although he were advertised that Hannibal past the Percuce mountaines ... ver he made his accompt that hee had a long way to go, as well for the difficulty of the Country, as for the multi. C tude of the Gaules . shofe parts being very well peopled. But Hannibal made halt daily to passe the Rhone with his Army, necre white the shore of the Sardinian Sea , with incredible diligence, after that he had pacified the Gasles partly with gifts, and partly by feare. The which the Confull hearing, and believing but in part this fuddaine arrivall edefiring likewife to know the truth, he Lands, to refresh his Men wearied with a norment at Sea. Then he acquaints the Tribunes with the places, by the which they must go to encounter the Enemy, and fends three hundred choise Horse before winder the Conduct of Presencials and fomeine cours of the Gaules, to discover the Enemies D enterprize, while the help of the Dicker assignment as

Hannibal being how recrethe above with his Army, and within foure dates journey of the Sea . makes half to palle it with all possible speed. And therefore he cals all the inhabitants thereabouts, and winschem by Prefenta: from whom he buies Skifs and fmall Boares which they ordinarily vie and whereof there were at that time a great number by vealing of the Paires for the Trade of the Sea : And he caused others to be made in making hollow the bodies of Trees.

The which the Souldiers likewife did, being mooued with the abundance of Ruffe and the facility of the Worke ; So as in leffe then two dates, there were fo many Boares and Skifs; as they were fufficient to paffe a Euery man (triuing not to be at the mercy of his Companion or Comrade, but to passe himselfe and his baggage into his owne Skiffe or Boate.

Lib. 2.

In the meane time there were an infinite number of men drawne to. The Gaules cogether voon the further Banke of the Rhone, to hinder the Carthagis denour to stop atans pallage. The which Hannibal perceiting, and knowing well Hannibal pal-A that he could not passe the River by force, for that the Enemy held fage out the the other Banke not say therefore. But he should be invited the River. the other Banke, nor flay there long, but he should be inuironed by the people of the Country; at the fetting of the third Watch, of the night he fends Hanno fonue to King Bomilear with a part of his Army, to whom he gaue some guides of the Country, who mounted vp the Rivertwo hundred furlongs, staying about an Iland, about the which the Rhone did runne : Where by reason of the Ford it seemed good, for that the River divided it selfe in two. They soddainly cut downe wood, and made floates sufficient to passe the men, and other things necessary. By this meanes they past the Rhone without danger or impeachment. B Afterwards they recourred a place strong by nature, where they refresht themselves a day, for the toile which they had taken, atwell for their march by night, as for the paines they had indured, being all attentiue to affect their enterprize in time.

Hannibal likewise made hast to do the like, with the rest of the Army. But he was troubled to passe the Elephants, being thirty seauen in num- Hamibal cauber. The night following, they which had past the Rhone, marching sethhis Arany along the River fide, at the breake of day approached neere vnto the topallethe Barbarians, who as we have fayd werethere affembled. Hannibel on the other fide, having his men ready, commaunds them all to ba G re olute to paffe, and that they should put the Horse men prepared for the Combat in Boates, to the end that being past they might serue if necessity required: And that the most active and nimblest foot men should enter into the Skifs. And to the end they might paffe with more eafe and fafery, and might the better breake the vehemency of the Waues, he placed Boates aboue the River to breake the Violent and swift course. He also caused three or soure Horses to be tyed to the Poope to swim it ouer, and there were two men let of either fide of the Poope. By this meanes the greatest part of the Horses had bin past in the first Voyage.

The which the Barbarians freing, they came out of their Fort, and runne vnto the shore in a great throng and without order, as if they fhould eafily defeat the Enemies. But after that Hannibal had flayd a little, and feeing his men approach by the smoake that they cast, according to his appointment, he gaue a figne to his whole Army to paffe, the which the Carthaginians feeing, they laboured with all their power to paffe the River with great cries, and to breake the Violence of the streame, so as every one laboured to passe first. When as the Carthaginians held the two Bankes, and past the river with great noise,

Hannibals Vic

to youer the

Ganles.

the Gaules endeauouring with great fury to reflift them, crying, and finging after their manner. The Charge was terrible for the time, and the Combat horrible to fee, All the Gaules were run downe vnto the River, and had left their Tents. Hanna arrives presently with his geth the Ganles Troupe, whereof one part fals upon their Campe, and the other Charges them in the reare. The Gaules being amazed at this fliddaine accident, recouer a part of their Campe, to keepe it from the Encmies; the others were no leffe attentiue in the Combate. When Hannibal law his enterprize succeed so happily, he incourageth his Souldiers, putting them in minde of their auncient proweffe, and perswading them to repulse the Enemies couragiously. Whereupon they fall yponthem with great fury. Finally, the Gaules retired into their Villages with a shamefull slight, for that they had begun the bartell without order, and had bin terrified by the surprize which Hanne made with his Legion.

When as Hannibal had at one instant; vanquished the River and his Enemies, he causeth the rest of his Army to passe at leasure. And being all past in a short time, he planted his Campe without scare of the Gaules, and spent the night in peace vpon the River side. Three dayes after he was advertised of the entry of the Roman Consult, B with his Army at Sea into the mouthes of Rhone. Wherefore he fent fine hundred Numidians, to discouer the Enemies, to view their num.

bers, and to learne what they refolued. In the meane time he gives order vnto the maisters of the Elephants to be carefull to passe the Remonstrances Rhone. And having drawne his men together, he causeth the Kings to be called, who were come vnto him from Gaule which lyes beyond the Poe. Who speaking vnto the whole Campe by an Interpreter, aduised them to passe the Mountaines, promising that both themselves, and the rest of the inhabitants of Ganle should give them both aide and affistance: That the waies were fafe, and well furnished C with all things necessary: And that moreover the mountaines were not very difficult to passe, and they should finde the places where they

were to goe, abounding in all things. Besides, they should finde such Allies, whose Courage in times past was not a little feared by the Remans. After these or the like words, the Kings presently retired.

Hanibalsspeech

Then Hannibal entring into the Assembly, he shewes them first their unto his Soul- Actions past, wherein following his Councelland opinion, they had bin alwaies Victorious: And that Fortune had neuer bin auerse vnto them. Moreouer he intreates them to be of good courage, being affu- D red that they had ended the greatest of their Labours, having past so dangerous a River, confidering the good affection of their Allies, who were ready and prepared. Finally, that they should lay the burthen of affaires vpon him, shewing only their Obedience, where it should be needfull, with a remembrance of his Vertue and Prowesse, which he had performed with fo great resolution. His speech being ended, feeing the joyfull Countenance of his men, carrying the shew of resolution, he commended them all. Then having made his prayers

voto the gods according to their manner, he retired, and fent them a way to feed, giving them charge to be ready to part the next day?

The Company was scarce dismist when as the Numidians, who as wee haue fayd, had beene fent to discouer, returned deseated and broken by the Enemy : for as they encountred neere vntotheir Campe. the Roman Cauallery, whom? Scipio had fent for the same cause, they charged one another with such fury, as there were flaine scauen score A Horse as well Romans as Gables, and about two hundred Numidia ans. The Remans pursuing the Carthaginians vnto their Campe, A defeate of where having diligently observed all, they returned to the Consul, the Numidians and reported certaine newes of the Enemy, and of the Combat they by the Roman had with the Namidians. Which things being heard national Cauallery. had with the Numidians. Which things being heard Publius Cornelins feeing that his stay there, would bee of no great moment, imbarkes his Baggage : and parting with all his Troupes along the Bankes of Rhone, and makes hafte as if hee would give battell to the Enemy.

Three dayes after that Hannibal had made his Oration to the Souldiers. at the breake of day hee fets all his Horsemen upon the Seashore, as it were for a guard: and causeth the Foote-men to march a flow pace, being parted from their Campe : vling the greatest diligence he could possible to passe the Elephants . For the effecting whereof hee tooke this advice. Hee made provision of many floars, and tied two together from the Land vnto the River, being fifty foote broade : to the which they added two others on the fide of the The meaneste Bankes: The which they tied fast vnto Trees which were vpon the phane. Bankes, to the end they might swimme fafely : their length being of two hundred foote.

Finally, they tied vnto these last two other long floats gently, to the end they might bee eafily votied : to the which were fastned certaine Cords, wherewith they might drawe the Boats to the other Banke, after they should bee votied from the other floats. Finally, they couered them all with Earth, to the end that the Elephants might march upon them without feare as upon the Land. This E. quipage being prepared, they brought the Elehhants, who had beene accustomed to obey the Indians in all places, but upon the water, by the meanes of two Females which marche before upon the floats as vpon the firme land, which after they had past vnto the last, which prefently were vntied, and were drawne by the Boats without any feare whilest they were all together: But when as the last floate was separated from the rest, and that they saw themselves carried vpon the water, they made some shew of affrightment, for the scare which they had of all parts, for that the last fled from the water vet this feare. The feare of made them quiet, for that they faw nothing but water about them. vponshe Rhope. When the first were past, they went to fetch the rest, and past them. Some of them tormenting themselves with feare, fell into the River, and were retired safe; although their Masters were slaine: For in marching flowly, and finding alwaies footing, they recovered the other fide of the Banke: for that their waight kept them firme, and by rea-

for of their greatnesse they had their Tronks alwaiss about the River, wherewith they might cafbout the water it shey had drunke any : and lo recouer their breath. A see notive fluidib as took any you moo and all the Elephants being pafty. Hamilton marchet with them will all

The Spring of the Riues of Rhope.

130

his Cauallery along the Abone towards the firme land, drawing all his prouisions in the meane time from the Sea. The Rhone comes from three heads of Fountaines about the Sea of Nenice, taking their course towards the Welt yand bending at the foote of the Mountaine something towards the North. Thenit entersing the Lake of Gewine, where it is not to violent : and passing through the middest of A it; it tends to the Hyuernall West, dividing the Gaules in some fort : and then taking its course towards the South, it enters into the sardinian Seat ... The Valefien Gulles inhabite that pare which tends towards the North and and the South fide is enuironed with the Mountaines which bendrowards the North. And as for the Plaines which are about Poe, whereof wee haue formerly spoken, the Alper separate them from the Rhom, which beginning at exterfeil-Hannibal par- les, extendento the Gulfe of Venice. The which Hannibal then past about that Countrey which lies necre vnto the Rhone, and came into Italy.

along the Rhone

Some Historiographers seeking in this passage to terrifie the audgement of Readers, doenot observe that they fall into two strange errours, contrary to the reason of the History : Forthey are forced to write lies, and actions quite contrary : thewing Hannibal (whom they will have inimitable, as well for his knowledge in Martiall affaires, as for his great courage) to be wholly voide of fense and reafon. And in the end when they cannot free themselues from their lies, they have recourse voto the gods, for their History made at pleasure. For in making the passage of the Alpes so great and difficult, so as not onely the Horse-men, Baggage, nor Elephants could not passe, nei- C ther yet the Foot-men lightly armed and that moreouer, there is fo great a Desart, that if God; or some Angell had not guided the Army; without doubt it had perished in the Caues and hollow places: they fall directly into two errours. First, where should you finde a Poblisshis re- Commander more sencelesse then Honnibal, who having the charge montrance a of fo many troupes , and of to great an Army, wherein confifted all his hope to prevaile in his enterprize, knew neither the passages, nor the places, as they fay, nor which way hee should paste, nor against whom ? For their meaning is, that with fo great a hope, and with fuch a triumphant Army, he should doe that which others after many Com- D bats dee not attempt, but through extreame despaire. But what can be spoken more vareasonable "And whereas they say the places are defart and rough; they they themselves apparent liars. They doe not The Gaule in- larr and rough, they men themselves apparent liars. They doe not labiting long fay how the Gaules inhabiting the banks of Rhone, before that time the Rhome have have past into staly, not once nor twice: Nor how in times past, they often past into hatre past the Mountaines with a great Army against the Romans, to Trecour and helpethe Cifalphin Gaules nor how that those Mountaines are very well peopled : But as men ignorant hereof, they fay,

graphers.

that I know not what God appeared to Hannibal, and shewed him the way. By this meanes they seeme rather Tragedians than Historiographers. For even as they which write Tragedies, doe many time their Playes with the gods, or some other inuention, for that they have taken a false and strange beginning: Euen so these kinde of H.ftoriographers are in the like paine : For that taking false begin. nings, they are forced to fly to some gods, or Heroes.

But how can it bee that from a falfe beginning the end should bee true ? Without doubt Hannibal hath not carried himselfe as they A imagine, but contrariwife like a wife and politique Captaine, for hee duely confidered the fertility of the Countrey whither hee went. and the hatred of the Inhabitants against the Romans . And he had Hamibateon to passe the Mountaines (which is a hard and difficult thing) the peo. ducted by ple of the Countrey for his guides, whom he had already wonne a suides at the gainst the Romans. This we have learned from those which were Mountaines. at that time imployed in affaires, and wee our selves have beene purposely to see the Alpes, and therefore we have written it the more the Alpes.

Three dayes after the Romans departed from the Bankes of Rhone. B Publius Scipiothe Roman Confull being come to the Enemies Campe with a resolution to fight, hee stood for a time amazed, seeing the place voide : For he made his accompt that the Enemy should neuer take that Countrey to passe into Isaly, as well for the difficulty of the way, as for the multitude of Barbarians which held it. But after he had well waighed the great courage of the Caribaginians, he presently recovers his ship, and drawes his Army together : Then he sends his Brother into Spaine with part of his men, to the end ir should not be unfurnished or Forces, and himselfe takes his course towards Italy, to encounter Hamibal at the descent of the Moun-C taines with more ease and safety. Foure dayes after Hannibal arri- Lifle madeby ued at Lifle, a rich and fertile Countrey: The which was fo called, the Rivers of for that the Rivers of Saone and Rhone falling from the Mountaines, Rhone. embracing a fittle quantity of Land, rumne together and make an Iland Dellaan Iland like in figure and forme to another that is in Egypt, called Delta. It is in Egyp. true, that that in Egyps hath on the one fide the Sea, with the which two Riners lovne: But this hathrough and frony Mountaines, which in a manner are inacceffible. Where Hannibal being arrived, hee found two Brothers in quarrell for the Kingdome, and their Armies from ting one another. But being called by the eldeft, and increased to B reftore him to his Fathers inheritance, he obeyed him, thinking it would affill him much in his Enterprize. And when hee had chafed away the younger, and put him in possession of his Realme, lies had not onely ffore of victuals, and abundance of all things for a recompence : But moreouer they were furnished with all forts of Armes and other furniture, whereof the roughnesse of the cold Mountaines forced him to make provision. His Army and himselfe were likewife conducted Tafely by the King and his forces, through the Siange ards Countrey vnto the Mountaines, which was a great benefit to him. When

When he in ten daies after his departure from the Ehone, had march't labout an hundred miles, he began to ascend the Mountaines, where he was in great danger. It is true, that whilest the Carthaginians past the Plaine, the Lords of Saugy suffered them to goe on quietly, partly fearing their Horse-men, and partly the Gaules forces, which did

accompany them.

But when as they were retired to their houses, and that the Carthaginians began to ascend the rough and steepe Mountaines: then they drew together in great multirudes, and seiz'd vpon the passages, by the which Hannibal must of necessity goe. And if they had layed scatte- A ring ambushes in the Valleyes, and had charg'd them suddainly, withbal and his Ar- out doubt they had made a great flaughter of the Carthaginians. But being discouered by Hannibal, they did not so much annoy the Enemy as themselues : For when he found that they held all the passages, he causeth his Army to stay, and lodging among the Rocks and hollow places, he lent some of the Gaules that were with him, to visite the places, and to discouer the Enemies intention and and preparations. Being aduertised by them, that the Enemy stayed there onely in the day, and that by night euery man retired to his house, to a Towne which was neere by, he vsed this invention. At the breake of day hee B Hannibali pol- recouers the Huls with his whole Army, as if he had an intent to force through the Enemy. But when he was necre vnto them, he fetled his Campe, and fortified himselfe.

132

The Sauovards

any .

And when hee found the Villains of the Mountaines had retired themselues from their Hills, he makes many fires in his Campe, leauing the greatest part of his Army there, and steales through the streights with the best and ablest men of his Army, staying vpon those Hills which the Enemy formerly held. This done when the Villaines of the Mountaines saw it at the breake of day, they made a stand for atime: But finding that the baggage and the multitude of Horse-men disordered the Army in the streights : thinking likewise that the least amazement were sufficient to defeate them, they charge them in divers places by the inacceffible Rocks. Then the Carthaginians were not fo much annoyed by the Enemy, as by the difficulty of the place : for that the Horses and baggage made a great spoile of men and goods: For as the streights were of either side steepe and like a Gulfe, many Horse ses fell with their burthens a wonderfull height. The Horfes being figucke or hurt, were wonderfully troubled, the way being narrow, falling partly for feare, and partly for the griefe of their hurts. The which Hannibal feeing, and that there was no hope in flight, after the D loffe of his baggage, he descends with great fury from the place where he had remained all pight. And although he gaue a great defeate to the Enemy, yet he Lew many of his owne : For the motion increasing on either side, many fell.

Hannibals victory aginft the Saugards.

nortV?

They of the

charge the car

Mountaines

thaginians.

Finally, after that the Sausards had beene flaine, fome in fighting, and some in the source: Hannibal past the rest of his Horse and baggage with great paine and trouble. And having drawne rogether the reft of his Army, hee marcht to the Citty from whence the Sausyards had

fallied, the which he tooke without refiftance, finding no man in it. It was a great reliefe voto him for all things necessary, not onely for the present but for the future : for he barried away a great number of Horses and Prisoners; and victualled his Army for three daies with Corne and Cattell: Amazing the other Inhabitants of the mountaines, who durst not make the like attempt : Which was a thing more to be esteemed.

The History of POLYBINS.

He staied there one day, and parting with his Army, he march't but little the two daies following, and on the tourth he was againe in A great danger. He was come vnto a place among the Mountaines very well peopled with Inhabitants, who altogether had Conspired to deceiue the Carthaginians. Wherefore they go to meet Hannibal, car- Conspiracy of rying Garlands of Flowers: which is a figure of friendship and peace as them of the mong the Barbarians, like vnto the Caducti among the Grecians. Han-Mountaines, what their will and intercement 17th and inquires mending. what their will and intent was: Who answered, that they did like well of the taking of the Towne and the defeare of the Gaules, who were Enemies vnto them: And as for themselves they would obey his will, and would not do, nor suffer any ourrage; promising to give him Hosta-B ges for the affurance of their promifes. And although that Hannibal was long in suspence what to do, yet he considered that he might harpily pacifie the Barbarians, if he accepted thefe Conditions, and if he refused them, they would declare themselves his Enemies. Wherefore in giuing them a gracious answer, he makes shew to receine their Alliance.

And when they had not only given him Hollages, but furnished The Treason of him with abundance of Victuals, and put themselves into his hands; the Barbarians Hannibal had fo great Confidence in them, as he made no doube but against Manus. to make vie of them for Guides in difficult places. When they had C marcht two daies, and were come vnto a streight Valley, having the Mountaine on one fide, the Carthaginians werein danger to be wholy defeated : For that the Barbarians fallied from all fides out of their Ambushes. If Hannibal a who had not yet to great confidence in the Gaules, and who fore fam furumerhings,) had not put the Elephants and Horse-men in the foreward, and had followed in the Reare with the force of his footemen, Having an Elebouer all. By this supply the loffe proou dithe leffe , yet it was great both of Men Horles, and Bag-Rage: for the dangen was fo great, as Hunnibal was inforced to continue a whole night there with balle his Army, withour his Caustlety D or Baggage: For that the Enemy heldahe top of the Mountaine, which was very neare vinto them and oline above pieces of the Rocke into the Army, and sometimes cating trongs divided the result of the control of

The day following, when the Gallas began to grow cold, he're couered the Mountaine, ioyning with his Horse and Baggage; Then the Gaules presented themselves no wrote to Battell; charging like Thecues, somerimes in the foreward 19 metimes in the Real Solds time and place gaue them apportunity The Elephants were ver full to the Carshaginians ofor wherefocues they marchi, the place was

times,

Lib. z.

affured from Enemies, for that they durft not approach neere them, having not bin accustomed vnto them. On the ninth day they came vnto the top of the Alpes, and there they planted their Campe two daies, partly to refresh the Souldiers which were weary with toile, and partly to retire those that were firaied. Daring which time, many Horses freed from their burthens, and following the Rout of the Army recourred the Campe. Those places were then full of Snow, for it was in November: Whereby the Souldiers grew in a manner into despaire, being tired and vext with so many Crosses. The which Hannibal perceiuing, he draws them together, resoluing to make a A Speech vnto them.

134

For the effecting whereof he had but one occasion, which was to makes thew them Italy to neere, and the fertillity thereof. In truth it is fo neere the foot of the Mountaines, as if it be well observed, the Hils feeme to ferue as Rampiers to Haly. And therefore he shewed it them from a high Hill, from whence they might fee the whole Extent. The like he did of the plaines about Pee, lying at the foot of the Mountains, relating vnto them the friendship of the Gaules inhabiting those Countries, and the Territory of Rome: where with he remited their spirits. Three dayes after he began to dislodge, the Enemy making no attempt B against them, but after a Theeping manner : Yet he had no lesse losse at the descent of the Mountaines by reason of the bad Country, and the coldnesse of the Snow, then he had at the ascent by the attempt of his Enemies: For they which did stumble in any fort, fell presently into a Gulfe, confidering that the place was narrow and rough by nature: And all the Country newly covered with Snow, fo as there was no shew of any path, neither could they hold their footing. It is true the men accustomed vnto so many miseries, did easily indure this Trouble.

In the meane time they came to another Rocke, where as neither C the Elephants nor Horse could passe: for a late fall of the ground, had streightned the Way two hundred paces, which had formerly bin at large. Here againe the Army began to be troubled and tormented. Hannibal in the beginning laboured to lead his Army by vincough and voknowne places, whereas neuer foule had bin: But for that the Snow hindred them that they could not passe, he desisted from his Enterprize. There had Snow fallen newly this yeare your the old. which was yet whole and entire and voon the which they had firme footing, for that which was newly fallen was fost and not very thicke. But after that it had but trodden and beaten by so many men and horses, D no man could keep his footings As it happens to those which go vpon places which are flippery with dustif swhere their footing failes them: For that they marche voon the Show that was s ioyning with his Harde and Barra

Moreover the men (which was more milerable) falling back-wards (forthat they could not keep their fooring in those flippery places) tum. bled downe into the Caues and hollow places, where they laboured to life upon their Hands and Knees. The Horfes of burthen fell fome-

times a brakethe lee and would not fines for that they were laden and pould not retire their feete out of the ite. THE Hamibal trultrate Ship former hope, for that the men and Hories laboured in Kang. planted the Campe vpon the top of the Mountaine, having changed thaplace of groundifficulty of then he Commanded them all collections the way anto that Rocke where they were to parte in the which was done with much soile. Whomas the way was made in the parte of the way for the Horles and Sumprers; he could them prefently to palle all faling A Inchemeane time he gives that were without Show and there to keed for the Elehpanes of the which was effected with great fifth unity of the which was effected with great fifth unity of the which was effected with great fifth unity of the which was effected with great fifth unity of the which was effected with great fifth unity of the world being in a manner dead for hunger; for the tops of the Mountaines, are without Graffe or Trees, for the walles of efficiently, coursed with same soudly patterns and three and three which are very well in having goodly Pattures and Trees; and places which are very well-inof Regions . In the control of the c to pursue his course : and having past the Rocke about mentioned; in on his course,

three daies, housene voto the Plaine, Bauing loft the greatest part of bis Army, aswell by the Enemy and Rivers in his way, as by the roughnesses of the Mountaine in passing them; and not only men, but also blories and Carriages: Finally; having recovered them in the mountaines in fifteen daies, he enters boldly into the Countries about The number of Recard Willow, whating yet remaining about ten thouland, two him men which dred foor Affricans, eight thousand ophinards, and fixe thousand Hambal had Hotse at the mostly. This neterities in a pillar where the whole num-ter he had past berof his Army is fet downe at Langninm. At the fame time Publins the Alpes. Gornelius Scipio the Confull having fehr his brother into spajor to

C make bead against Afdrubal, he fail of to Py/a with few men staking his may through Tuscany where he received the Army, of the Pretors Manbin and militar, which they had again the Bullongs, and marche directly to the River of Poet to fight with the Enemy before he had

Seeing we have turn'd our Discourse to the Warre of July, and to the Commanders of these two people, we have thought it good to deliner in sew words some things which are not vostill for a History riographer, before we come to those which have bin acted in that Province. At may be some one will demained of me how it happens, D that lating we have hardled the Affaires of Libia and Spaine at Larges possible by the have not spoken of Histories. Pillars: nor of that Arme of the Excuse. Sea which divides Affricks from Europe. Nor in like manner of the great Sea or Ocean, nor of those things which depend thereon, nor of this Hards of England & which depend thereon, nor of this Hards of England & which all the lating of the abundance of Time Gold Which Silver where with Spaine abounds. It is nectaine. Time, Gold, and Silver wherewith shalle abound out it is negular. that the aunciem Historiographers have boken many things and differs, being of contrary opinions. It is true we have not onwited themad we thinking that they were not fitting for a Hillory, but we have done lie

to the end that our Relation might not be divided, nor divert the Real ders often from the order of the History : Being of opinion that thefe things should be delivered with all possible truth, in time and place, and not out of featon. And therefore no man dughe to maruale, if in the following Bookes we paffe on , when we shall come to these passages, for we do it of purpose and for the reasons abdue mentioned. If there be any one that defires to heard them at every passage, he may well be compared to a Glutton, that is insuited to a Feaft : for as tafting of all the meates, as soone as hais set at the Table, he fhall receive little pleasure or profit for the future ... considering that he hath no per. A feet tafte, and that all being our together into the Stomacke, it hinders digestion. They in like manner which do the like in reading of Hi. flories, have not pleasure for the present nor profit for the future. It is apparent, that a History among other things hath need to be corre-Act in this, alivell for other realons, as for that the auncient Historiographers, who have laboured to describe Countries, and the Nature of Regions to the remotest perts of the World; have in many places firsted from the truth. Alary 9 who are going to the chance of section at

Pinally, we mult peake against them, not by hazard and rashly but with reason, nor reprehend their ignorance, but rather to commend B them and correct them: Who no doubt would have repaired their erroursif they had lived in these times. For there are sew men found among the Greetane, which in former times could have gone to fearch out the extremities of the World, for the danger and tediousnes of the way: For that there are many, and in a manner innumerable dangers at Sea; and if any through necessity, or of his owne free will, had gone to the extremities of the World, he could not easily have found out the scituation of places nor those things which are worthy to be sought after: For that the greatest part was inhabited by Barbarous nations, and some Delart and inhabitable: Besides that, for the diversity of C Tongues, the enterprize was much more difficule; for there was no meanes to inquire, nor to learne, for want of vnderstanding one another. It was no leffe difficult to relate truly those things which they had feene, for that every man was given to augment, and to make things feeme more admirable.

Seeing then it was not only difficult, but in a manner impossible, to have a true Hillory of these things before this time, we must not blame the aincient Hiltoriographers, if they have forgotten or committed fome Errours; but rather we ought to wonder and commend them that they have bin able to make any fearch. It wilbe therefore necessary to D make a true and diligent fearch of those things, which our Predecessors knew not : for that in our firmes all the passages are open, aswell by Sea as Land, by the meanes of Alexander of Macedon his Forces into A-Re, and of the Reman Empire over the rest of the World : And likewife when as people were no more troubled with Warre, nor with any defire or ambition of publicke Affaires : So as they had great opportunity to fearch out the truth of these things. For the effecting whereof we will ftripe by all meanes, as soone as we shall find an oppor-

tunity. There is nothing that was more pleasing vitto methen to know the which delice to understand these things, come voto the rright by lour meanes, and that wee have not taken to much paintes. norwndergone fo great dangers, to wifite Affricke; Spaine and the vifited Affricke Ganles, by the meanes of the Ocean, but in repairing the errours sole spine and the the ancient Historiographers, & make those Countries knowne to our Gaules. men. Let vs now returne to our Discourse of the Warres which are in Italy, berwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians land or bedween

Wee have formerly related the number of men which Hannikal had remaining after hee had past into staly a who planted his Campe ar the foote of the Mountaines to refresh his Army : for it was tois led and wearied, o not onely with the passage of the Mountains which was very difficult, but also for want of victuals : Besides, it was continually afflicted with difeases misery and poverty . The great test part were dead of famine, and their insupportable toile : for Miseries comit was impossible to carry things necessary for so great an Army, in mon among a Countrey that was rough and difficult shand if they carried any Souldiers, B thing, the greatest part was lost with the Horses.

By this meanes it fell out, that although a little before hee had parted from the River of Rhone with thirty eight thousand Foote, and eight thousand Horse, hee had scarce then halfe his Army en A decrease of tire: and yet by the reason of their continual labour and toile, they Hamibals Atwere in a manner become wilde. The which Hannibal perceiuing, my. heenot onely laboured to cheere vp the bodies and hearts of the Souldiers, but likewise to refresh their Horses. After which hee marched with his Army, and laboured by all meanes to procure the Friendship of the Turinois, which was the neerest National and were at that time in Warre with the Millanois, and seemedo to C haue no great trust and confidence in the Carthaginians. Who seeming not much to regard him, hee affaults one of their firongest Townes, the which hee takes vpon the third day : where putting all vnto the Sword that would not follow his party, hee fo terrified and amazed the Barbarians which inhabited there-abouts, as presently they yeelded themselves into the hands of the Careha-

ginians. It is true that the other Gaules inhabiting along the River of Poe, would willingly haucioyned to Hannibal as they had resoluted, if at-D tending an opportunitie to doe it, the suddaine comming of the Confull had not preuented them. So as they stirred not, and some of them ioyned to the Roman Army. The which Hannibal perceining, he resolued to make no longer stay, and that he must attempt some good enterprize, to make the rest more bold to follow his partie. Being carefull hereof, he had newes that Publius Scipio had past the Page and that he was not farre off: the which at the first he seemed not to regard, as a thing not likely. For he remembred that hee had lately left him at the mouth of Rhone, and vnderstood that the passage from Marfeilles vnto Tuscany was long and inaccessible, and the way from the Toscan Sea which leades to the Alpes through Isaly, was rough,

The Romans

aduertifed of

139

the certaine newes hee was amazed, wondring muchat the Confuls industry and diligence. The Confull in like manner mondeed ud leffe. For where as the thought that Humarbal would never prefume to walle and the Mountaines with an Army confifting of Brange Nations a And that if hee attempted it Devorould dye buthe way; the mondard much at his great courage and boldneffe, when as hee found that hee had not onely past fately a bin had also forced some Townes of Wee bruse formerly reduced the number of the which schoolstart

where an Army could not paffe. It But vport diners adderrifements of

29 At the fametime the Romans were full, of affaires. It is true, that the last newesther had received, was of the taking of Sagont: where-Birethey called an affembly and made shoice of two Confuls: whereof the one was fent into Affricke to make Warre against Carehaen feereinto Italy and the other into spaine against Haminbal. But when they had findmos resolite daine newes of the comming of Hannibals Army and that he held guana nor formen Pownes of Walk Befreged a they were for amazed mas they prefently councimainded: Semprenius from Lybis, staduertifing him of the descent of the Brethy into Italy and that Icaning the affaires of the Prouince, he should make hast to succour his Countrey Afper which newes, Semprenius prefently fends backe the Army by to alarman A Sea Wegitting them charge to falle directly to Italy wand he cause the Table some conduct of the Army by Land to the Tribunes pappointing them aday when they should come to Rimery. It is a Towne seated veon the Adriatique hore; at the end of the Plaines which are about Pro towards the South By this meanes matters being altred and that all feemed to fall our contrary to the hope and opinion of the World, every man yed diligence to prouide for the future. The two Armies were now opposite one to another, whereof the Commaunders for the time they had, laboured to give courage vinto theirmensiad to six established in their out of the six of the state of

But Hannibal ftrining to encourage them vsed this meanes; putting into the middest of the Army Membled together the Prisoners of the Mountaines, who were in Chaines: The which by their contimill toile, and partly by his commaundment were growne leane and feeble: for (the better to attaine vnto his intention) hee had caused themi to have great setters, and had in a manner starued them, and finally had commaunded that they should bee cruelly beaten his Souldiers. naked

Having drawne them into the midst of his Army, he caused armes n robe laid before them after the manner of the Gaules, and fuch as Captaines vie to arme themselves with when they fight single Combats: he also gave them Horses; and Cassocks made with great Art. Then he demaunded of the Prifoners, which of them would fight man to man, propounding to the Victor theafore faid gifts, and to the vanquished that by death he should be freed from his present miseries. And as they all cried out that they were ready to fight, Hannebal causeth Lots to be cast, and makes two men to enter the list arm'd, vpon whom the Lot had fallen. The which the prisoners hearing, they lifted vp

their hands to Heauen, praying vnto the gods, that they would bee pleased to choose them for the Combate. As soone as the Lot was cast . they vpon whom it fell, were wonderfully joyfull, and the rest remained sad and pensiue. But when as the Combate was ended. theother Prisoners did no lesse commend the fortune of him that was defeated, then of the Conqueror: Conceiuing that hee was freed from the great and many miscries, wherewith they were tormented living. The like thought the Carthaginians: for in making comparison of the misery of the survivours, and of those who fighting died valiantly, they found the fortune of these men good, and that of the others moved them to pitty.

The History of POLYBIVS.

Lib. 3.

When as Hannibal faw his Army moued to pitty at this specacle, Hannibalt he presently came into the midst of the affembly, faying, that hee pre- speechtohis sented it vnto them, to the end they should make vse of the example Souldiers; of anothers mans fortune, to consider of their owne: for that they were to vndergoe the same Combate, and that Fortune propounded vnto them the like time, and the like rewards: for they must of necessity line or dye, or fall into their Enemies hands aline. If they vanquished, their spoile should bee more then a Horse or a Cassockea being the happiest men in the World, after they had conquered the good fortune of the Romans. And if in fighting they died like braue men. they should end their lives with good hope, tree from all miferies and calamities : But withall they must expect all miseries and pouerty, if being vanquished, they should flie, with a desire of a longer life, or with a resolution to seeke some other meanes to live : and that there is no man so voide of sence, which thinkes (if hee slies) that his safe returne into his Countrey is possible, if hee will remember the length of the way, with the multitude of Combats which must bee maintained during the Voyage: If hee likewise considers the narrow streights, and so many troublesome Rivers which were to passe.

Wherefore it was needfull for them, that in laying aside all hope of flight, they should vie the like pitty to themselves in their affaires, as they have shewed lately in the example of other mens fortunes: For as in the others they commended the fortune of the Victor and the vanquished, and held those which remained miserable: so they must iudge the like of themselues. And therefore they must goe resolutely to the Combate, to get an unspeakable Victory; or else to dyelike D braue men in battell, if auerse fortune deny it them : and that they must not expect that being vanquilhed, they should finde any meanes of

Finally, if they march to the field with this resolution, there is no doubt but the Victory and their fafety is in their owne hands: for there was never any man that have fought with this intention, or with a resolute courage, or forced by necessity, but hee hath prevailed ouer his Enemies. And that this is very easie to doe, when as all these things concurre together contrary vnto the Enemy, as it happens this Day vnto the Romans: For as their flight hath a manifest and an apparent safety in their houses which were necre them,

The policy of

an example to

Scipio his

speech to his

so the courage of desperate men will be found insupportable. And when as after this Oration (together with the example) the Souldiers hearts were much inflamed to Warre, and that their Generals comparison was pleasing vnto them, Hannibal commending them, sent them away, and commaunded them to bee ready at the

breake of day.

But after that the Confull Publius Scipio having past the Poe, had caused his Army to march to the River of Tesin, he commaunded a Bridge to be made by fuch as were skilfull, and made a Speech vnto the affembly according to the opportunity of the time. In the begin- A ning he spake many things concerning the Maiesty of the people of Rome, and the prowelle of their Ancestors: But concerning the prefent affaires, this was the fubstance. They must of necessity (faydhe) hold the victory certaine, although they had not yet tried their vallour with the Enemy: But onely for that they were to fight with the Carthaginians. Neither must they expect that they would dare to come to Battell against the Romans, having in the last Warres so often beate them both by Sea and Land, to whom they had also so long payed tribute: and whose power they had so often tried. And to the end I forbeare to speake of the times past, why should men of judge-B ment doubt of the future, feeing we have some experience, that they dare not looke vs in the face ?

It is certaine that when lately the Roman Horse men encountred the Carthaginians in Gaule, on this fide the River of Rhone; they not onely returned safe, but they beate them backe into their Campe: and that presently, when as Hannibal and the Carthaginian Army found the Romans to be so neere, they steale away in manner of a slight, and passe the Mountaines otherwise then they had resolued, in seare and amazement. Now behold Hannibal, who in passing the Alpes, hath lost two parts of his Forces. And the rest is so tired and broken with toile, hunger, cold, and pouerty, as they can hardly support themselves and the remainder of his Horses (if any be escaped) are so wome with labour, and the tedious wayes, as they could not make vie of them. Finally, it sufficed the Remans onely to present themselves, and that moreover, his presence should with reason make them more resolute, seeing that he had not left the Army at Sea, nor the affaires of Spaine, nor had not transported himselfe thither with such speed, going so great a circuite both by Sea and Land, if he had not knowne it necessary for the Countrey, and the victory to be certaine. The Army being inflamed with this Speech, and making thew of a refolution to fight, Scipio com- D mending their good will, sent them away, and gaue them charge to feed, and to be ready, and in Armes at the found of the Trumpet and Drumme.

Three daies after, the two Commanders marcht with their Army along the River, on the fide of the Mountaines. The Romans had the left hand, and the Carthaginians the right. And when as the day following they were aduertifed by their Spies of their approach one vnto another, they stayed. The third day after, the two Commaunders fronted

fronted one another with all their Horse, Scipio being moreouer accompanied with men that cast Darts, chosen out of the bands of footmen : The which they did to discouer the number of the men, and what they were.

But when they came to affront one another, and the dust beginning to rise by reason of the Horses, they presently prepared themselues to Battell: Scipio puts in Front the Gaulish horse-men, with those that Darts, and appointed the rest to second them marching a slow pace. In regard of Hannibal, he makes his point of the strongest of his horse-A men, and presents it to the Enemy, casting the Numidians upon the Wings. But when the two Armies began to enter the Combat furioufly, they had scarce begun the Crie but the Darters fled, without A Combat of any fight, and passing through their supplies, they recoursed the Battell. They were in truth amazed at the violent charge, fearing to be and sciple. ouerthrowne by the encounter of the Horse-men. In the meanetime the Combat was great betwirt the Horse-men; for both the one and the other fought with great courage; which made the Battell to continue long in sufpence. There was fighting both on horse-backe and on foot, for that many had lest their horses in the Battell. And when as

B the Numidians in turning about, had fallen vpon the reare of the Darters, who in the beginning had fled from the fury of the Horse-men, they were inuironed by them, and defeated in great Troupes. They alfo which fought with the Carthaginian Horse-men, after they had received great losse of their men, and slaine many of their Enemies, in the end they gaue backe, for that the Numidians charged in the reare. Some were dispersed here and there: others retired to the Campe in a throng, fauing the Confull (who was wounded) in the middest of the Troupe, from thence Scipio Commaunded his men to follow him The retreate of without noise, and marcheth with his Army to the Bridge which he Scipio

C had made vpon the Poe, there to passe without tumult or danger; but when he saw the fields about the Poe so great and spacious, and that the Carthaginians were stronger in horses, and being moreouer troubled with the Wound which he had received, he held it the fafest course to passe his Army before the Enemy should pursue him.

Hannibal made his account that the Romans would fight sometime with their foot-men; but when he was aduertifed of their flight, and that abandoning their Fort they had past the Poe, by a Bridge which they had made, he pursues them with speed. The end of the Bridge was already broken and the guard was yet remaining sof the which he

n presently tooke about fixe hundred. Hannibal aduertised that the rest of the Army was not farre off, hee returnes to his Fort, feeking carefully for a place fit to make a Bridge: The which two daies after he found with great difficulty, and then effected it, loyning many floats together. Afterwards he gaue the Charge to Asarbal, to passe the Army, whilst that he busied himselse to heare the Embassie of the Gaules, which were come vnto him from divers neighbour Countries: For as soone as it was bruted that the Romans had bin deseated by the Carthaginians, all the neighbour Gaules made hast to joyne with Han-

Lib. 2.

mibal, as they had formerly resolved, and to give him succours, and to go to the Warre. After he had given them a good reception, he past his Army beyond the Poe, and takes his way along the River, hoping more easily to ouer-take the Enemy. When as Scipio had led his Army to Plaisence, (which was a Roman Collony) he had a care to cure those that were Wounded, and thinke of a place whither he might

the Ganles against the Ro-

An Embaffie

from the Bolo

niansto Han.

nibal.

14.2

The third day after that Hannibal had past the Poe, he puts his men in order before Plaisence in view of the Enemies, and presented them Battell. And when as no man offered himselfe, he Camp'd having A found a convenient place within fixe miles of them. The Gaules who had come to fuccour Scipie, seeing better hopes with the Carthaginians, resolued among themselves to abandon the Romans. And when at mid-night they found all men afleep, they being in Armes in their Tents, they part, and kill'd most of the Romans they met in their way, cutting off some of their heads. Finally they retired to the Carthagi. nians, to the number of two thousand foot, and two hundred Horse. Being graciously received, and inflamed with hope of good, Hannibal fends them home to their Houses; to the end they might make those things knowne, and induce their Country to feeke the Alliance of the B Carthaginians. He faw plainly, that of necessity they would leave the Roman party, confidering the foule crime which their men had committed. Moreouer there was an Embaffie come from the Bolovians, deliuering vnto Hannibal the Triumviry who (as wee have formerly faid) had bin fent by the Romans to divide the Lands being taken

Hannibal commending their good affection, makes an Alliance with them, and restores vnto them the Triumviry, to serue them as a meanes to retire their Hostages, as they had formerly resolued. Scipio being troubled, not so much for the Treason of the Gaules, and the C flaughter of his men, but for that he fore-faw that all the Ganles Country (which had bin a long time Enemy vnto the Romans) would revolt. which made him study how to give order in time for his Affaires. Wherefore the night following about the breake of day, he disloded The River of without noise, and seated his Campeneere vnto the River of Trebia, on the highest Hils of the Country, relying vpon the scituation of the place, and the multitude of their Allies inhabiting thereabouts. Hannibal being aduertised of his Enemies flight, he causeth the Numidians to march first, and then all the Cauallery, and soone after he follows with the rest of his Army.

The Numidians turning to the Campe abandoned by their Enemies, they fet it on fire, to the great benefit of the Romans. For if they had not staied in the Campe, they might have pursued them in the Reare. and have made a great flaughter of the Roman Army. But whilft they loose time in burning the lodging, the greatest part of the Army past the River in safety: Some of the Reare-ward were surprized by the Carthaginians, who were either flaine or taken Prisoners. In the meane time Scipio made choise of the Hils, which were neere vnto the

River, for that they feemed fit to make a Fort. The which being inuironed with a Ditch and a Pallifudo. hee attended in this diffrente the returne of his Companion Tyberius from sycily with an Army : caufiling his Wounds to be carefully looked vnto, to the end that their affaires being in lo great danger, he might be a pertaker. Hannibal seated his Campe, within fige miles of the Enemies Fort, whom the Gaules did furnish abundantly, not only with Victuals, but with all other things necessary, and were very ready to vndergoe any danger with the Car-

The newes came to Rome of the defeate of their men. And although they would never have thought it, yet the Romans made no shew to beamazed therewith, disguisting the defeate of their Hotse-men to haue hapned, not so much by the Prowesse of the Carthaginians, as by the ouer-weening of the Commaunder, and the Treason of the Gaules . who had yeilded themselnes to Hannibal. Finally, they were in good hope of their Warre, feeing that the Bands of foot men were vet entire. Wherefore Sempronius being returned, and paffing by Rome, they all perswaded him publickely to give Battell to the Cartha. ginians. Sempronius at his comming vnto Rimeny, receiues all the B Troupes which were come from Sycily, according to his commaundment. From thence marching to Trebia, he joynes with his Companion, where he refresht his Army, toil'd with the tediousnesses fine way, having marcht forty daies together comming from Lylibeum to Rimeny. He also vsed diligence to provide all sorts of munition. Moreouer he consulted with Scipio, inquiring of the actions past, and conferring of the future.

At the same time Hannibal tooke the Towne of Clastidium by Trea- Clastidium tofon, corrupting Brengusin the Captaine of the Garrison, where as the kenby Hanni-Romans had lodged a great quantity of Corne, whereof he made vie bal, C in his necessity, and fent away the Souldiers in safety; to the end that by the fame of his Clemency, others might yeild more easily vnto the Carthaginians. He extended his bounty also vnto him that betraide it. And being aduertised that the Gaules inhabiting that little Country which lies betwixt Trebia and the Poe, and had made an Alliance with him, had fought the friendship of the Romans by Embassie : To the end that during the trouble of these two powerfull Nations, they might haue the grace of an vncertaine fauour . He fends (being mooued with rage and despight) two thousand foote, and about a thousand Numidian Horses, with some Ganles intermixt, to spoile the Country. The D which having performed and taken a great Booty, the Inhabitants fene presently an Embassie to the Consult to require succours. Sempronius presently imbracing this occasion to give battell, which hee had long defired, sends a great part of his Cauallery, with a thousand foote with Darts, beyond the River of Trebia, who charging the Gaules, and furprizing them in disorder, for that they were in contention touching the division of the Booty, they put them into a great confusion, and forced them to retire, killing and chafing them into their Fort: Where by the fally of the Troupe which guarded the Campe,

the Gaules resuming Courage, they were forced to turne head, and to recover their Campe: The which Sempronius perceiuing, he fent a supply of all his Horse with the Darters, and forced the Gaules to retire into their Fort. But for that Hannibal was not then ready to give battell, he was not of aduice to vndertake it without great confideration. nor to hazard all ypon all occasions. And therefore like a well aduised Captaine, he caused a Retreate to be sounded, and retires his men into the Fort.

And when as the Romans had skirmished with their enemies in vaine, they returned to their Campe, having loft few of their men, and made A 2 great flaughter of the Caribaginians. Sempronius growne joyfull and proud of this good Fortune, had a will to give Battell onely for the defire of glory, whilst that his Companion was weake and infirme. And therefore he discovers himselfe to Scipio, to whom the time did not seeme convenient to do it, but rather to deferre the Battell, to the end that the Roman Souldiers being yet fresh and greene, might gaine experience, and that in Temporizing, the Gaules as people light and without faith, might abandon the Carthaginians, and that finally he might be present, for that his Wound at that time made him vnprofitable. Although that Sempronius knew well that Scipio spake the truth, B yet mooued with ambition, either that Scipio should not be present. or that the Warre mould not be prolonged vntill the comming of the other Consuls, for that the time of the election was come, he resolued to give Battell alone.

Hannibal being of the like opinion with scipio, was carefull how to finde an occasion to fight, whilst the Gaules faith was firme, and the Enemies Souldiers of little experience, and Scipio vaprofitable to vadergoe the danger: But especially he seared to loose time: For seeing he led an Army in a strange Country, and had a great enterprize in hand, there was no other meanes of fafety, then to keepe his Allies. Where- C fore seeing the defire of Sempronius, he prepared himselfe willingly to

Battell.

There was betwixt the two Armies a plaine Champaigne, but very convenient to lay an Ambush; having a deepe River, with high Bankes, and Thickets and Bushes round about it: Which Hannibal having viewed, he resolued to lay an Ambush. It is true, that the Romans fled the Forrests, by reason of the Ambushes which the Gaules often layd for them, trusting onely in a Champaigne Country: Being ignorant that aplaine is more fitting then a Forrest, for the couering of an Ambush: For they may see the Enemy come farre off, and have D fometimes fit meanes and opportunity to couer themselves, so as when they finde a River with low Bankes, the Reedes, Flagges of the Marishes, Bushes, and such like things doe couer the foote, and many times the Horse-men, if they bend downe their Helmets which are apparent. Hannibal after he had acquainted his Brother Mago, with his resolution to give battel, and being both of this advice, he caused him to be called whilst the Souldiers supp'd: His brother Mago was a young man, of a braue Spirit and Resolute, and had bin alwaics bred

A plaine is fometimes the eccation of an

Mago Brother

Lib. 3. The History of POLYBIVS.

vo in the Warre. To whom he gaue a thousand Horse, and as many Foote chosen out of the whole Army, whom he called vnto his Tent after supper, and made a speech vnto them according to the opportunity of the time, declaring vnto them what he had resolved. Moreouer he gives every one of them charge, to choose out of all the Troupes nine others like themselues, and that they should repaire to a certaine place in the Campe. These presently obeyed the command- An Ambush ment of their Generall. Thus Mago accompanied with a thousand laid by Mannie florse, and as many Foote, and with a guide, came to the place of mannie. A his Ambush, being well instructed by Hannibal what hee was to doc.

At the breake of day Hannibal calls the Numidian Horse-menable to beare labour : to whom when he had made a speech, and promifed great rewards, if they carried themselues like braue men, hee difcouers his Enterprize. Hee gives them charge to passe the River of Trebia, and to runne vnto the Gates of the Enemies Campe, and to draw them forth to fight with their Darts, desiring much to surprize them in disorder, and to fight with them before they had taken any repast, the which he did much esteeme. He also gives charge to all the B other Captaines appointed for the Combate, to feed their men and their horses, and commands them to be ready armed, attending the found of the Trumpet. But when as Semprenius faw the Enemy approach, he first sent out all his Horse-men, and after them fixe thoufand Darters : Finally, he drawes all his Troupes to field, as if hee meant that day to make an end of the Warre: and who (for the good fortune which two daies before hee had in fight, together with the great number of his men) was in hope to get the Victory. It was by chance in Winter, and did snow that day with a vehement cold. Moreouer, the Souldiers were come forth in confusion with the Horc fes, and had no great heat, neither had they fed. And therefore although in the beginning they were ready and resolute, yet being entred into the River, they came forth wet vnto the brest: for that the fnow which had fallen in the night, had made the River swell, so as they began to be so afflicted with cold and hunger, that as the day came on, they were scarce able to hold their Armes. In the meane time the Carthaginians oyl'd and warm'd themselues at fires neere vnto their Tents, having their Horses ready after they had fed well.

When as Hannibal (who had an eye euery where) faw that the Enemies had past the River, he sets before the Ensignes the slingers of D Maiorque and Minorque, and those that were lightly armed, to the number of eight thousand men, and puts the rest of his Army in Battalion. When he had marcht about a Mile, he fets vpon the wings twen-taile. ty thousand Foote, Spaniards, Affricans, and Gaules: the like he did of his Horse-men, who with the Allies that the neighbour Townes of Gaule had sent him, were ten thousand men. After them on either fide were placed the Elephants. Then Sempronius caused a retreate to be founded, to call backe the Horse men, lest pursuing the Numidia ans inconsiderately, they might be suddainly inclosed by them, for their

The manner of the Numidians fighting.

custome is to flie hereand there at the first charge , and to stay suddainly when they thinke good, recharging the Enemy with incredible courage and resolution. Then hee ordered his Foote men after the manner of the Romans. Among the which there were about fix-Semprenius puts teene thousand Romans, and about twenty thousand Latins their his men in bat- Allies : for when they were to undergoe any great Warre, and that the two Confuls were ioyned together, the perfect number of their Army was of so many thousands. Then hee placed three thousand Horse-men vpon the wings. When he had thus disposed of his men, he marcht in battaile a flow pace, scarce mouing.

The two Armies being neere one vnto the other, those that were lightly armed began the fight, wherewith the Romans were fuddainly opprest. All things fore told good vnto the Carshaginians: for the bodies of the Roman Foote were growne feeble with hunger and wearinesse, and numm'd with cold : Being moreoverslaine by the multitude of Darts which the Numidians cast. For their parts they had abandoned their Darts, as unprofitable by reason of the continuall humidity: The Horse-men suffred the like with the whole Army. Contratiwise the Carthaginians being in their force, in good order and fresh, were diligent and ready at need. Wherefore when as they had p made way for their forlorne hope to retire, and that the Armies had charged one another : the Carthaginian Horse-men fell vpon the Enemies wings, and quite defeated them. It is true, the Romans were weake in their numbers of Horse: and the Souldiers were tired with labour and hunger.

A defeate of the Reman Herfe-men.

After the rout of the Horse-men, the Foote resisted more with the equality of courage then of force : But the Numidians besides the Ambush which the Army had past without discouering them, shewing themselues voon the Rearc, put them in a great amazement, yet the Battallions stood firme for a time, although they were involved with fo many miseries. But in the end when as the two wings were prest, ha- C uing the Elephants in front, and that those which were lightly armed. had compassed them in, they sled directly to the neere River. This done, when as the Romans which fought in the battell , saw their supplies broken, they were parely cauroned by them of the Ambush, and partly defeated and flaine: Others past through the Battalion of the Gaules, where were many Affricans, making a great flaughter of the Enemies. But when as they could neither fuccour their men, nor get to their Fort, as well for the multitude of the Enemies Horse, as for the swelling of the River and the raine, they recovered Plaisance, to the number of ten thousand men : the rest for the most part were flaine along the River by the Elephants and Horse-men. Some few Foote and Horse slying dispersed ouer the Fields, drew to Plaisance, sol-The Victory of lowing the route of the Army. The Carthaginians having pursued them of Hamibal at to the River of Trebeia, returned to the Campe, for that they could not proceed any farther by reason of the raine: being very joyfull of thevictory, whereas the losse of Spaniards and Affricans was small, and that of the Ganles great. But they were fo tormented with raine & cold that all

The History of POLYBIVS. Lib. 3.

the Elephants except one, and the greatest part of the carriage-horfes, with many men and horfes died.

After this action Sempronius desirous to couer and conceale so great a losse, sent men to Rome, to let them vnderstand that the violence of the Roman feare for the the raine had deprined them of an absolute Victory: the which the loft of the Romans did easily beleeue. But when as within few dayes after, Barte'l. they had newes that the Carthaginians held their Army in strength. and that all the Gaules held for them, abandoning their party, and withall that their Army kept the Towne, for that it was not well affured within its Fort, and that they drew victuals from the Sea by the River of Poe, they grew into to great a feare and amazement. as they thought Hannibal would come a Conquerour to Rome. A new Army Wherefore they leuied a new Army, and fent supplies into Sicily leuied by the and Sardinia, fortilying Tarentum and the other Townes in Italy. Romans both by Sea and They likewise prepared an Army at Sea of fifty Quinqueremes: Fi- Land, nally, they were wholly attentive to Warre, we

At that time Cneus Seruitius, and Caim Flaminius were chosen Confuls, and a new leuie of men was made, and fuccours required from the Allies. One of them led his Troupes to Rimeni, and the other into Tuscany. They had resoluted to lead their Armies into Gaule. They had besides sent to Hieron to demaund succours, who fent them fine hundred Candiots, and a thousand men which beare Targets. Without doubt the Romans at that time drew all the Forces they could possible against Hannibal: for the seare was not onely

generall, but every mans in particular.

During these accidents in Italy, Cneus Cornelius Scipio (who as Scipioattius as we have formerly said, had beene left by his Brother in Gaule with Empories, and conquers you an Army at Sea) parting from the mouth of Rhone, arrived at Em- Ebro. C pories. And beginning there, hee made all the Maritime Countrey vnto Ebro subject to the Romans, renewing the ancient leagues with fome, and making new with others. When hee had pacified the Sea-coasts, aud had lest Garrisons where neede required, he led his Army vp into the firme land. Hee had now drawne together some Companies of succours from the allied Townes. By this meanes he takes some Townes, some by Composition, others by sorce. The which Hanno perceiving (whom Hannibal had left for the defence of Spaine) he resolued to encounter the Enemies, and planted D himselse right against them, neere vnto a Towne which the people of the Countrey call Ciffe.

Scipio in like manner did not hold it fit to deferre the Battell. And therefore after hee had gotten the Victory and taken the Enemies Fort, hee reconcred great store of Treasure: For all they which went to the Warres of Isaly under Hannibal, had left all their wealth with these men, lest the Baggage should bee redious and troublesome vnto them. Afterwards soipid made a league with all the Inhabitants which were within the River of Ebro. and made them Allies and Friends. There were two Commaunders taken aliue, whereof the one was Hanno, who had the leading of the

Carthaginians

King Andubal taken.

148

A defeate of fome Romans by Afdrubal-

Caribaginians, and the other Andubal, King of a Region which lies in the heart of Spaine, who had alwayes held the party of the Carthaginians. Afdrubal hearing the newes, paffeth Ebro, marching with his Army against the Romans: who vpon the way had newes that the Souldiers and Sea-men wandred the fields vp and downe, being confident and carelesse with the ioy of their Victory. Wherefore hee marches thither speedily with eight thousand foote, and a thousand Horse, where killing a great part, he forced the rest to recouer their ships : yet hee durst not stay long, but repast the River of Ebro. And when hee had put Garrisons in necessary places, hee A went to winter at Carsbage. Cneus Scipio aduertised hereof, drawes his men suddainly together, and goes vnto his Sea-army, punishing fuch as had beene the cause of the deseate, after the manner of the Romans. When hee had drawne his Army both by Sea and Land together, he went to winter at Taracona, where he divided the spoile, fo as hee purchased the love of them all, making them more resolute for the future Warre. Behold the estate of the affaires of In the beginning of the Spring Flaminius marching thorough Tuf-

cany, came to Areizo. As for Seruilius, hee auended (after hee B had brought his Army to Rimeni) when the Enemy would diflodge. And whilest that Hannsbal spent the Winter in Gaule, hee kept the Romans that were Prisoners straightly fester'd, and poorely fed, intreating the Allies courteoully from the beginning; and afterwards causing them to assemble, he made many remonstrances vnto them, telling them that he was not come to make Warre against them, but to fight with the Romans for their liberty : and therefore if they were wife, they should imbrace the alliance and friendship of the Cartha-Prifoners that ginians: and that he was there to fet the people of Italy at liberty, and to restore those whom the Remans had outragiously chased from their houses, their Townes, and Countries. When hee had vsed C these, or the like speeches, hee sent them all away, without ransome, desiring by this meanes to winne the hearts of all the people of Itaby and to make them abandon the Ramans party of and to encourage those whom they had deprined of their Lownes and Countrey. It is true, that whilest hee wintred, be was many nimes in dangers by the Gaules, the which he prevented by an Affrican tricke, Hannibalipolis for that the Gaules discourred it as lightly yoro him, as they had given their consent : so as hee caused periwigges of divers ages to bee nimeterrom made with great art, the which he whed, changing his apparrell of D ten : fo as he was not onely volvnowne to them which had neuer feene him is but also to his familiars of By this omeanes he was in fafety, they not knowing whom to affauit for Hannibal. Moreouer, when as the Gauler were discontented, that their Country, was made the feate of the Ware, making a flew to be definous to fight, to the end it might be transported to some other part. Hannbal refolued to goe the fooner to field, and to lead his Army to the Warre which he defined. I mend was Mane and the constitution of the The

South Brown

fon-

Hannibals

Speech to the

the Romans.

The History of POLYBIVS. Lib. 2.

The Spring time approached, when calling vnto him those which knew the wayes. he inquired of the passages, which went into the Enemies Country. And being advertised that all the wayes were long and knowne to the enemy, they discouered vnto him one that was shorter, but troublesome, which would leade him through the Marithes of Tuscany, whereby he might passe his Army, vnknowne vnto the enemy : But when the newes came into the Campe of their Voy- The Way and age by Marishes, the apprehension discouraged them, searing the Order which Quagmires and Pooles. Yet he tooke this way with his whole Army, to passe into A caufing the Spaniards and Affricans to march before, with the ablest risks. of his men and their Baggage, to the end that if they were forced to plant a Campe, they should not want things necessary. It is true, that before, he had not resolved to carry any Baggage, for that hee knew well that the Carthaginians should not want any thing if they were vanquished; and if they won the Countrey they should not likewise want. Next he causeth the Ganles to march, and in the Reare the horse men, whereof he gaue the charge to his brother Mago, to the end that by their helpe, the Gaules by their basenesse should not turne head, being discontented with the toile. The Spaniards and Affricans marching through the Marishes, came vnto the end without any great toile, as inured to paines, and accustomed to such miseries. Contrariwise the Gaules went with great difficulty, as men amazed, falling into the Quagmires of the Moares, and carrying this mifery with griefe and discontent, like men vnaccustomed to such calamities, the Horsemen kept them from returning.

Finally the whole Army was in great trouble and paine 4 and they languished the more, for that they had watch'd foure daies and three nights, going through the Waters. But amongst all the rest the Gaules were most tormented. Most part of their carriage Horses falling into C the Mire, dyed, seruing the tyred Souldiers, to rest themselves voon and the baggage, lying downe vpon them in the Water, to as they tooke their neeeffary rest some part of the night. Many Horses also loff their hoofes, by their continual going in the mire. Hannibal could hardly escape the moares, but that he was carried upon an Elephant Hamibal 160which was onely remaining: Who by a great paine in his eyes, which tethan Eye. had hapned by the bad condition of the Ayre, in the end hee loft an eie, for that he had neither time nor place to prevent it.

After that he had past the Moares contraty to the opinion of all the World, and was aduertifed by his Spies, that Flaming was about the Wals of Areixo, he planted himselfe neete vnto the Marishes, partly to refresh his army being tyred with so great toyle, and likewise to learne the Resolution and forces of the Enemy, with the scituation of the Country and Wayes. But being advertised that among the Regions of Italy, that was very fertile, and that the Champaigne betwire Aretzo and Fefula was very rich in Corne, and all other things ne. ceffary, and that moreover the Confull was a proud man, affecting the applause of the people, but without experience of Warre, and relying much vpon Fortune, he thought it firsthat in leaving the enemy on

The duty of a good Captain.

150

the left hand, he should drawe towards Fefula, to spoyle the Country of Tufcany: being conceited that the Confull, for the natural defire he had to purchase the fauor the people, would never suffer the Country to bee spoid: Nor attend his Companion, as desiring him not in things well done: But contrariwife would follow him wherefocuer he went without feare, having a defire to fight. By this meanes he forefawe good opportunities to give Battaile, making therin a wife and politique discourse of suture things. Beleeue mee he is deceived, that thinkes any duty greater in a Captaine, then to discouer the opinion and Nature of the enemy. For as you must observe in a Combate be- A twixt man and man the place where you meane to strike, and consider diligently where he lies open and discouered: So in a great Warre, you must seeke the Enemy, not so much to understand where the the parts of the body are naked, but by what meanes you may discover the Nature and proceedings of the Generall.

There are many which not onely forget the publicke Affaires by a dulnesse and negligence, but also many times those which concerne their private Liues. Others subject to Wine, cannot rest untill they be drunke, and some given too much to women, not only ruine Townes and Common-weales, but also their Liues with infamy. Moreover, B Cowardize and feare in private men is full of Reproach and difgrace. but in a Commaunder, it is sometimes the cause of great losse. Overweening rashnesse, Choller, and vaine bragging is prejudiciall, and profitable to the Enemy. Beleeue me, fuch kind of men, doc easily fall into the Snares and Ambushes of their Enemies. And therefore if any one having discovered the Vices of the Enemy, findes some occasion whereby he may circumvent the Generall, he may eafily prevaile over the rest: For as an Enemy doth easily boord a Shippe when it is without a Gouernour: So it any one during the Warre, defeates a Commaunder by his Iudgement and good aduice, hee will soone be master C of the rest of the Army.

The Country Spoil'd by Hamibal.

As Hamubal had made this Discourse of the Roman Consult, so he was not deceived in his opinion; for parting with all speede thorough the Fefulans Countrey, leaving the Enemy behind, he began to put all Tuscamy to fire and Sword. The Consultinflamed herewith, thinking that the Enemy made no account of him, holding it a great dishonour to suffer the Goods of their Allies to bee thus spoil'd ar d carried away before his face, could not take any rest. And therefore although that many adulfed him not to purfue Hannibal, nor to fight with him, but to keepe his Horse and soote entire, vntill the comming of his D Companion, to the end that both Atmies being toyned, they might mannage the Warre by a common Councell, hee would not doe any thing, giving them no other answere, but that they should consider what the people of Rome would fay, feeing the Enemy Camp'd in the middest of Italy, and march directly to Rome without relistance, they fleeping in Tufsany at his backe. Having vsed this Speech, he began to pursue the Enemy, after that he had suddainly drawne his Troupes together, without confideration either of time or places, defiring onely

to fight, as if the Victory had beene certaine. He had put his whole Army in hope of winning the Battaile wife as there were more which charged themsolves with chaines and fetters, and such like things, them with armes to fight. The dr. more thanks about the first

Hannibal marching directly to Rome, spoil'd all the Champaigne Country, which lies betwiet the Towne of cortone, and the Lake of Perouze, vsing all manner of cruelty to draw the enemy to fighty But when he had newes of Flamining pursuite with his Army, seeing the place convenient to lay his Ambushes, hee began to prepare himselfe A for a barraile. There was a large plaine enuironed round about with high Mountaines iouned together: having within it a leffer Hill, which was painfull and difficult, and behind lies the Lake of Peronze, betwixt the which and the Mountaines, there is a narrow passage, whereby they

enter into the plaine.

Lib. 3.

Hannibal gaines these first Hils, planting his Campe there, and lodgeth with the Spaniards and Affricans, laying behind the Mountaines, hayd by Hantis the Souldiers of Maiorque and Minorque, with others that were light- bal. ly armed. He doth also place in the streight, the Horse-men with the Gaules, to the end that as soone as the Romans should be entred, they B should be wholy inuironed by the Lake and Mountaines, opposing the Horse-men in Front. And having thus disposed of his men in the night, he went to take his reft. Flaminius pursuing his enemy with great heate, came vnto the Lake before the Sun setting, and the next day early began to lead his Army through the streight. The day was thicke and misty, by reason of a Fogge which came from the Lake, and the Neighbour mountaines. When as Hannibal faw the greatest The Romans part of the Army entred into the Plaine, and that the fore-most ap- Surprized and proached neere vnto him, hee then gaue his men a signe of battaile. Deseated. Which done, they fall vpon them that were neerest. The Romans The Battaile of C were amazed at this suddaine surprize, for that the mist hindred their perouse. fight, and with all the Enemies charg'd them on all sides at one instant, to as they could not put themselves into battaile, nor make vse of their

Armes, nor scarce know what had beene done, being affailed by some

in front, by others in the Reare, and likewise vpon the Flankes. So

as many holding on their way, they were flaine like sheepe, for that

they could not fuccour one another, and they were fooner defeated,

Gaules. There were flaine in this battaile fifteene thousand men, who

Romans, neuer abandoning their rankes: The others inclosed betwixt

the Mountaines and the Lakes by reason of the narrow passages, and

out of hope, were saine basely or rather miserably: For being forced

in the Lake, some were drowned striuing to swimme in their Armes:

Others going into the Water as farre as they could possibly, continued for a time in that estate. Finally, when the enemies horse were entred,

they were flaine without pitty: Although that lifting vp their hands,

they humbly begged to have their Lines faued, or taking Courage

p for the most part stood firme vnto the end, after the manner of the

then they could confider what they had to doe. Flaminius himselfe, Flaminius flavor when there was no more hope, was enuironed and flaine by certayne in the battaile.

B it away.

Sixethauland Romanstaken in a Burrough by composition

The great a-

which was at

Rome for the

battaile loft.

kild one another. There were about fixe thousand of the fore-ward which forcing through the enemics, escaped this passage: Although it were in their power to inclose them, and to succour their friends, ver not knowing what was done behind them, they marcht on still, doubting to make some encounter, before they had gotten the top of the Mountaines. And having made a ftand vpon a little Hill, and feeing (the Mist being past) the great slaughter of their Souldiers, they hastily got vnto a neere Burrough, like men which had no more hope of fafety, for that they faw the enemy to hold the whole Countrey. The battaile being won, Hannibal Commaunds Maherbal to pursue them, A who parting with the Spaniards and the Souldiers that were lightly armed befieged the Burrough. The Romans being brought to extremity, in the end left their Armes; and after they had concluded to have their Liues faued, they yeilded to this Affrican. Behold how that famous battaile past, which was given betwirt the Romans and the Carthaeinians neere unto the Lake of Peronze.

After this Hannibal cals for those which Maherbal had taken, and for all the rest being aboue sifteene thousand, telling them at the first that Maherbal had no power to contract with them for their lines without his consent: And after he had vsed proud speeches unto the Romans, B he distributed them among the Souldiers to be carefully kept in chaines, fending away the Allies without Ransome: Telling them that hee was not come into Gaule to make Warre against the Latin Nation, but with the Remans for their Liberty. Afterwards he sent them home to their Lodgings, and Commaunds to bury the bodies of those which were of most note, being about thirty: For hee lost of all his Army onely fifteene hundred men, whereof the greatest part were Gaules. Hee then held a Councell with his Brother and other friends concerning their affaires, who were growne so glorious for this Victory, as

they held nothing impossible.

The Newes of this great Defeate was now come to Rome, and the Senators could not long conceale it from the Common people, nor diffemble the greatnesse thereof: So as affembling the Court, they were forced to relate it vnto them in particular. As foone as the Prætor (being set in his Chaire) began to say, we have lost a great battaile; the amazement and trouble grew fo great, as they which were at the battaile and there present, report that the terrour was greater then in Rome, then it had beene in the fight. And it is likely; for it is not possible that they which for a long time had not felt any great disafter, neyther in Word, nor Deede, should patiently indure so great a losse. Yet the p Senate made a good shewe, as it was fitting, aduiting what was to be done, and what Commaunders they should choose, and with what Troupes they should refist the Carthaginians.

Whilst these things past in Tuscany, the Consul Servilius advertifed that Hannibal was past, hee resolued to joyne with this companions Army. But for that it was a difficult thing, to passe so great a number of men together, he sent Caim Centronius Proprator before with foure thousand Horse, to the end that if any occasion were offered, they

should doe that which his Companion should commaund him. Hanmibal having gotten this Victory, and advertised by his Spies of the comming of the Enemy, hee fends Maherbal to meete them, with the best of his Foote, and part of his Horse-men, who being met, A deseate of they defeated the greatest part at the first charge : the rest retiring to Hosse menby the first Hill, within three daies after they were taken aliue. When Maherbal. as the newes of this defeate came to Rome, three daies after the other, wherewith their hearts were much afficted, then not onely the people, but also the Senators were in so great distresse and mise-Ary, as all the Citty was in teares. Wherefore leaving the Annall A Dictator Magistrates, they had recourse to the election of a Dictator; for that created, the condition of the time, and the affaires then required a Commaunder which should have soueraigne power. And although that Hannibal were very glorious for the good successe and fortune of his affaires, yet hee did not hold it fir to goe vnto Rome. Wherefore Humibalruns parting the Province to fire and fword, and passing by the Dutchy along the of Spoletto, and the Marquilat of Ancona, hee came within ten Coast of the AdriatiqueSea. daves to the Region which is neare vnto Adriatique Sea, fo rich and abundant in all wealth, as the Army was not able to carry

Finally, hee made a great flaughter of men in his journey; for he caused a Proclamation to bee made in his Campe, that they should The cruelty of kill all those that they found carrying Armes, as they had common-Harmibal. ly done in Townes that were taken by affault. Hee carried to great a hatred to the Romans, as there was no cruelty that hee omitted. And after they had found a fit and convenient place along the Coast of the Adriatique Sea, abounding with all forts of commodities. hee laboured by all meanes to refresh his men and horses refor both the one and the other were fallen into diseases and the Scurny, which C they had gotten as well by the extreame cold in the Wister which they had endured in Gaule, being alwaies in field, as by the continuall toile which they had lately suffred in passing the Matishes, and the continuall sweat and filth, by reason of their harnesse.

In the meane time hee inures the Affricans, to carry Armes after the manner of the Romans, whereof hee find gotten abundance, confidering the great spoiles of the Enemies. Moreover, hee sent newes to Carthage of his Victories by Sea. This was the first time that hee approach't neare the Sea, fince his first comming into Italy. The Carthaginians being joyfull at this newes, were wholly attentive vn-D to the affaires of Isaly and Spaine. The Romans made choice of Quin. Quintus Fabrus tus Fabius for their Dictator, a man of so great virtue and pru chos dence, that for his proweffe hee purchased and obtained the name of Maximus, the which his family retaines vnto this day. The the difference Dictator differs from the Consull in this, that the Consull hath but betwirt 2 twelue Axes before him, and the Dictator hath foure and twenty. Dictator and Moreover, the Confull must referre many things to the advice of the a Centull. Senate: but this other hath a foueraigne and free power, vnder whom all other Magistrates cease, except the Tribunes. But this

154

shall be for a larger discourse. Moreouer, they gave vnto the Dicta-Merens Minu. tor Marcus Minuciss tor a Constable, or master of the Horse, which cist Confable. is a Magistrate subice to the Dictator, and supplies his place, when as the necessity of affaires forceth him to be absent.

In the meane time Hannibal marching, along the Coast of the Jdrietique Sea by small iournes, fed his Army in a rich and fertile Prouince, causing the Horse-fleet to be washt with old Wine, whereof there was great abundance, the better to cure them of their Scabs. Hee also caused the Souldiers which had beene wounded, to bee earefully looked vnto, and fortified the rest for future affaires. Ha- A uing past the Countries of Preturan and Adrian, hee ruined the Countrey of the Marrueins and Franqueville : Moreouer, he bent his course towards lapygia, divided into three, whereof some are tries roined by called Danniers, and the others Messapiens. Hee first ouer-runnes Dannia beginning by Luceria, a Collony of the Ramans, thundring ouer all the Countrey. Then feeling his Campe at Ibonium, he falls ypon the Artins, and etterly ruines all Dannia without any re-

At the lame time Quintum Fabius having taken his charge of Dictator, and performed the accustomed Sacrifices, parts from Rome R with the Master of the Horse, and sourc Legions levied in haste: And within few daies came to Appalia, whereas receiving the Army from the Confull Gnew Seruilius, being come from Rimeni, he fent him to dome with some troups, giving him charge to raise an Army at Sea at Hosting and to defend the Coasts of Italy, if the Carthagimans thould attempt any thing by Sea. Finally, he marches with all his troups, and plants himselfe in front of the Enemy, neare vnto Aigues, and within fixe miles of them. Hanniball advertised of the comming of Fabiat, and meaning to amaze them fuddainly, drawes his Army to Field, and prefents it in Battaile before the Romans Fort: But when he had stayed some time, hee retired to his Campe, seeing that no man came forth to fight. You must understand that Fabine had refolued from the beginning not to hazard any thing, nor to fight, thinking it would bee very beneficiall to the Romans, if The conftancy he might defend their Townes from the Enemy. Hee was conftant in his opinion, 10 as at the end hee purchased the reputation of a flackeman, and Coward pias if hee fled from danger onely for

fents Battaile to Fabius.

Hannibal pre-

But soone after hee forced the World to confesse, that they could not make choice of a Captaine, that was more constant, nor wifer D to mannage the Warre, the which appeared soone after in their affaires. Beleenemee, this wife Dicaron understood well what great difference there was betwitt the Cartheeinians Army, and that of the Romans : Confidering that the others had from their Youth frequented the Warre, having a Commaunder which was bred with them in the Campe, in the raine and winde, and who from his very Cradle had learn'd the trade : having gotten to many famous Victories both in Spaine and Italy, against the Romans and all

their Allies : and who thoreover, distrusting in all things : but their one To hope of fafety in the Victory : the which would prove contrare to the Romans. Wherefore he was not resoluted to fight, fearing the Numidians, for that hee was too weake in Horfe : 10 as retifing for his advantage with good confideration, he flaved, and led away his Army, The advantages which the Romans had, were abundante of munition and victuals, and a great Army. And therefore hee led it alwaies by the hilly Countries, following the Enemie neare the giving him no meanes to fight, being alwaies well victualed, and ne-A uer fuffring the Souldiers to goe forthy but kept them alwaies close to gether. By this meanes his men were alwaies in fafery, and beate the Enemy, if at any time they went from the Army for pillage. To as many times there were some taken, and others staine. This he did to the end that by little and little hee might weaken their forces. and encourage the Souldiers by thefe petty Victories, being amazed with their former losses, nor to distrust their Forces, or Fortune. Moreouer, they could not perswade him to come to a Battaile. But Marcus Minucius, discontent with his remporizing, blamed him of cowardile and feare. Hee was a proud and ralli man, who found nothing more tedious and troublefome then to bee absent from a Battaile.

The Caribaginians after they had ruined the former Countries, The carrhagiand had past the Appenine Hils, they goe to Samnium, which is a mans spoile the very fertile Countrey of Italy, and which for a long time had not Countrey, felt any Warre : There they found fo great abundance of all things. as they could not confume the Bootie, neither in ving it moderate-Iv nor wastfully. From thence they spoiled Beneuent, a Collony of the Romans : They tooke the Towne of Telefia which had ftrong walles, was well victualed, and furnished with all things necessary, the Remans followed the Enemies still within a daies lourney or two. When Romans followed the Euclides that water all occasions of fighting, and as Hannibal law that Fabius fled from all occasions of fighting, and hilly yet did not abandon the field, but followed him fill by the hilly Countrey, heerefolued to goe speedily into the Countries of Capua and Falerna, thinking that of necessitione of the two would happen: either that the Remans would come to a Battaile, or that the World would soone see that the Garthaginians camp't, and that the Romans kept themselves within their Forts. By this meanes he did hopethat the Townes of the Province being terrified, they would yeeld vnto the Carthaginians: For vnto that day not any one had n fallen vnto them, although the Romans had loft two great Battailes,

and there were many to whom their perswasions were very vnpleafing. Whereby wee may see of what authoritie and power the maiefty of the Roman Common-wealth was with their Succours and Allies.

Certainly Hannibals conceit was not idle : for the Capuan is an The description excellent Countrey, for abundance of wealth, fertility of land, and on of the Coun the beauty and pleasure of the place. First, it is seated along the Sea: trey of capua whither infinite number of people come from all parts of the World tion.

people of Italy.

to Italy. Moreover, the nebleft Townes of Italy are scituated there: for vpon the Borders of the Sea, stand the Smitzers, the Camans, the Pozolow, the Neopolitans, and at the end the Nucerius.

And towards the North voon the firme land, are the Calleniens and Teanins : towards the East and South are the Dauniens and Notains: and in the mid'ft of the Region Capus stands, the richest of them all, whose Lands are famous amongst the fabulous Poets, which they call Phiegress: and it is likely that the gods have spoken principally of them, by reason of their wonderfull beauty and excellency. Moreouer, this scituation is strong by nature, and in a manner impreg- A nable. For on the one fide they are inclosed by the Sea, and on the other they are wholly enuironed with Mountaines. There are onely three entries which are narrow and painefull: the one is at Samnium. the second at Eriban, and the third among the Arvins. The Carthaginians madea shew to goe into these Countries, as into a Theater, to amaze them all : and thereby to flye from the Enemy, and then to campe alone.

The River of VARCOUT.

156

Wherefore Hannibal moued with these reasons, leades his Army by Sammium to the fireights of Mount Eriban, and plants his Campe neere vnto the River of Vantour, which divides the faid Champaigne R from Rome. Then the most pleasant Countrey of Italy was overrunne, and the Villages put to fire and sword. And although that these things were very troublesome to Fabius, yet he continued constant in his resolution. But Marcus Minucins, and all the Tribunes of the Horse, were of opinion not to temporize any longer, but to fall voon the Carthaginians with all their strength and forces, not fuffring the spoile of so goodly a Countrey in the view of the Roman Army. Fabine dislodging more suddainly then he had beene accustomed, seemed to make haste to preserue the Countrey of Capus from spoile : But when hee came to Falerna, hee did but shew his Army vpon the Mountaines, lest the Allies should thinke C he held not a Campe. Yet he would neuer drawe downe into the field, fearing to fight with the Carthaginians, as well for the reasons which wee have formerly mentioned, as for that he was the weaker in Cauallery.

When as Hannibal had often attempted in vaine, to drawe the Encmy to fight, in the end he studied of a place to winter in, having ruined all parts of the Countrey, and taken a wonderfull spoile : hauing no intent to lose his Pillage, but to transport it to some place where he might passe the Winter : to the end his Army might not n want any thing, as well for the present as the future. Fabius knowing well that the returne of his Enemy would be by the same streight by the which he had entred, hee imagined that this passage would be beneficiall to the Romans: and placeth about foure thousand men within these streights, intreating them to carry themselves like braue and valiant men, when occasion should require, making vie of the advantage of the place. For his part, hee recovered the next Mountaine with the rest of the Army, looking earnestly

about him what was to be done, and from whence and by whom the Enemy should be Charged, holding himselfe assured to defeate their whole Army, or at the least to make them abandon the Booty which they carried. But Hannibal law that Fabius fought with his owne wear pous : and having duly confidered thereon, he disappointed his enterprize with an excellent stratagem, causing many Faggots of dry stickes Hanibals police to be drawne together, and bound to the hornes of Oxon; and Bugles; again Fabilit, whereof he had to the number of two thousand and gaue charge to As drubal, that in setting fire to the stickes at a certaine hours he should A chase the Troupe to the next Mountaine, which was betwirt the Camp and the streight they were to passe, and that as soone as they should see a figne which he would give, they should force the Oxen against the Mountaine, vntill they had gotten the top. When as all things were ready, he makes them to feed and to take some rest. About mid-night hee causeth them to march which had the charge to tie the Torches to the hornes of the Oxen. This being suddainly done by reason of the multitude of affiftants, he gives order to kindle them all, and to chafe them to the top of the Mountaine. Finally, hee gives charge to them that were lightly Armed, to follow them to a certaine place, commaun-B ding them that as soone as the Troupe should begin to runne furiously through the Mountaines, they should recouer the places of advantage, The course the places of advantage, which Manibal whereby they might fuccour his men in passing, and annoy the enemy tooke inpassing If they encountred any. In the meane time hee dislodgeth with his the streight Army, and marcheth directly to the streights, ordring in Front the kept by the Ro-Souldiers that were best armed, and after them the Horse men, then the Baggage, and in the Reare the Ganles and Spaniards

in number and in their kind of Armes, he sent them a band of Spaniar do

to second them: Who after they had staine about a thousand at the

first Charge, they brought their men safe backe vnto the Campe. Han-

nibal being freed by this policy from the streights of Falerna, from

thenceforth he was more carefull to choose a safe place to Campe in,

feeking where he might Winter, greatly terrifying the Townes and

X 3

The Romans which had been appointed to guard these passages, thinking that Hannibal came where they saw the fire on the toppe of the Mountaines, abandoned their places, retiring to the highest Hils. C And when at the first they encountred some of these Oxen seperated from the rest, they made a stand, seeing their heads on a staming fire. wondring as at a miracle. But when the Souldiers were discourred. they entertained one another with casting of Darts. And when in the end the Oxen came on, they all made a stand on the top of the mountaines, expecting day with great desire to be more certainly informed of the businesse. Fabius advertised of this poile, conceiuing it was some Ambush, and flying the battaile as they resoluted, kept his men within the Fort. In the meane time Hannibal (to whom matters facceeded according to his defire) past his Army by the mountaine, and carried away all his Spoiles without any obstacle. Then seeing at the D breake of day the Romans in front against his men, and to bee stronger

During.

which Fabrus held to ftop Hamibals pas-

The meanes

During rheleactions, writing taxed the Didator of Cowardize, for that he had fuffered the chemy to escape so easily, being inclosed within the streights but her committed still constant in his opinion. Some few daies after he was called backe to Rome for the Sacrifices, and left the Government of the Army and all other affaires to the Constable. giving him charge that he should not study so much to offend the Enemy as to defend his owne then! But Minuciae (whom the Dictator aduited in vaine) had no other care but to fight.

Spaine.

The Romans

Army at Sea.

158

Afdubals par- During these actions in Haly Afdrabal having repaired thirty good ting from Car. thins? which he had received from his brother Hannibal, adding there- A thage to go into untoter others, parts from Carthage in the beginning of Summer, and ginds the charge to Imileon, who ran along the Coasts, and Adrubal led the Army by Land neere the shore, hoping to meete at one instant at the mouth of the River of Ebro, with the Army by Sea. Cnew Scipio advertised that Assemble was gone to field, hee was first of the same opinion. but afterwards he resolved to fight rather by Sea then Land. by reason of the bruite of their new succours, and preparation for war. Wherefore after hee had prepared an Army at Sea of fine and thirty Veffels, he made choise of the abless men of his whole Army, and most active to fight at Sea. The which being imbarqued, he fet saile a to encounter the enemy : and three dayes after hee had fail'd from Tar. racona, to places neere vnto Ebro, hee comes vnto a Hauen ren miles distant from the Enemy. From thence hee sends two Vessels of Marceilles being very swift to discouer. This was a people which had a ereat League with the Romans, and had held their party, during the time of the second Punique Warre. But as soone as these Scouts had made Relation, that the enemies Army at Sea was in the mouth of the River of Ebro, he weighes Anchor and fayles towards them, being defitous to surprize them vnprouided.

Afdrebathad beene advertised of the comming of the Roman army, C

by a figne which was given him from a Beacon or watch-Tower; and therefore after he had ordred his Army by Land along the shore, and and caused his Rowers to imparque, her puts all into armes. When the Romans not onely approacht, but also put their shippes in battaile, they gave warning to fight. The Carthaginians affayling them resolutely had for a time some shew of Victory. But afterwards Fortune began to turne; for they which were voon the shore, gaue not so much courage to their men to fight, as hope of fafety for those that would flye. And therefore the Carthaginians got to Land, after that two of their ships had bin taken and foure sunke. But when as the Romans pur-Victory at Ses fued them with all their forces, the Carthaginians fled to shore, abando-Carthaginiant ning their thips, and retired to their Army which was there in Battaile. Finally having followed them with great speede, they towed away with Ropes all the Vessels which soated: And after they had vanqui. thed their Enemies they parted joyfully as being mafters of the Sea: and of the forty shippes they tooke fine and twenty. Being therefore proud of this Victory, they were afterwards more carefull of the affaires of Spaine.

The Carthaginians aduertised of this mis-fortune, sent three-score and ten Vessels, Rigg'd sooner then they could imagine, vinderstand. Sea prepared ing well of what consequence it was to be masters of the Sea. Who suddainly by fail'd first to Sardinia, and afterwards to Pifa in Italy, to the end they the Caribagini, might ioyne with Hannibal if it were possible. But when as the Romans were aduertifed of the comming of the Carthaginian Army, they for terrified them with fixe score Quinqueremes which they sent, as they presently returned to Sardinia, and from thence to Carthage. Cneas The Romans Sernilius Commaunder of the Army at Sea, had them long in chase; but great Army at A when as he heard there was no hope to ouer-take them, he came vnto Lylibeam with his Fleete. From thence soone after he sailes vnto the Iland of Cercinetes, where taking filuer of the Inhabitants not to ruine the Country, he turnes backe, and takes the Hand of Coffyren in paffing : Where after he had put a Garrison into the Towne, he returned to Lylibeum, where lodging his Vessels in the Port, within few dayes after he went to the Army at Land.

In the meane time the Senate having newes of Cneus Scipio his Victory at Sea in the mouth of Ebre, they not only held it fit, but also necessary to pursue the War in Spaine, and to annoy the Carthaginians with all their power both by Sea and Land. And therefore they prefently prepared twenty (hipps of War, and fent them to Publius Scipio Supplies fent in Spaine, continuing his authority after his Confulship was ended, to from Rome inthe end that being loyned with his brother Cnens Scipio, all the affaires to Spaine. might be manuaged by their common Councell. For the thing which the Romans feared most, was, that the Carthaginians prevailing in Spaine, would be mafters of the Sea : So as afterwards they might Saile into Italy, and furnish and supply Hannibal easily with men and Treasure.

Publius Scipio going into Spaine, ioyned with his brother; after which C the War gouerned by their common Councell. Wherefore presently they past the River of Ebro, the which before they never durst attempt. Then Fortune began to smile on the Romans. And after they had made fubice those which dwelt in the passage of Ebro, finding no refiltance, they came to Sagons: Where being within fine miles of Cape Decrux, they camped in a place fafe from the Enemy, and conuenient to draw Victuals from the Sea. Soone after that their Army at Sea arrived, whereas this accident hapned. You must viderstand that Hannibal at his going into Italy, had taken the Children of the noblest Families in Spaine, and had left them in guard at Sagons : For that the place was firong, and they which kept it, confident to the Cara D thaginians. There was at time within the Towne a certaine Spaniard, whom they called Acedux of a noble house, and as honest a man as any other Spaniard, and among the rest very loyall to the Carthaginians: Acedux or But at that time after the manner of most of the Barbarians, liee changed his faith together with his Fortune. This spaniard feeing the Romans to prosper in Spaine, had a desire to deliuer the Hostages; hauing a conceite that it would be a great meanes to purchase their fauour. When he had well considered of all the meanes to bring his enterprize

against the

Lib. 2.

paffage.

Roft Chiefe of the Cartha. ginians.

160

to an end, he goes to Bestar Chiefe of the Carthaginians. Asdrubal had fent him into Spasne, to keepe the Romans from passing the River. The which not daring to attempt, he seated his Campe beyond Sagont ypon the Bankes of the River. He was a mild man, and (contrary to the nature of the Affricans) not very politicke : He drawes him a part, as a man which held his faith affured to the Carthaginians, and lets him understand the estate of the affaires. The Carthaginians sayd he, have held vnder their obedience vnto this day, the people of Spaine by crucity for that the Romans were a far off : But now the Enemies Campe hath passed Ebro, so as every man hath thereby occasion of a new A enterprize. And therefore it is necessary to bind those by benefits and fauours, whom they could not retaine by feare: Moreoner, that the Remans were neere vnto Sagons in Armes, and furnished with Armies both by Sea and Land, so as the Towne was in danger: For this cause he was of opinion that hee should send backe all the Hostages to their Townes: The which if hee did, hee should first of all frustrate the Remans of their hope, for that they did chiefly beliedge Sagont to have them: And that moreover, he should purchase the love and favour of the Spaniards to the Carthaginians.

He likewise thought that it would be for the safety of the Hostages, & and that if hee would give him the charge to carry them backe, hee would do him no small service to winne their loves, and that he should not only bind their hearts by the sending backe of the Children vnto their Parents, but he should fet before their eies, how much the kindnesse and Clemency of the Carthaginians was to be esteemed. Moreoner he propounded vnto him the expectance hee should have of their gifts and prefents, to whom he had fent the Children, and that there

was not any man would forget so great a benefit. After he had held this kind of Speech and others to the same end, he he defired, appointing a day when hee should in owne with those which should carry backe the Hostages. The night following he goes to the Enemies watch, and having spoken to some Spanish Souldiers of the Allies, they lead him ynto the Captaines: Where having yfed much speech, what profit it would be for the affaires of Spane, if the Hostages fell into their hands, in the end hee promifeth to deliuer them. The Romans giving a willing care voto him, weighing the greatnes of the action take his faith, & promise him theirs with great rewards. And after they had aduised of the place and day, when they should attend Audux coni

returned to Sagent, as soone as he had perswaded Bestar to that which to receive the Hostages, he returnes. Afterwards he takes with him n fuch as feemed fit for this businesse, and goes to Bestar: Where receiuing the Holtages, he goes out of Sagent as it were to flie the enemies Watch: But having past their Campea little, hee leads them all into an Ambush which they had prepared, as not knowing any thing. The Romans gave great rewards to Acedux, and made vie of him to carry backe the Hostages to their Townes, as he had resolved with Bostar sending men with him to make them favourable. Acedux went with them, and by this perswasions caused many to enter into League with

the Romans, by the meanes of these hostages: laying before their eyes their mildreffe and great courage, and detefting the lealoufies and cruelty of the Carthaginians, propounding himselfe for an example. Boffer after the loffe of the hoftages by the advice of a Childe repented too late. And then the season of the yeare forced both Armies to goe and winter, after that fortune had fauoured the Romans in this enterprize of the hostages- Behold the present estate of the affaires of Spaine.

Hannibal being advertised by his Spies of the great provision of A Corne within Lucerna and Gergona, and that moreouer Geryona was a very good place, hee refolued to winter his Army there. And passing the Mountaine of Lyburna, hee drawes to those places. Being come to Geryova, fine and twenty miles from Lucerna, hee began first to summon the Inhabitants to yeeld, vsing faire pro. Geriona taken miles, and affuring them of his faith. But lofing his time hee beste- by attaule. ged the Towne, the which hee tooke presently, and slew all the Inhabitants, preserving the greatest part of the houses to serve him for Garners: then hee planted his Campe close voto the Towne, being well ditched and pallisadoed. This done, hee sends two parts B of his Army to gather in the Corne, and continued in battaile with the third part, as well to guard the Campe, as to preuent all oppression of those which gathered in the Corne. They brought in dayly a wonderfull quantity, for that the Region was very large, and the number of the people in a manner infinite, and haruest was disserted. now at hand. But Marcus Minucius Commander of the Romans, in the beginning followed the Carthaginians by the Mountaines, ho. ping hee should sometimes encounter the Enemy in some bad

But being aduertised that they gathered in the Corne, after the C taking of Geryona, and had seated their Campe neare vnto it, hee goes into the plaine and recouers a high Hill vpon the way, where hee planted his Campe: and there hee studied by what policy hee might fall vpon those which were in battaile. But when as Hanmibal found the Romans to bee so neare, hee sent onely the third part of his Army for Corne, and kept the two other parts in the Campe.

After which hee plants himselfe nearer vnto the Enemy, about two miles from Geryona, to the end hee might seeme to bee carefull to defend those which gathered the Corne, if they made any attempt against them. In the meane time there was a little Hill be-D twixt the two Campes, which was very fit and convenient for the Carthaginians, if they could take it, and dangerous for the Romans. Hannibal sent Numidians thither in the Night, who tooke it. when as Minucins at the breake of day, faw that they held it, hee puts forth those that were lightly armed, and giues an assault vnto

The Combate for a time was very fierce and cruell: but in Thecarebagin the end the Romans had the best successe, for they wonne the Hill mans descared by the Romans by force: whither presently the whole Army retired. Hanni- vpon a Hill.

fpires with the Tamati-

bal continued for some dayes within his Campe, for that the Romans were Rill in front. But soone after necessity forced him to fend some to feed the Horses for the Baggage, and others to the Haruest : to the end that as hee had resolved, he might not consume that which hee had gotten, but might draw together some great quantity of Corne to Winter, having alwayes a great care the Army should not have neede of any thing in that time, especially the Horses and sumpters, for that all his hope and confidence was in

the Cauallery.

zed by the Re-

Minucius seeing the Enemies dispersed, and wandring vp and A downe, hee drawes his men to field, and marching directly against The Cartbagi. their Campe, puts them in battaile, and fends the Horse-men with miansfurpri- the best Foote-men against the Forragers, giving them charge to kill all, and not to receive any to mercy. Hannibal surprized with this suddaine accident, durst not put his men in battaile, neither could hee succour those that were disperced. The Roman Horse-men with those that were lightly armed, made a great slaughter of their Enemies thus scattred. They likewise which were with Minacius, grew fo resolute and couragious, as they durst in a manner force the Enemies Fort, and besiege them. Hannibal finding himselse destitute of B counsell and helpe, kept himselfe within his Fort, which hee guarded with great difficulty, when as Afdrabal gathering the Souldiers together which fled to the place where their Campe had formerly beene, neere vnto the Walles of Gerjona, came to succour him with about foure thousand men. Then resuming a little courage, he comes out of his Fort, fauing his Army from that present danger with great difficulty. Minucius hauing made a great flaughter before the Emies Fort, and not much lesse in the field, he retired with a wonderfull hope for the future. And three dayes after hee lodged in the Campe abandoned by the Enemies. For Hannibal fearing left the Romans by night should lodge in the Campe which he had left neere vnto Geryone, C and so get all the spoiles, he returned thither with speed with his whole

After this defeate, the Carthaginians were more wary how to forrage and goe for Corne, and contrariwise the Romans more hardy to undergoe dangers. In the meane time the newes of the victory was (according to the viual manner) made farre greater then it had beene: fo as all the World rejoyced. First for that they imagined that after so many losses, this was the beginning of a better fortune : and judge thereby, that the flacknesse and cowardize which had seemed to bee in n their Army, was not the fault of the Souldiers, but of the Dictator. And therefore all the World contemned Fabius, and held him to bee dull and a Coward. Contrariwise they did so highly extoll and praise Minneius, as they gave him equall power with the Dictator, the which had not beene formerly seene, hoping that hee would foone make an end of the Warres of Isaly. Thus there were two Dicators at one time, and in one Army: which was a new

and as swell as

Minucius

Minucius much more proud then it is credible, as well for his good fortune as the peoples fauour, grew so glorious as if the Enemies were already defeated and vanquished. Fabius fainted not, nor lost his courage, for the iniury they had done vnto him, but returned to the Fablus returned Campe alwaies constant in his opinion. But when hee faw that his Campe. Companion was much troubled to finde an occasion of fighting, searing left hee should commit some folly, he gave him the choice, either that one of them should for a certaine time, or every other day, The division of or for a longer space, haue the Gouernment of the Campe, or else the Roman Ar-A they should divide the Legions betwixt them after the manner of the my betwixt the Consuls, and that either of them should doe with his Army what two Didators. hee pleased. Wherefore they parted their Troupes, and had their Campes separated about a Mile and an halfe distant one from another.

The History of POLYBIVS.

When as Hannibal was advertised not onely by the Fugitives, but also of their actions, of the hatred betwixt the Commaunders, and of the ouerweening of Minnelus, thinking that this would further his intention, he fought occasion to fight with him : hoping hee should easily above his fury and presumption. There was a little Hill B betwixt Minucius Campe, and that of the Carthaginians : whereon wholoeuer seazed, it would proue very prejudiciall to the other. And when as Hannibal made hafte to get it, being certaine that Minucius would come to preuent him, as hee had other times done, he vied this stratagem. First of all the whole Plaine betwire them at The policy of the first fight seemed unfit to lay an Ambush, being void of woods Hannibal and bushes: Yet there were about it many turnings and hollow Rocks, where they might eafily hide Souldiers. Hee fends by Night to these hollow places, according to the capacity which hee knew to bee in them, two hundred, and three hundred, and five hundred Horse together with fine thousand Foote. And to the end they should not bee discouered by the Forragers, hee send at the breake of day, some that were lightly armed, to take this Hill. The which when Minucius perceiued, contemning to small a number, he marcht with his Army to repell the Enemy from thence. First hee fent those that were lightly armed, commaunding them to charge: then the Horse-men. Finally, hee followes with those that were compleatly armed, not changing the order which hee had held in other encounters.

The fumme was now rifen, and all the World looked vpon this Hif. D The Ambushes were couered: Hannibal sent succours continually to his men, and afterwards followed with all his Cauallery. Finally, betwiet the the two Armies fought with all their Troupes : and in the end the Romans and Roman Foote-men that were lightly armed, were forced by the the carthagi-Horse-men to retire to their Companions that were better armed. Then the Ambush brake forth, and charged on all fides with great cries, foas they not onely diffressed and afficted those that were lightly armed, but likewise the whole Army. The which Pabine perceining, and fearing that the Roman Army might be wholy defeated;

Fabius fuccours

puration of Fe-

164

parts from his Campe and fuccours his Companion: At whose comming the Romans reioyced, and retired presently to their Ensignes, although they were broken and scattered here and there, with the losse of many Souldiers that were lightly Armed, and diners others of the Legions.

Hannibal seeing the Enemies re-inforced with Succours, and that they marcht directly towards him, he caused a Retreat to be sounded. Then all the Romans which were in the fight confessed publickly that the Vertue and Wisedome of Fabine, had faued the Roman Empire, which the ouer-weening of Minucius had loft and ruined. When as A the newes came to Rome, all the World knew plainly, what difference there is betwirt the ouer-weening and ignorance of Souldiers, and the iudgement and aduice of a wife Captaine. From that time the Remans contented themselues with one Campe, and all obeyed Fabius. The

which I find related after this manner by another Author.

Minucius his Speech.

Lucias Emilius

and Caius Tare

rencius chosen

THen the two Armies were returned to their owne Campes . Minucius having bis Souldiers about bim frake wato them in this manner. I have often beard fay louing Souldiers, that hee is most Wife that can gine good Councell, and tell what is to be done in his R difficult Affaires: And bee is next Wife that can obey him that giveth good conneell but hee that can neyther gine good councell himfelfe nor obey other mens councell, is of all others most ignorant and foolssh. Seeing that Barsune bath denied ws the first of these Gifts , let vs keepe the second, and whilf we learne to Rule, let vs propound unto our felnes to obey them that be Wife. Wherefore let va toyne our Tents with Fabius, and when as you shall beare me falute bim as my Protector and Father . you likewife shall falute his Souldiers as your noble Patrons, by whose strength and resolution you are preferned shas day. Whereupon shey prefently removed sheir Tents. and went to Fabius Campe, whereat he manualled much. There Minucius submitted himselfe and his men to the protection of Fabius, refigning C the authority of the Empire into his hands. redriving to sund a single beer be

ouThe Carthaginiansthought to accomodate a place to passe the Winter having invironed it with Ditches . betwirt the Hill and their Campe, and foreified the top of the Hill with men and Pallisadoes. In the meane time the day of the Election of Confuls was come, where they deposed the Dictators, and made choise for Consuls of Lucius Emilius, and Casas Tarrentine Farro, And when as Emilius had created for Pro Confals, the Confals of the precedent Army, Cneus Ser. n willing and Marcine Afrilem Regules, who had beene subbrogated in the place of Flaminius, : they sooke the charge of all the Troupes that were in the Campo marinaging all the Affaires of Warre. The Confuls make a new Leay of men to furnish their Army : and give charge vato the Pro-Goffuls, that they should not dare to fight a Battaile with the Carthaginidas, but entertaine their Souldiers with light skirmifhes, and invre the Youth to hardreffe and labour for the time to come : for that they imputed the defeate pall vino the ignorance and flacknesse of

the Souldiers. Lucius Postumus was created Prætor, and sent into Gaule with an Army, to do the like vnto those Gaules which were in mus Prator, Hannibals service. They also provided Rowers for the Vessels which were at Lylibeum : And they fent whatfoeuer was necessary to the Captaines that were in Spaine. During these actions at Rome, Cneus Seruilius, and his Companion Attitius, following the Commaundment of the Confuls, did not any thing worthy of memory, but make light skirmishes, both by reason they were forbidden by the Consuls, and for the roughnesse of the Weather: Finally, they mannaged the affaires A wisely and with great policy. By this meanes the two Armics wintred

in view one of another.

Schauonians.

Lib. 3.

Hannibal dislodged in the beginning of the Spring, and leaving Geryona, (for that he had resolved so to presse the Romans, as they should be forced to come to a battaile,) he takes the Fort of Naples, well fur The Fort of nished with Corne and all other munition: For the Romans had drawne Naplestaken by thither a great quantity of Corne from Canufium. and other neighbour Hannibal. Countries, wherewith the Campe was viually Victualed. This done they were in great perplexity, not so much for the losse of the munition, as for that the whole Country was left in prey to the enemy. They fend men to Rome, to acquaint the Senate therewith, and that they might aduise what was to be done: For that they had resolued to give battaile if the Enemy approached: Seeing there was no meanes of flight, and that the whole Prouince was ruined, and their Allies wauered. The Senate fent them word that they should not attempt any thing, but expect the comming of the Confuls, whom they afterwards commaunded to depart. All the World had their eyes fixed vpon Paulus Emilius: They had their hope in him, aswell for his Wifedome, as for that he had in former times done great exploits against the

D Eing ready to depart, I finde it Written that Fabias stayed him for 1 time, speaking thus vnto him. If thou good Lucius Emilius wert Fabius Speech matcht with a Companion like unso thy Selfe, or if thou wert like unto lius. Emithy Fellow, then were my Speech in vaine, which I will now make for you both, for being good Confuls you would works effectually for the common wealth, although I should be filent. But if you were both bad, then would you neither heare my words, nor admit of my Councell. But knowing thy integrity; and the conditions of thy Companion, I fore fee that thy goodneffe fall listle auaile the Common wealth, through the folly of thy Companion : So as the Common wealth doth halt , and is halfe lame whereby evill D Councell ball prevaile aswell as good. Wherefore to Thee onely my Speech sends, fore-telling Thee that Thou Shall have as much Warre with thy fellow Tarentius . as with Hannibal . Neither dee I know which of them will be a more deadly enemy wato thee. For thou shalt not onely fight with Hannibal in the field, but with thy fellow thou Shalt have continuall Warre in all places, and at all times. With Hannibal thou halt fight with thy Har Jes and foote men, but Varto will affaile thee with thine owne men. Lpray thee remember Caius Flaminius; who being Confull and having his men

25100

about him in his Campe, beganne to grow mad. This man (before hee was made Confull, and now being Confull, even in the Senate house, before hee (ees his field or his enemy.) is already mad. And hee that thus talketh among the Senators, what thinke you will he doe when hee Shalbe in the field among a number of fresh young Souldiers, where as one word speaking, all the matter shalbe decided. But in case be make baste to fight, as he saith be will, either I know not what belongesh to the Warre, or else we are like to (uffer greater loffes, then we did at Trasimenum.

There is but one way to maintaine warre against Hannibal, the which I baue fore-leene . and none will be found fo good to make bim weary of Italy. A We are in our owne Country, having Cittles and faithfull Allies ready to affist vs at all times with Horfe, Harnesse, Victualis, and all other necessaries. Hannibal is in a Strange Country among his enemies, farre from home be looketh for no peace both by Sea or Land : Hee bath no Citties to reseine him: he hath nothing but what he Stealeth, and taketh by rapine: be bath scarcely the third part of his Army left, which hee brought over Iberus: more are dead by famine then with the Sword : and heere bee sam hardly feede those that are living. Wherefore doubt not but in sitting Still. you shall vanquish such an Army, which decreasesh daily in strength, and cannot have their wants supplied. This is the onely meanes to dally and deceine nour enemy.

Varro descreth battaile, and Hannibal bath the like desire. Wherefore thou alone must wifely oppose thy selfe against them both, and regard not what they speake of thee, let not the vaine glory of thy Fellow, nor the falle aspertions which shalbe cast woon thee, moone thee to the contrary. Suffer thy Seife to be called fearefull, flow, and unskilfull in the Warre. It is bester to be feared of thy wife enemy, then to be praised of thy fool h company. My meaning is , not that thou | bouldest do nothing , but whatfocuer thou halt attempt, do it foberly, and according to reason, not rashly, trusting to Fortune : follow not the occasions that the enemy will give Thee: And be not over basty : for haste is blind and workesh unsafely.

To these and his other Words the Consultanswered little, saving onely that were more true then easie to be followed: But hee would professe one thing, that his desire should alwayes be, to have things succeede well: But in case it should otherwise happen, hee would rather expose himselfe, to the danger of his enemies Weapons, then to the exclamations of his angry Citizens. With these words he parted out of the Citty, and went to the Campe with his hasty Companion. It was ordred that the Warres should be mannaged with eight Legions, p the which had neuer beene done, and that every Legion should confift of five thousand men. The Romans as we have sayd, make a compleate Army of foure Legions, every Legion being foure thousand foote, and two hundred Horse, or else of fine thousand foote, and three hundred horse, if there be any great necessity. To the which they adde as many foote of theis Allies, and thrice as many Horse. All the Troupes are equally deuided betwixt the Confuls. Most commonly one Confull gives battaile with two Legions, and with the fuc-

A Legion of five thousand Mon, and the manner how the Romans zajie an Army.

166

The History of POLYBIVS. L1b. 2.

cours of their Allies. They feldome fight with all their Troupes, But the feare and amazement of the Romans, was then fo great of the Care thaginians, as they thought it fit not to fight onely with foure, but with eight Legions together. And therefore after they had given faire admonitions to the Confuls, and had laied before them the confequence of the affaires which way focuer Fortune should turne, they Commaunded them to goe vito the Campe intreating them to doe the duties of good men, in the administration of the Warre, as the Reman Maiesty required.

After the comming of the Confuls to the Campe, they mingled the new Bands to the old Army; and let many understand the will of the Senate, wishing the multitude to be of good Courage, confidering the feason of the time: Wherewith Emilian made an Oration, where-

of this in a manner is the Substance.

Hat for losses lately made, they should not faint like more amazed: Paulus Emilias For the lofes in former Bustailes had not hapned for one or two cau. speech vato fes, but for many. And if at this day they be Men of Courage and the Souldiers. Resolution, there was nothing could hinder, but they should obtaine a good. ly Victory. That never unto this houre, the two Confuls had fought with all the Legions together, nor with more warlike Men, nor of greater Experience. And if on the other fide they have made vic of young Men, and little acquainted with the Art of warre, and who moreover were foill admertised of the Enemies enterprizes, of the seituation of places, and the nature of the Region , fo as many times they have found then felues in dans ger, when they had fearce feene the Enemy; which was a matter of great consequence: For they which were defeated in Gaule, weere unto the River of Trebia, cameto fight without reason, never inquiring of the enemies enterprize, within three daies after their arrivall from Sicily; and they C which were neere unso the Lake of Peronza, were defeated before they could fee the enemy, by reason of a great Fogge.

But now Companion, faith be, all things are for us : for wee are two Confull writed in one will, and the same forces, and we have with we those of the last yeare. And for your part, you have not onely seens the daily come bases, the order which Souldiers observe, and the enemies Troupes : But moreover behold the second yeare. wherein you have had experience of all this, in practising your selues, and fighting continually. Wherefore seeing that things are contrary to those which hapned in former Battailes, is is not likely but the end should produe otherwise. It is not credible, nay 1 (ay it is impossible, seeing that in fighting with the enemy with an equall number in somany incounters, you have parted Victors, that now you should be vanquished by them with all the Troupes, seeing you have a double

Seeing then Companions that you have the Victory in your owne hands. you have no more neede of our Counsell and care. I might make you a lone ger Speech, if I did hold it necessary : for this must be expected from those which are mercenary, or being drawne from the Allies are Commaunders

of an Army, to whom nothing is more troublefome then a day of Battaile.

In Reard of those which are like unto us, whose lines are not onely in dangersbue their Country, Wines, and Children : whole remembrances happily bould be of more force then any remonstrance. What man is bo that would not eyther wanquift in fighting, or die in the Combat, then to line in mifery, and attend fo great a forme and ponersy : Courage Companients consider with your selnes what a difference there is between vanquishing and to be vanquished, and what followes the one and the other, and prepare year felues to Battaile, fo as you will remember that it is not the Roman Army that is in danger, but the

Gountrey ; and moreover The head of the world. What Ball the Romans A have remaining after your defeat ? They have put all their forces and pewer into your hands, and all sheir hope is inyon. I intreate you for the ho. nour of she immortall Gods, that you would not frustrate their expellation. Teeld the thankes which you owe unto your Countrey, let all the world know, that the losses formerly made, were not by the prowesse of the Carthaginians, mere then by the Romans : but for that the Roman Souldi-

ers were at that time new, and ignorant of the Warre.

After this Speech or the like, Emilius dismist the Souldiers. Three dayes after the Army marcht towards the Enemies Campe, and on B the third day they planted themselves neare voto them. But Emilius feeing that the Plaine was large, hee was not of opinion to fight with the Enemy: for that hee was stronger in Horse men, and that they mult draw them into some place where the Foote-men might have theaduantage. Contrariwife Varro being of little experience in the Warre, was of aduice not to deferre the battaile, lest the Enemy should escape from them. And therefore these two Consuls were in contention and debate, which is the worst thing that can happen in

That day (for they gouerne it by dayes) Varro had the Commaund: who dislodging from his Campe, made haste to approach C neare voto the Enemy, notwithstanding that Emilias opposed himfelfe to the contrary. Hannibal marcheth against them with his men lightly armed, and his Horse men, and assaults them with a fight more likely to their fore-runners, then to a pitcht Battaile. The Romans received them valiantly : Finally, the Night parted them. The Carthaginians having gotten little, retired to their

A skirmish betwixt the Carthaginians and

Discord bes

twixt the two

Confuls.

The Riuer of Fante.,

And when as three dayes after Lucius Emilius had resolued not to fight, and could nor diffwade the other, hee divides the Army in p to three, and fortifies two parts on this fide the River of Fante, which alone divides the Appenine Hills, and bending towards the Sea of Maly, runnes into the Adriatique. The other third part hee lod geth on this fide the Riner, about two Miles and an halfe distant from the other two, and in a manner as much from the Enemis Campe. When as Hannibal had found our a convenient place for his Horse men to fight in, and thinking that the Consuls would come to the Combat, hee began to put his men in Battaile: But

fearing that the Army was amazed; by reason of this last Fortone, feet refolited to preach with them. He drawes them together and Hamibals tominiainds them to looke spon the Country which was about Speech and film, demaunding of them what they could defice of the Godsmore beneficialland profitable then the offer of a battalle; in those places where they might make vie of their Horle men which were mine cible. And When as all had conferbit freely betweener faith hee give thankes first vinto the immortall Gods : for impreparing vs the Victory bether have brought the Enemy into this place of radiant tage for vs. and feeondly to vs.) who by our industry and labour A trans forced them to come to fight The Romans cannor sie, nor a moide the Combate, and therefore the battaile and victory is in your neither the they lougaste enything our of their rememberance shies

The History of POLYBIUS

I hold it folly now to perfwade you to performe the duties of brane ment It had beene well poken, when you had no experience of the Roman Portes anthe which arthis prefent time wee made knowne vinto you by words and example. But what preaching can more inflame and encourage your hearts then the workes themselves ! seeing von haue obtained the Victory in three great feuerall battailes : You have beene Makers of the Field in the Combats past, and have had a-B bundance of all things as wee have promifed you : So as hitherto I haue neuerfailed of my promife; But the Combare at this day is for Townes and treasure if you gaine this battell, you shall be flords of all reals A store differ of the of the

Finally after to many labours and dangers; being delivered by this alone, you shall purchase the selicity of the Romans : You shall bee the Head and Emperours of all the World. For the effecting where of there is not any neede of words, but of effects. By the will of the Gods before it be long, I you shall all fee by experience that I am a man of my promise. After these Remonstrances, having commended their columion, he planted his Campe upon the River-fide, where the Enemies greatest forces lay. The day following hee commands them to treate themselves welf, and to prepare themselves to battaile for the day following. And therefore at the third day he passed the River at the Sunne-rifing and put his men in battaile. But Emi- Hamibal puts line (seeing that his Forces were not equall in that place, and know. his men in basi ing that Hannibal would dislodge for want of victuals) came not out of his Fort. The Chatters wall at proved the en

When as Hannibal had stayed some time there, seeing that hee n had in vaine called the Enemies forth to fight, he retired the rest of his Army to the Campe, and fent the Namidians to charge those which came from the Romans leffer Campe to water : which they kept and detained from them, pursuing them with great cries vnto the Fort. Whereat Varro disdaining much , that the Roman Campe should bee annoyed by these men, was the more instamed and encouraged vnto battaile. The whole multitude wished nor defired nothing more, so much the expectance in all things is tedious.

169

#:สารณาก

. La de La massact

A great 2mazement at Rome.

170

The Romansin old time verv ceremonious.

Varro offers barraile, and the order which he held.

The Remien Ar-

The order which Haznibal held to put his men in bate taile.

> The divertity of Swords betwist the Gaules and Spaniards.

thoufand Horfe.

And as in the meane time theil newes were come to Rame, that although the Armies were not budged in a place to give battaile, yet they were one right against another; and that there were dayly on counters, sall the World entrestion great heatineffe and care. Gartainly the Romana haning received lately wonderfull great loffes, feaand much the future. Every man fore caffe with him felle what the Remant fortune would bee after the defeate of this Army: All the World poured quathreats against the Spile Bookes it they law nothing in the Temples and private houses but prodigies and Rrange fignest in Andtherefore the whole Citty wes addicted to Prayers to A facrifices to the Gods, and so Ceremonies : for the Bomans are great observers , as well in publique as in private, in the time of Watte. neither doe they let paffe any thing out of their rememberance which ingeafon they bught to doe. I array show ited at incut villed 3 Vaccoto whom the authority belonged the next day, at the Sunneriling dravies forth the Armies out of both the Campes without the

printing of his Companion. And parting with those which were in

the great Fort, hee loynes unto them those that were in the lesser-Then putting his men in Battaile, hee places the soman Hossemen upon the right wing, which was necreft voto the River. Next B to the which continuing the order, thee disposeth of the Foote-men, with the greatest number of Ensignes, and the closest Bands : and the Horse-men of the Allies were vpon the left wing, and in Front those that were lightly armed. They were with their Allies, to the number of fourtecore thousand Foote, and about fixe thousand Horse. tore thousand fixe Hearibal paffing the River at the fame time, fends them of Maiorque thousand Horse and Minorque with those that were lightly armed before : and pasfing the rest of the Army at two places, hee plants himselfe before the Enemys; ordring the Horfe-men of Gaule and Spaine neere vnto the River vpon the left wing against the Roman Horse-men. After which he fets Foote men in the midft of the off rieses, who were armed to proofe, and after them the Gaules and Spaniards, and finally the rest of the Affricans: and on the sight wing he lodgeth his Numidian Horfe-men.

When he had pur his whole Army in order, he placeth in the midsthe Troupes of Gaules and Spaniards : he ordered them in a crooked forme, and a weake figure, meaning that the Affricans should vndergoe the danger before them, as a safegard to the Battaile, The Affricans were armed in such fort, as you would have taken it for a Roman Battalion, by reason of the Armes which they had gown tenat Trebia, and at the Lake of Persula. The Gaules and Spaniards carried the like Targets, but their Swords differ'd : For the Spaniards were short, and therefore easie, werewith they did both thrust and strike : But the Gaules were long and without points. It Hamibals Army confided of was a ftrange and terrible thing to fee the Gaules naked about the forty thousand waiste, and the Spaniards attired in shirts of Linnen, wrought with Foote, and ten purpleafter the manner of their owne Countrey. There were ten thousand Horse, and aboue forty thousand Foote with the succours

that came from Gaule. Lucius Emiliae led the right wing and Tayzentius Varre the left : Marcus Attitius, and Cheius Sernilius gouerned the Battalion in the midft. And as for the Carthaginian Captaines. Afdrabal led the left wing, Hanno the tight, and Hannibal was in the middest with his Brother Mago. The Romans looked towards the South, and the Carthaginians to the North: but neither of them were annoyed with the Sunne. 31.1 Ser 1

The History of POLYBIUS.

were annoyed with the Sunne.

After they had given warning to battaile, the encounters and skire Ganna. milhes were for a time equall. But when as the Gaules and Spaniards of the left wing, had charged the Romans, the Combate was fierce the Romans and cruell. To as they did not charge and recharge the Roman A and cruell, so as they did not charge and recharge, but soyning to Hossemen by gether, they did fight Foote to Foote, and man to man, after the Gaules and they had lest their Horses. There the Carthaginians vanquished Spaniards. and flew most of the Romans, fighting valiantly, and with great courage. In regard of the rest, they slew them retiring neare the River without any mercy or compassion: And then the Foote-men receiued those that were advantagiously armed, charging one another. The Spaniards and Gaules relifted the Romans valiantly for a short time. but being forced, they retired, breaking their Lunary order. Then the Roman Battalion pursuing with great courage, did easily disorder The Caules B the Enemies Rankes : for that of the Gaules was weake, as having Battalien of fortified the hornes, being in the midft of the danger. Wherefore Foote broken the hornes and the midft were not equal . To as the midft were not equal . the hornes and the midst were not equall: so as the midst of and reunited he Gaules Battalion aduanced farre voon the hornes, like an halfe Moone, againg. the crookednesse rurning towards the Enemie.

Finally, the Romans pursuing them, marcht thorough without any relistance, so as at their coming they had vpon their Flancks the Affricans that were best armed, who covering themselves with their Targets. charg'd their Enemies voon the fides thrusting with their swords. So as by the providence of Hannibal, the Romans were inclosed among the C Lybians, by the encounter which they had made against the Gaules. They did not fight by Battalion, but Man to Man, or by troupes, turning against those which charged them vpon the Flancks. And although that Lucius Emilius, who commaunded the right wing, had Lucius Emilia beene in the Combat of the Horsemen, Yet hee was safe and well, meaning therefore that in giving courage, his deedes should bee answerable to his words, feeing that the hope of Victory confifted in the Footemen, hee thrust into the hottest of the Battaile, where in fighting hee gaue courage to the Horsemen, the which Hannibal did in like Hannball manner. In the meane time the Numidians of the left wing with all their Horse-men, falling vpon the right wing of the Romans, they neither did nor suffred any thing that was worthy of memory, fo equall were the two Troupes both in force and courage : yet they made the Romans unprofitable, fcattering them heere and there. In the meane time Afdrubal went to aide and succour the Affricans with Afdrubal the Horse-men of the lest wing. The which the Horse-men of the Roman Allies perceiving, they presently turned head. Astrubal seeing this performed the duty of a wife and discreet Captaine : and sent mo

Numidians?

Lib. 2.

Zmilius flaine

172

Numidians, (whom he knew were more in number, and terrible to make a chase to pursue them that Red, and went himselfe speedily with the Footmen to fuccourthe Affricains: where affailing the Romans in the Reare, he fortified his owne Men, making a great flaughter of the Enemic ... Lucius Emilius having received many wounds, died in this Batin the Battaile. taile: Hee was a Man who vnto his death had done good feruice vnto the Common-wealth. They write that Cains Lentulus a Tribune leading an empty hor fe in his hand as hee fled ; faw Paulus the Confull fitting on a Rone, all sonered with blood, to whom he faid : Lucius Emilius whom the Gods foodld hold innocent of this cruel flaughter, take this horfe, whilest A any firength remaines within , and I being the friend will lift thee up, and keepesheeon, lest show make this Battaile dolefull thorough the death of a Confull: without the which there is canfe enough of mourning and weeping. Emilius frech Whereunto the Confull answered. Caius Cornelius increase thou in vertue. but beware lest whilest thou doest bewaile this accident thou finde little time to escape thy felfe. Goe sherefore and bid the Senate make frome the walls of Rome, and to forsifie it with Succours, before the Conquerour come : and tell Quintus Fabius (ecresty, that Lucius Émilius Paulus doth constantly venuember his precepts, linesh in them, and will die in them. And I pray thee luffer me to paffe this life, among thefe my dead Knights, lest by longer li-B uing I become an accuser of my fellowe, defending my innocencie by the trefpaffe of another, and yet at length dye being held quilty of this altion.

The Romans lofe the Battaile.

ten Horfe.

Ten-thouland Romanstaken aliue.

Threefcore and ten thou fand flaine in the Battaile.

Hamibals loffe.

The Romans holding still good in so long and furious a Barraile, were in the end all slaine. Among the which died the Consuls of the precedent yeare, Marcus Attilius and Cneius Seruilius, braue men, and worthy of the Reman name. At the same time the Numidians ouertooke the horsemen which fied, whereof they slew a great number, and dismounted the rest. Some retired to Venusium: among the which was the Varre flies with Confull Varre, whose life was base, and his command unprofitable for his Country. Behold the end of the Battaile of Cannas, so famous as C well for the victors as the vanquilled: whereof the reason is, for that of fixe thousand Reman horse, there escaped but threescore and tenne to Venusium with Varre; and of the Allies about three hundred scattered here and there, who ded to the Neighbour Townes. And as for the Bands of Foote, the Enemie tooke about tenne thousand aliue, so as there hardly escaped three thousand. The rest to the number of threescore and tenne thousand were slains in the Battaile. The Carthaginians got not the victory without losse. There were flaine about foure thouland Ganles, lifteene hundred Affricains and Spaniards, and two hundred horse. The Romans which were taken aliue were not in the n Battaile: for Varre had left tenne thousand Men in the Campe, to the end that if Haniball led forth all his Army to fight, that in affailing the Enemies Campe whilest they were otherwise busie, they might spoile the Carshaginians Munition. And if Haniball left a sufficient Garrison for the Campe, then his Forces would be the leffe, for the Romans were stronger in numbers of Men. Behold the manner how they were taken. Haniball had left a sufficient Garrison in his Campe to guard it: But when as the Romans faw the Bartaile grow hot, they go vnto the Campe

as they had resolved to besiege it. The Carthaginians defended themselves: But for that the Romans charged them furiously, they were forced to abandon the place. In the morne time wanted having goven an absolute victory, falls upon those which affailed his Campe, and pur them to flight, thutting them up within their Parts for whom her device two thouland, and tooke the reft. The Namidans on the other late brought voto Hannibal the Reman hotfemen, who flying, were diffue ced mthe Fields. Thus after the Battaile ended, neither of them were deceived in their expectation : for preleatly the Cartinginians wete Ma. Farming along feers of the Prouince, which they call great Greece, so as Tarent, Capua, and Naples to A and Naples, came vnder their obedience, and all the Townes wavered for the obedience Hannibal, neither was he out of hope to take Rome speedily.

of Hannibal.

Finally, the Romans wholy dispairing of the Empire of Italy, were in feare not onely of their owne ruine, but also of the whole Country, ck. pecting housely their cruell Enemie at the walls of Rome. The Cirie being thus troubled. Newes (to the end the measure of their miseries might be full) came from Gaule of the Defeat of Lucius Postumus the Lucius possibus Pretor, with his Army by an Ambush. Yet the Senate involved in so musdeteated many miseries, made a good shew; admissing the people to fortifie the in Gaule.

Citie with Men, and to consider of their affaires with courage and con-B stancie. The which the things which succeeded afterwards did verifie. for being now vanquished by the Carthaginians, and seeming to acquir vnto them the glory of Armes, within thort time after, by the constancie of the Common-wealth, and by the Councell and wisdome of the Senate, they came (after they had vanquished and ruined the Carthaginians) to be Lords not onely of Italy, but also of the whole world. And therefore we will conclude this booke, and likewife the actions of Spaine and Italy, which were during the hundreth and fortieth Olimpiade. And

The end of the Third Booke of Polybius.

when we shill come to those of Greece, during the same Olimpiade, we

will speake more at large of the Roman Common-wealth: For I hold it

C not onely necessary for the Readers for the knowledge of the History.

but also profitable, to correct and gouerne a Common-wealth.

D Acheins.

bal for their Generall in the Warres as we have mentioned. And there-

fore it seemes that there was an alteration, seeing that all the Potentares were renewed, which is a naturall thing, and which happened a one

ons of warre with them of Morea: and namely, for that by an ancient

custome of injuries, they had vsed to rob and spoile at Sea: And that

moreouer they held themselves more powerfull to make warre then the

Being in this humour, soone after they found this occasion, together



THE VRTH BOOKE of the History of POLYBIVS.



EE have in my opinion sufficiently shewed the causes of the second punique warre in this last Booke, and then the descent of Hannibal into Italy: Wee have also related many Combats berwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians, vnto the Battaile which was fought necre vnto the River of Fance, and the Towne of Cannes. Now wee will pursue the warres of Greece of the same time, delivering in few words, the things men-

tiofied by vs in the second Booke of the preparation of our worke, and especially of the Common-weale of the Acheins: Considering that their manner of gouernment tooke a great increase, as well before as in our time. And therefore beginning with the time of Tifamenes (one of the sonnes of Orestes) we have said that the Acheins lived from his time vnto the Reigne of Gyges, vnder Kings descending from him: And that having chased them away, the Citie being well aduised, gaue the gonernment vnto the Commons: Some few yeares after the Townes and Burroughes began to fall into diffention, by the meanes of the Lacedemonsan Princes. Yet afterwards as we have faid, the Acheins reunited themselues, which was the first meanes that all Morea tooke the firname of Acheins. Wee haue moreouer deliuered their actions in perticular, vnto the Defeate of Cleomenes King of the Lacedemonians. And there we have concluded our preparation, with the death of Antigonus, Se.

ted right against the Messeian Mountaines, and which by fortune was of Phigales. then allied to the Etoliens. Hee let then vinderstand that hee had beene fent thether to governe the Towne and the Country: Although they

leuem, and Prolomy : for they all died in one Olimpiade: It refts now, The time of that in writing the Remainder, wee should begin there. The subject Aurigorus, Seleemes good : figh, for that the deedes which drave hath written, end leucus, and Proat that time, to the end that to continue the Narration of the Grecians lum. actions, wer should profecute (as wee have promifed) those which follow . And for that the times are fo vnited, as one part hath beene in our

age, and the other in the time of our Parents. By this meanes we have popular willing gene part, and heard the reft from those which have seene them. I mother but have not held it fit to fecke things farte off, nor to make a relation grow- feene, or re-A ing from heare lay or report, for that I conceine it would not be profitable for the Reader: And therefore let vs begin with the time, when had teen them. as Fortune seemed to have made a new world. Philip the lawfull sonne

of Demetrius, being in his younger yeares, had taken possession of the

Empire of Macedon. Acheus Lord of all the Prouince neere vnto Tan- Atheus, , had not onely the Name of a King, but also the Forces. Anisochus Antiochus firnamed great, succeeded his Brother Selencus lately dead, in the Realme Selencus. of Syria, although hee were but young: and arierates had taken the

Realme of Capadocia. At the same time also Ptolomy Philopater had Ptolomy Philo gotten the Empire of Egipt : and soone after Lyourgus was chosen King Pater. B. of the Lacedemonians. The Carthaginians likewife had chosen Hanni. Lycargue.

The Romans and Carthaginians made the warre which we have mentioned: and Antiochus and Ptolomy that of Syria. In regard of the Thecauses of Asheins and Philip, they had warre against the Eistiens and Lacedemo. the warre bemians. Whereof fee the causes. The Esotiens being long discontented twixt the to with peace, were not content to live vpon their ownecharges, as being up, sgeinft the C accustomed to live vpontheir Neighbours, for the necessity of their Essiens and great expenses, by reason of their Naturall arrogancie, whereunto be and ing subject, they lead a cruell and brutiff life, observing no law of friend. thip nor alliance: fo as all things are of good prize vnto them. And although that during the life of Antigonus, they did not ffire, fearing the forces of the Lacedemonians : Yet after his death when as Philip had succeeded him, they began (disdaining his youth) to seeke occasi-

with the fauour and fortune of their enterprize. Dorimache Triconee was sonne to Nicostrates, who violated the affaires of the Pambiotins: who being yet young and full of arrogancie and pride, an Etolien had beene sent by the Common wealth to Phigalea: It is a Towne scitua- The scituation

Tifamenes.

The Etoliesis

-ಎರೆತಿ

14116

take Chirge by Scalade.

-30 extrapl

176

had done it of purpole to discover the estate of wherea. But for that in regard of the alliance, they could not victuall the Pyrats, who wandring there abouts, retired to him to Phigeles for their Municion, and the rather for that the peace made with Antigenes continued fill. hee advised them to carry away the Mefeniens Cattell, who were their Friends and Allies,... The which they began at the first to chase our of their limits : ipolicite #1/2 and afterwards as their obstinacie increased by little and little, to rume the houses in the night standing scattered in the Fields, and to spoile and ruine the whole Country. The Meffeniens diffentented herewith, fend an Embaffic to Desimache, to complaine of the outrages done by the Py mrates, who at the first made no account of its doing it partly for the benest of the Pyrates, and partly for his owne interest, having a share in the Booty, But Being often prest by Embassies, by reason of the continuance of the virongs, he told them that he would be foone at Meffens to doe them right, for the complaints they made against the Esoliens. Being arrived, and that many presented themselves voto him having bin wronged, hee lent tome away with fcoffes - others with injuries, and some he terrified with bigge and outragious words. During thele purfuits at Mellens, the Pyrates came in the night to a Burrough called Chiron, and tooke it by Scalado, and facking and spoiling it, they slewe some of thele which were found in Armes, and carrie away the rest Priseners with the Cattell.

The Mellenians being more incented herewith, confidering his Prefence, and finally thinking that they were deluded, they cause him to come before the Magistrates. By good fortune Schiron, a man of good esteeme, and at that time Governour of the Messeniens, was of opinion, not to fuffer Dorimache to part out of the Towne, before hee had reftored the spoiles which the Pyrates had made, and repaired the houses in the Country, and delivered those which had committed the Murthers. And when as all the affembly approved of this Councell, Dorimache isflamed with choller, told them they were fooles, and if in doing that, they thought to wrong Derimache, and not the Etolieus . And that more ouer they did him great wrong , and that within a flort time reuenge

would be taken.

Eabyrthe.

There was at that time in Meffens a man of bale condition, called Babythe, fo like in face, body, lineaments, and voyce to Dorimache, that if they had given him his Crowne and Robe, you could hardly have difcern'd them. This Dorimache knew well. And when he vied proud and audatious words to the Meseniens, Schiran grew into choller, telling him, thinkest thou that we care for thee or Babyrthe for this thy rashnes. After which words, Dorimache thought good to strike faile, restoring to the Meseniens all the pillage. And going then to Etolia, he tooke this speech of Schiren so to heart, as without any other cause he made warre against the Meffeniens. At that time Ariston was chiefe of the Esoliens, who by reason of the weakenesse of his body, growne by a long infirmity, could not mannage this warre. Although hee were allied to Scope and to Dorimache, yet he gaue the conduct to Dorimache. Burhe durft not openly incense the Etoliens to make warre against the Messe-

niens : for that hee could not propound for a sufficient cause, as grow. ing onely upon choller for an injury spoken to him. And therefore leaving this aduice, hee adresseth himselfe to Scope in private perfivading him to oppose himselfe against the Messens: being then affured of the Macedonians, by reason of the minority of their King, for that Philip had not seauenteene yeares compleate: and that moreover the Lacedemonians held not the party of the Messens, acquain. ting him with the Friendship and alliance hee had with the Grecians. Wherefore hee found not any man that could hinder his paffage to Messens. Then hee propounded unto him with an Etolien perswasion. the great profite that would redowne thereby; confidering that all the Countrey lived in assurance, and that they alone had not felt the Cleomenique Warre : and that finally the Etoliens would bee well pleafed, and ready to doe them honour vnto the vtmost of theirability and power.

As for the Acheins, they would give them occasion of Warre, if they fought to hinder their voyage: But if they did not budge, they would passe easily to Messens: and for that the Messensens had made a promife to the Acheins and Macedonians, to enter into their league, Warre attempt they gave sufficient occasion of Warre. Having vsed a long Speech red by the Etratouching this enterprize, hee soone moued Scope and his Friends, as liens against without affembling the people, or attending the will of the Ma-Mores, giftrates, or obseruing any order of Iustice, they made Warre against the Messens, the Epirotes, Acheins, Acarnaniens, and Macedonians. Wherefore they presently sent forth many Pirates. who encountred with the royall ship of Macedony, laden, and carried it to Etolia, where they fold the Pilots and Marriners, and in the

end the ship.

Then they ranne along the Empire, spoylingall those which C they met, being affifted by the Cephalonien Vessels, to commit their outrages, taking Townes by Treason. For in Acarnania they tooke Ores, and seized upon a Castle which is in the midst of the Megalopolitains Countrey, which they call Claire, by men whom they had secretly sent into Mores: whereof making vse afterwards for a retreate, they committed great spoiles at Sea. At that time Time xenes which was Chiefe of the Acheins, tooke the Towne of Tauriontaken Taurion by affault, the which Antigoniu had taken in the time of the Warre of Morea.

You must vaderstand that King Antigonus held Corinthe with the D good liking of the Acheins, as we have shewed heretofore, in speaking of the Cleomenique War : But he had not restored Orchomenes voto them, the which hee had taken by force, and had made himselfe Lord thereof, requesting and desiring (as it seemes) not onely to have an entry into Morea, but also to keepe the heart thereof by meanes of the Garrison of Orchomenes.

Derimache and Scope making great choise of the time, when as Timo xenes had not no many dayes to continue and stay in his Ma. giftracy, and that Arate who was to succeede him, could not execute his Aq.

Atifley.

his office, they affembled the Etoliens neere vnto the Mountaine of Rhie : and having prepared the Cephalonian thips , they fayled to Morea : and in paffing by the Coafts of the Patrenfes , Pharences, and Tritenses, they march against the Messeniens. It had beene forbidden not to doe any outrage to the Acheins. But who can prescribe an order to a multitude, who spoile all where they come? Comming in the end to Phigalea, and making their attempt against the Messewithout any regard of their ancient Friendship, and without any feare of God or Men, they ouer-runne and spoile the Countrey, putting all to fire and fword. In the meane time the Messens- A ens finding themselues too weake, kept themselues close within their

The time of election approaching for the Acheins, they affembled at Egea, whereas holding their Diet, when as the Embassadours of Patres on the one fide, and those of Phares on the other. made their complaints for the outrages done by the Etoliens, and that on the other fide the Messenses demanded Succours with great compasfion, they were induced, partly by the wrongs done vnto their Allies, and moued partly with pitty, which they had of the Meseniens, being likewise discontented that the Etoliens had past their Ar-B my thorow their Countrey without their prinity, they resolued to give succours to the Messens, and thereby to accustome the A. cheins to Warre : and what the assemblies should ordaine, should be observed. Timexenes chiefe of the Acheins, who was not yet deposed, fearing to make any attempt, as if there were no other meanes but the multitude: for that after the Warre of Cleomenes, when as all quarrels were pacified, hee knew well that the people of Morea were giuen to pleasure, and that making no more accompt of Warre, they were growne idle.

Contrariwife, Arase not able to endure the outrage done vnto his Allies, and incenfed the prefumption of the Etoliens, remembring in like manner their ancient hatred, hee made haste to cause the Acheins to take Armes, and to fight with the Etoliens. And therefore fine dayes before hee should enter into the Magistraey, hee received the Seale from Timexenes, and wrote vnto the Towne, willing them to leuie men, and to affemble at Megalopolis. But before wee proceede, I have thought good to speake something of his nature and

disposition.

178

Arate was a man perfect in all things for the Gouernment of a City: The disposition for hee spake well, and had a good invention; being also diligent, p and of execution: There was not his equall to endure a Civill diffention patiently, nor to contract leagues and alliances. Finally, hee was a wife and discreet man in his Magistracy and charge, and to lay Ambushes for his Enemy, bringing them vnto a good end by his labour and patience. Whereof there are many proofes and testimos nies, but especially for that he deliuered Siegon and Mantinea to the Acheins: and had taken Pellene from the Etoliens. Hee likewise conquered the strong Fort of Corinthe, which they call Acrocorinthe.

Yet if hee were to fight, he was carelesse to take Councell, and fainthearted in the fight. Wherefore he filled Morea, with the triumph The divers of the spoiles taken by him : so as Nature hath not onely framed a di. Natures of uersity in mens bodies, but also in their soules: So as many times men. the same man doth not carry himselse onely in divers things, an able man in some, and slacke in others: But also hee doth many times in one and the same action make shew of extreame heate, and sometimes of incredible flackneffe: fo as sometimes hee seemes a man of great courage, and another time very fearefull. These are no strange things, but viuall, and well knowne vnto those that doe observe them. Wee likewise see many men in bunting to bee wonderfull hardy against the cruellest sauage Beasts that can bee found : whom if you leade to the Warre against the Enemy, would be found Cowards and faint hearted. You shall likewise finde many in the Warre, which are resolute ro fight man to man, but in a pitcht Battaile are of no esteeme.

It is certaine that the Horse-men of Thessaly being joyned together, The nature of are not to bee forc't in a Battaile, but if you charge them by small the Thesselonia Troupes, it is easie to cut them in peeces: the which is contrary in and the Etoliens. They of Candy are the most active men in the World, Reoliens, as well for Combateat Sea and Land, for Ambushes, Robberies, cardiois. Rapines, surprizes in the Night, and for all manner of deceipts: But in a pitcht Battaile, they are faint-hearted Cowards, and of no seruice. To whom the Acheins and Macedonians are quite contra-TV. I have delivered these things in few words, to the end that no man should maruaile, nor give lesse credit to the History, if

fometimes wee shew that one and the same man hath carried himselfe diversly in the like affaires. Let vs now returne where wee

Lib. 4.

After the affembly had beene made at Megalapolis, of able men for the Warre, the Messeniens came againe to the Acheins, intreating them The Messeniens to helpe and affift them, being so apparently wronged by the Etoliens: feckethe alliand defiring withall if it were their good pleasure to bee received in- debeins, to their league, hereafter to beare the necessary charges for the prefernation thereof, The cheife of the Atheins make answere, that as for the alliance, they could not hearken vnto it, for that it was not in their power and ability to receive or favour any one without the consent of Philip and the other Allies: For that the accord continued yet firme, which had beene made in the time of the Cleome-D nique Warre, vnder the command of Antigonus, betwirt the Acheins, Epirotes, Phocenfes, Macedonians, Beociens, Arcadians, and Thestalians. And yet they would willingly give them succours, so as they will give their Children for hollages vnto the Acheins: promising neuer to make peace, nor any accord with the Etoliens, without the consent of the Acheins. It is true, the Lacedemonians had drawne downe an Army necrevnto Megalopolis, not fo much in regard of their Alliance, as to see the event of the Warre.

of Arate.

Lib. 4.

fent from Arate to the Ete. liens.

180

When as Arate had thus concluded with the Messens, he sends an Embassie to the Etoliens, fignifying vnto them to retire their Army out of the Messeniens Countrey, and that hereafter they hould doe them no wrong, nor touch the Acheins Countrey: And if they did otherwise, hee declared himselfe their Enemy. Scope and Dorimache, having heard the Embassadours charge, and being aduertised of the preparation of the Acheins, thought good to yeeld vnto Arate. Wherefore they fent Letters presently into Cylene to Aristo, chiefe of the Etoliens requiring shipping: and two daies after they parted, causing the Baggage to march before, taking their way to- A wards the Elsenses: a people which had beene alwayes faithfull to the Etoliens. But Arate thinking fimply they had gone away, as they had resolued, gaue leaue to all his Bands to retire vnto their houses : and went directly to Paires, accompanied onely with three thouland Foote and three hundred Horse, which were vnder the charge and command of Taurion, to cut off the Enemies

Dorimache being aduertised, and fearing they should hinder the paffage, hee fent all the booty with a good Conuoy to the ships, giuing charge to those which had the conduct, that they should come and B meete him at Rhie, where he had resolued to imbarke. When he had conducted the booty a little way, hee presently turnes head and comes to Olympia. Being there advertised that Taurion was about Glisoria with his Troupes, fearing that he should not be able to imbarke at Rhie without fighting or danger, hee held it best to fight presently with Arate, who had but small Troopes, and was ignorant of his Enterprize. Hee conceined that hee should make his retrease fafely that way which he had resolued, if he deseated the Enemy, in running the whole Province, before the Acheins should make a new head : and if they fled the Combate for feare, hee should passe where hee pleased without danger. Dorimache moued C with these reasons, seated his Campe neere vnto Meshydrie, which The exous of is not farre from Megalopolis. The Acheins adjustifed of the comming of the Etoliens, made so little we of those things which were visible, as they forgot nothing that might augment and increase their folly. First, in leaving Chioria, they planted their Campe neere ynto Capbiesa:

And when as the Etoliene parting from Methydrie, had paft at Ore chamene, the Acheins marcht by the Countrey of the Caphiens , being inclosed with a River, as with a Rampier. The Etoliens fearing to fight with the Enemy according to their first resolution, as well for the difficulty of the places, (for there were before the River Ditshes and inacceffible places) as for the comming of the Acheins. They marcht vnto Oligarte in good order, being loath that any one should force them to runne into danger. When as the Bands of Horfe-men followed them vpon a Plaineneere vnto them, Arate fent the Footmen that were lightly armed after the Horse-men, under the conduct of Asarnane, giving them charge to fight with them, and to the

the Fortune wherein hee committed a great errour, for feeing hee had an intent to fight, he should not have charged them in the Reare. for that they were not farre from the Mountaines, but in front, before they should have gotten the top: By this meanes the Battaile had beene in the Plaine. Whereby vindoubtedly the Etoliens had beene defeated by reason of their kind of Armes and order. Contrariwise Arate by bad aduice left vnto the Enemies the opportunity of the place, and of time which was offred him. When as the Etoliens faw the Acheins march, they vsed all diligence to gaine the Mountaine, making haste to ioyne with their Foote-men. Arates men not duely A confidering what had beene done, and being ignorant of the Encmies enterprize, when they faw the Horse-men runne, they sent those that were lightly armed of two wings, thinking it had beene a flight : and give them charge to succour the Horse and Foote. Then Arase marched with the rest much discontented, making a long wing. The Etolien Horse-men approaching to the Foote of the Mountaines. began to march a flow pace, and called downe their Foote-men with great cries : who comming suddainly to succour them, and seeing they were not fewer in number then the Enemy, they turned head A aght betwixt against the Achein Horse men, and charged them, for that they and the groti-B had an aduantage in the number of men, and the opportunity of the en,

The Combate was fierce on either fide, and the victory for a time was in suspence. Finally, the Achein Horse-men were repuls'd. And when as they which were lightly armed . which had beene fent to fuecour them, met with them that fled, they were forced to doe the like being amazed with this new accident, and partly broken by them that Acd. So as the defeate was but of fine hundred, whereas the flight was of aboue two thousand. The Etoliens seeing plainely what they had to doe, pursued the Acheins with cries and loy. Who thick-Cing to finde their men in Battaile where they had left them, retired to Arase. And therefore their flight in the beginning was honest, and for their fafety. But when as they faw them distodge, and to come A defeate of by files, and in diforder, then some slying here and there, sought for the dekeins. their safety : others marching directly to their owne men, disordred one another without any Enemy: Finally, they all flie, and faue themselues in the neighbour Townes : for Orchomenes and Caphies were not farre off, otherwise they had beene all taken or slaine that day. Thus the Acheins were defeated neere vnto Caphies:

The Megalopolitains being advertised, that the Etoliens had planted their Campeneere vnto Methydrie, they affembled all with one consent, and went to Field three dayes after the Battaile, to succour the Acheins a but they were forced to bury those, with whom they did hope to fight against the Enemy. And therefore they made a great Ditch, wherein they put all the dead Bodies, and performed their oblequies after the manner of the Countrey. The Etoliens being Victors, past through Mroea without feare of danger. At what time after they had fought divers wayes to gaine the Pellenefiens, and

Lib. 4.

182

had ruined the Country of the Siegoniens, in the end they retired by the Breight of the lithmu. These were the causes of the warre of the Allies, whereof wee have formerly spoken: whereof the beginning was by a Decree which was afterwards made among the Allies, and confirmed at Coristhe: where they were all affembled for that cause: Philip King of Macedon consenting thereunto.

Arate blamed by the Acheins.

Some few dayes after, the Acheins being affembied, they blamed Arase both in publique and private, as if he had beene the cause of this defeat and losse, and the Commons were the more inflamed, for that the Enemies league made it to seeme greater. First, it seemed hee had A committed a great fault, to have seazed vpon the Magistracie before his time, and to have made enterprizes doing another mans office : wherein hee had many times before beene vnfortunate. But it feemed hee had done worse, diffoluing the Acheins Army, the Eschen Commaunders being still in the midst of Mores. Thirdly, that being ill accompanied, he had given Battaile without force : confidering that hee might eafily haue retired to the Neighbour Townes, vntill the Acheins had made a new head: and then give Battaile if he had thought it fit. Finally, that hee had carried himselfe so inconsiderately, that in leaving the Plaines (where without doubt his Men had beene the stronger) he had affailed B the Enemie in the Mountaines with Souldiers lightly armed: whereby the Etoliens could have no greater advantage.

Yet suddainly when as Arme was returned, and entred into the affembly, and that he began to celiuer the things which he had formerly done for the publique good, and had made knowne the causes of the last Defeat, and given them to understand that he was not the cause thereof, Is his Enemies had failly flaundred him: and that finally hee would haue craued pardon, letting them know that if hee had committed any fault, the Acheins should not consider the event of things, so bitterly nor with such rigour, but with fauour and mildnesse, the opinion of the Commons was suddainly so changed, as where before they seem'd to be wonderfully incensed against Arase, they sodainly turned their chol. ler against his ill-willers, so as from that time they followed the Councell and opinion of Arate. These things happened in the hundred and nine and thirtieth Olympiade, and those which follow in the hundred

and fortieth.

The adulce of the Acheins souching the Warreagainft the Liefier.

It was then resolved by the Acheins, to send Embassies to the Epirotes. Peociens, Phocenfes, Acarnaniens, and to Philip King of Macedon, to let them understand that the Etoliens had entred twice into Acheia, contrary to the former accords: and likewife to demaund fuccours according to the league, and moreover that the Messens might bee receiued: and that the chiefe of the Achiens might leavie fine thousand Foote, and fine hundred Horfe, and fuccour the Melleniens, if the Broke. ens did reassaile them. Finally, that he might agree with the Lacedeman mians and Meffeniens, touching the number of Foore and Horfe, which they should keepe ready for the common affaires of the league. Afect these things thus resolved, the Achiens stomacking the Defeate whereas we have spoken, did not forget the Mesenians affaires, nor their resolute

tion. The Embassadours execute their charge diligently. The chiefe likewise assemble the youth as it had beene decreed, and agree with the Lacedemonians and Messeniens, that either of them should furnish two thousand fine hundred Foote, and two hundred and fifty Horse, to the end that the whole might amount to ten thousand Foote, and a thousand Horse. The time being come, when as the Etoliens were to hold their Diet, they affembled the Commons, and confulted how to make a peace with the Lacedemonians and Messeniens, and with other people their neighbours, being forced partly by pouerty, and A partly weakned by the Acheins Allies. As for the Acheins, they resolued to contract with them, if they would leave the Alliance of the Messens: But if they would holdit still, they were of aduice to make Warre against them, which was a most idle and sencelesse thing. The idlenesse For being allied to the Acheins and Messeniens, they declared Warre of the Etoliens against the Acheins, if they contracted any Friendship or alllance with the Messeniens : and contrariwise a peace was confirmed, if they held them for their Enemies. And therefore their villany could not take place, by reason of the contrariety of their subtill inuention.

The History of POLYBIVS.

The Epirotes and Philip having heard the Embassadours charge, receiued the Messens into the league : and although they disliked the ourrages of the Etoliens, yet it seemed they made no great accompt of it : for that they had done no new action, confidering they had beene accustomed to such things. Wherefore they willingly continued a peace with them. Thus sometimes outrages growne old and continued, are sooner pardoned then those of new date. The Etoliensuling this course of life, in ruining Greece by their incursions, and making Warre many times before they declared it, did not vouchfafe to answer to the complaints: Many times also they made no accompr, and mockt at those which demanded satisfaction, for those things which they had done, or would doe. And although that the Lacedemonians had beene lately restored to liberty by Antigonic, by meanes of the Asheins, having promiled to Philip and the Macedonians, not to attempt any thing against them, yet they sent an Embassie secretly

to the Eioliens, and confirmed friendship and alliance with them. When as the Acheins Army was affembled, and the firecours of the Scerdilaide and Lacedemoniums and Meffeniens ready, as it had beene decreed : Scerdi. Demorius laide, and Demestine sayling from Scianonia with fourescore and sen Vessels, past to Lisse, contrary to the accord made with the Remans, And attempting first to take Pyle, they were shamefully repulsed after D some dayes siege. Demetrius afterwards made a voyage with hir Saile vnto the Cyclades, and spoiles the Ilands, taking some by Treafon. Scerdilaide with the other forty, drawes towards Naupatte, relying vpon the friendship of Amiclas King of the Athenins, to whom he was allied. There an accord was made with the Etoliens, by the meanes of agelaus, that in marching with them into Achaia they bould The descent of divide the booty by halfes. The which being concluded betwirt scerdiaide, A. Scerdilaide and Agelans, Dorimache, and Scope, they entred in gelass, Dorito Asbeid with an Army of Bieliens and Scienonians, the Towne into Acheia.

of the Sithians being of their party: Ariston chiefe of the Ets-Hens staved at home, saying that he had peace and no warre with the Acheins, as if hee had beene ignorant of the Enterprize: which was a fimple and idle course. Is there any thing more foolish, then to thinke long to couer with words things that are plaine and evident? This done Dorimache comes with his men to Cyneshe with wonderfull speed. The Cynethenses were tormented with great divisions and seditions, having beene long time Areadiens: whereas many murthers had beene committed, with Banishments, Rapes, and Spoiles: Finally it fell out, that A they which held the Acheins party, had the command of the Towne. Wherefore their chiefe men, and the guards of their Towne were of Acheia. Matters standing in this estate some yeares before the descent of the Etoliens, when as the banished men had sent to them of the Towne, intreating them to receive them into grace and concord, the Gouernours perswaded by their words, sent an Embassie to the Acheins. defiring to make this peace and agreement with their Councell and adnice. Whereunto the Acheins consented, for that they conceived that the affection and love of the one and the other, would by this meanes be more firme voto them, confidering that they which were within had all their hope in them, and that the banished men would conceive, that R they had beene preserved by the benefit of the Acheins: The Cynethenfes sent backe the Garrison of the Acheins with their Captaine, and called the banished men into their Towne, which were to the number of three hundred, in taking their Faith with Oathes, whereby men may be most religiously bound.

But presently after they were received into the Towns, they resolved among themselves to betray it, and to be revenged on those which had preserved them, without any confideration of the cause of this new pra-Rife: So as I am of opinion, that at the time when they facrificed, and pane their Faith and Oathes, that even then they refolued to contemne e the Gods, and vie cruelty towards those which had faued their lines: for they had scarce set footing within the Towne, but they called the Esoliess to deliner it voto them. The bufineffe was mannaged in this manner. Some of the banished men, were created Polemarches: It is a Magistrate which hath charge of shutting of the Gates, and keeping the keyes at night, and in the day time to attend the Guard thereof. The Etoliens having their ladders and other things necessary, attended the execution of the enterprize. The Polemarches flew their Companions which were not of their faction, and opened the Gate. This done, the Etoliens entred, some by the Gate, some by Ladders. The whole Citie being n troubled by this new accident, ranne vo and downe full of feare and lamentation: for that they could not runne to the Gate, for that the Ene. mies cast themselves from the walls, neither could they goe to the walls, for that they came by multitudes in at the Gate. And thus the Etoliens by the Etoliens, tookethe Towne prefently, where among all the outrages which they committed, they did one act of great inflice, for they flew all the Traytors, and spoiled their goods. The like they did to others, taking away all their substance: Men were tormented to confesse their Goods, if कार्य के देखें इस्ट्रेडिंग के स्ट्रेस

they had hidden away, and many others saine. Hauing thus taken the Towne, and after some fewe dayes leaning a sufficient Garrison, they marcht with their Army towards Luses. Where approaching neere to Diana's Temple, which is betwixt Clitoria and Cynethe, and is held by the Grecians as a place of Freedome, they had an intent to carry away the Cattell of the Goddesse, and to rauish all the Treasure of the Temple. But the Lusiates offered them part to temper their wickednesse. The which being received, the Etoliens parting from thence, planted their At that time Arase, chiefe of the Acheins, had fent an Embassie to Philip for succours, and had assembled the choyce of the youth from all parts, and demanded from the Lacedemonians and Messeniens, the number of men, which they were to furnish by the accord- The Etoliens The Clytoriens began first to perswade the Clycoriens, to leave the alliance of the Ache, affaulted by the ins and to imbrace their party. The which being refused, they tormented them with divers affaults, and scaling the walls, they laboured to enter the Towne: But for that the Inhabitants defended themselues couragiously, they rais'd the Siege, being in despaire to take it: and retur-

ned to Cynethe, spoiling the Sheepe and Cattell of the Goddesse, meaning to deliuer the Towne to the Blienses : Vpon refusall they resolved to keepe it, making Enripides Captaine. But being afterwards terrified with the Newes of the fuccours of Macedon, and the preparation of the Acheins, they burnt it, and taking their wayes againe towards Rhie, they contable burnt resolued to passe there. Taurien aduertised that the Etoliens marcht, by the Etoliens. and of the ruine of Cynethe, and that Demetrius of Phareh, was come from the Cyclades to Cenchrea, hee perswaded him to succour the Acheins, and to hinder the passage of the Esoliens, in transporting the ships by

Lib. 4.

Demetrius had parted from the Hand with profit, but with little ho-C nour, for that the Rhediens came against him with an Army at Sea, hee yielded easily to Taurion: and the rather for that he furnished the necessary expences the transport of the Shippes, wherefore after hee had transported them, and was advertised that the Etoliens were past two dayes before, hee fail'd againe to Corinthe, after he had spoiled some of the Etoliens Coasts: with whom the Lacedemonians having secret intelligence (as we have faid) they deferr dto send the succours promised by the accord, sending onely some Horse and Foot for a colour. Arabe made shew to his people, that for the present hee would performe the duty of a Citizen, rather then of a Captaine without any trouble, for the D remembrance of the losse which he had made, vntill that scope and Dorimache were retired, hauing ruined the whole Province, and what they pleased : although it were no difficult thing to defeat them in their rough and narrow passages. And although the Cynerhenfes had fuffered a wonderfull loffe of all their goods, and were in a mannerall flaine, yet the world held them worthy of the punishment which they endured.

And for that the people of Arcadia hane accertaine fame and renowne of good men, not onely for their easie kinde of life, and their of the dradit. good dispositions, and great honesty towards all the world, but allo for and a day.

A. 19

184

Lib. 4.

the honour and reuerence they beare vnto the Gods. I have thought it good to relate in few words, something concerning the rudenesse of the Cyneshenfes, and to let the world vnderstand (seeing they were held to be Arcadians) how they did so much differ from the other Grecians of that time, in wickednesse and cruelty. For my part I thinke this hath happened, for that they have beene the first and the onely men which among all the Arcadians have neglected that which their Ancestors had wisely invented.

Mulique profitable to all the world.

The Games

of Children

and Youth.

186

It is certaine that Musique, (I meane true Musique) is profitable to all the world, and necessary for the Arcadians: Neither is that true which Epherus (speaking without reason) writes in the Proeme of his Histories, that Musique is invented to deceive and abuse men: Neither must wee thinke that the ancient Candyots and Lacedemonians, had without reasen, preserr'd the Flute and Songs before the Trumpet in Warre: Neither had the ancient Arcadians Musique in so great honour in their Common-wealth, as they not onely caused Children to learne it, but also young men vnto the age of thirty yeares, who otherwise were rude and vnciuill. It is no vnknowne thing, that in Areadia alone, they did accustome their children from their infancies, to fing praises in Hymnes, By the which every one did vse to commend the Angels of his Birth, p vertuous Men, and the Gods. And after all this they doe yearely make Gamesto father Lyber, with Songs and Dances, instructed in the Disciplines of Philexenes, and Tymothems. And those of Children, are called the Games of Children, and the others the Games of Youth: Finally, all their life is adicted to this kinde of finging, not so much for the pleasure they take to heare the Musique, as to excite them to sing together. Moreover, if any one be ignorant in other Arts, it is held no fhame: but none of them may be ignorant of Musique: for they learne it by necessity: Neither may he confesse that he understands it not, for that among them is reputed infamous. Finally, the young men doe yearely present Shewes and Games in the Theater to the Burgesses. with Songs and Dances, at the publique charge. Which things (in my opinion) were wifely invented by their Ancestors, Not for laciuiousnesse or delights, but for that they see the continual toile of the people in manuring the land, with a rudenesse and brutishnesse of life, and more oner with an aufteere kinde of living, which proceedes from the coldnesse and roughnesse of the Ayre, to the which of necessity we growe

It is apparent that the Region of heauen, made Nations to differ in their manner of living, in their forme and complexion, and in many dif-n ciplines. Seeking then to make Nature pleasing and tractable, which of it selfe seemes fierce and rude, they first propounded all those things which we have mentioned, and afterwards common affemblies, and many facrifices, where as men and women frequented, and finally danced of Virgins and Children. All which things they have done to the end that that which by Nature was rude in the hearts of men, might be made milde and pleafing by custome. But for as much as the Cynethenfes, after some tract of time, became to disdaine these things, which

The occasion Cynashenfes,

were about all things necessary for them, (inhabiting in the coldest pare of Arcadia) they grew in a short time to such a rudenesse of life, as there was not any Citie in Greece; wherethere were more villanies and Murthers committed. The testimony of their wicked life is most manifest, for that the other people of Arcadia detested their manner of living: For at what time as they sent an Embaffie to Sparta, after this great sedition, in what Towne so euer they entred during their voyage, they were chased away ignominiously, and forbidden to returne; and the Mantiniens, after their departure, purged the Citie, and all places there-A abouts with facrifices.

We have related these things, to adusse the Cities of Arcadia, not to giue ouer the custome of their Countrey: and to the end men should not thinke that they were so much given to the Musique of lastiniousnesse, and that by this meanes no man should mocke at their custome ; I have also done it for the loue of the Cynethenses: to the end (the Gods permitting it) that in punishing them, they may leade a better life and loue Musique, for it is the meanes by the which they may leaue their naturall Rusticitie. Seeing then we have spoken sufficiently of the Cynethenses manner of lining, and of their ruine, let vs returne where B we left.

The Etoliens having over-runne all Morea, and put the Country to fire and sword, returned to their houses. Finally, Philip King of Macedon, Philipcomes came to Corinthe to succour the Achiens with an Army. But hearing to Corinthe. that all was past, he sends post to his Allies, aduising them to send men vnto him to Corinihe, to conferre of their common affaires. In the meane time he causeth his Army to martch towards Tegee, for that he A mutinie was advertised that the Lacedemonians were in mutinie among them. amougthe felues. And for that they had lived long vnder Kings, and had then recouered their liberty under the conduct of Antigonus, being subiect to C no man, they fell into diuers factions, euery man feeking to have authority in the Common-wealth aboue his fellow. There were two among the Gouernours, which held their Councell so secret, as no man could discouer it: the rest to the number of three, carried themselves openly for the Etolien party, being confident that Philip confidering his age, could make no alteration in Morea. But when as contrary to their hope and expectation, they had newes of the flight of Etoliens in Morea, and of the comming of Philip King of Macedon: These three Gouernours of the Citie, having no confidence in one of the other two, called Adimant, for that knowing their secrets, he seemed to dislike of their pro-D ceedings, and fearing that at the comming of Philip all would be diffeonered. They declared themselues to certaine young men, and afterwards caused all the people to affemble in Armes, at Inno's Temple, by the found of the Trumpet, as if the Macedonians were come against the Spartains: who fuddainly affembled vpon this new accident.

Adimant difliking this, came into the affembly, faying: The Trumpet should have sounded some dayes past, and this assembly of men in Armes should have beene made, when as wee heard that the Erollens, Enemies to the Lacedemonians, approached their Mountaines, nor now

The Murther of the Gouer nours of the Lacedemonians, ture.

188

Ambassadours Sent from La. cedemon to Philip.

when as we are advertised, that the Macedonians our Benefactors and preseruers came with their King. And whilest he continued this speech, the young men falling vpon him, flew him craelly, with Sthenelaw, Alcamenes, Threstes, Bronides, and divers others. As for Polyphonte, hee retired with his friends to Philip, having long before foreseene the fu-

Things passing in this manner, the Lacedemonian Gouernours sent an Embaffie to the King to lay the wrong vpon them that were flaine, and to perswade him to proceede no farther, vntill that all the troubles of the Citie were pacified : Giuing him to vnderstand, that the Lacede. A monians kept their faith and friending with the Macedonians inviolable. The Ambassadours meeting the King neere vnto the Mountaine of Parthenia, delivered their charge. Who being heard, Philip advised them to returne speedily, and to aduertise the Gouernours that hee would soone returne with his Army to Tegee, and that they should presently fend the chiefe of their Citie to Corinthe, to conferre of their present affaires.

By this meanes the Ambassadours being returned, and having acquainted them with Philips answere, the Gouernours sent him tenne of the chiefe of the Citie, among the which omias was the first, who comming to Tegee, and entring into the Kings prinie Councell, they vied difgracefull speeches of Adimant and his confederates: as if he had hin the cause of this Mutinie. Finally, they omitted nothing, which they thought fit to purchase the Kings love, promising to doe any thing; whereby it should appeare plainely, that they continued constant in the

Kings alliance and friendship.

Having delivered these things, the Lacedemonians went out of the Councell. The Macedonians were of divers opinions concerning these affaires: for some being advertised of the Enterprizes, which the Spartains made with the Etoliens, being also of opinion, that dimans had beene flaine for the loue he bare voto the Macedonians, beganne to counsell the King, to make the Lacedemonians an example to others, as Alexander had done the Thebains, when he came to be King. The other Senators faid, that this kinde of punishment was more rigorous then their deedes deserued, and that they should onely let the offenders know their offence, and deprine them of the government of the Common-weale, and give it to his friends. All which being heard, the King deliuered his opinion, (if it be credible that it was his owne) for it is not likely that a young man who had scarce attained the age of seauenteene yeares, could give judgement in fo great affaires. But it becomes a Hi-n floriographer to attribute the resolution taken in Councell to Princes, by whose will all things are gouerned. So they which read or heare this History, must conceive that these kinde of sentences proceede from those which are the wisest, and necrest vnto Princes: as if they hould attribute this to Arate, who at that time was in great authority with the

Philips will and (Male)

Alexander the

great.

Philip therefore faid, that if the Allies attempted any thing in particular among themselves, it did not concerne him, but onely to warne

them by words or letters: But if they offended their Allies openly. they must receiue a publique punishment, and that the Lacedemonians had not infringed the common alliance in any thing, but contrariwife had offred to doe all things for the Macedonians : and that moreover hee must not study to intreate them worse, considering that it were against reason, to take reuenge on those for a light cause, who being Enemies his Father had pardoned. The Kings Sentence being confirmed, Petress a Friend to Philip, was presently appointed to goe to Lacedemon with the Embassie, having charge to aduise the Spar-A tans to line in Friendship, and to take an Oath for the preservation of

The History of POLYBIVS.

their Faith and League.

Lib. 4.

In the meane time Philip razeth his Campe, and returnes to Corinthe. leauing a great hope in the Allies of his good disposition, has uing vied the Lacedemonians to graciously. And having found the Embassadours of the Allies at Corinthe, who were assembled there by his command, they began to hold a Councell for the common af. Complaints of divers people faires of Greece, where as all with one voice, had the actions of the against the E-Etoliens in execration. The Beociens charged them that in the time toliens. of peace they had spoyled Minerua's Temple : and the Phocenses B that having planted their Campe neere vnto Ambryse and Daulia, they had a resolution to take them. The Epirotes shewed that they had put all their Countrey to fire and fword : the Acarnapians that they had attempted to take a very rich Towne in the Night by Scaladoe. Finally, the Acheins propounded, that they had taken Caria belonging to Megalopolis: That they had other-run and spoiled the Bounds of Patras and Phare, and put Cynethe to fire and fword, and then razed it : And moreouer, had spoiled Diana's Temple at Luses, and befieged the Cliveriens: and that finally they had made Warre at Sea to Pyle, and at Land to Megalopolis, joyning with the Sclanonians.

The Councell of the Allies hearing these things, all with one confent concluded to make Warre against the Etoliens. It was resolved in Conncell, that all they should bee received into the league, whose Warre conclu-Townes or Prouinces had beene taken by the Etoliens after the death ded against the of Demetrins, who was Father to Philip. And that moreover they which through the necessity of the time had beene forced to make an alliance with the Etoliens, should be restored to their former liberty. and it should bee lawfull for them to live according to the Lawes and customes of their owne Countries. Finally, they ordained that the Amphictions should bee restored to their Lawes, and have the superintendency of the Temple, which at that time the Esoliens held, one who had made themselues Lords. When as these things had beene thus resolued, the first yeare of the hundred and fortieth Olympiade, fuddainly the Warre of the Allies was kindled, which tooke its inft beginning from the outrages done by the Etoliens, whereof we have spoken. They that were in the assembly, sent presently to the Allies. to aduertise them, that according vnto that which had beene ordayned, enery one for his part should make Warre against the Eteliens. Moreouer, Philip writes vuto the Etoliens, that if they

Lib. 4.

would answere any thing to that they were charged, they should fend vnto him: And that they were mad with folly, if spoiling and ruining all the World without any open Warre, they which were vniustly wronged, would not seeke reuenge: and that in doing so, they would be held to begin the Warre. The Etoliens having received these Letters, making no stay for the Kings comming, appointed a day to goe to Rhie, to meete the King. But when as they were aduertised of that which had beene concluded in the affembly, they fent a Post vnto the King, to let him vnderstand that they could not resolue any thing concerning the affaires of the Common-weale, before the Esoliens had A

called an affembly.

The Acheins having held their Diet at Egia according to their custome, they confirmed the resolution: and presently signified Warre to the Etoliens. In the meane time Philip comming to Egia, vied a gracious and friendly Speech vnto them, the Acheins embraced his words with great affection, renuing that ancient Friendship which they had held with his Predecessours. At that time the day of the Election was come, and the Etoliens had made choice of Scope for their Captaine, who had beene the first Author of the former alterations. Wherevpon I know not what to fay: for a warre mannaged by a com- B mon consent; a spoile committed by souldiers vpon al their neighbours; not to punish such crimes; to aduance and honour the Captaines, and Heads of fuch actions, feemes to mee an absolute villany. For how can wee otherwise call this kind of Malice ? That which I say, is manifest herein. When as Phebidius had violated the Cadmian league, the Lacedemonians punished the Authour of the crime, yet they did not with-draw their Garrisons : as on the other side, it is sit to make satisfaction for the vniust wrongs committed. The Thebains did otherwise: For when as by a publique edict, they had restored the Townes to their liberty, and to their owne Lawes, according to the Anialcidan peace, yet they did not depriue the Magistrates. And when as C having a league with the Mantinieus, they had ruined them, they faid they had done them no wrong, for that they had transported them from one Towne into many. Hee is simple, and accompanied with Malice, who shutting his owne eyes, thinkes he is not seene. Beleeue me, Enuy hath beene a great occasion of the mischiefe of these two Citties: Enuy the caule the which no man of judgement should follow in his private or publique affaires. But when as Philip had received money from the Acheins, hee retired into Macedony with his Army, to leuie men, and to make necessary preparations for the Warre. Finally, hee left a great hope of Clemency, not onely in the Allies, but throughout all Greece, for the conclusion which was generally confirmed.

of greatmif-

190

scope chosen

Head of the

Etaliens,

Phebidius.

Thefethings were done at fuch time as Hannibal chiefe of the Carthaginians, besieged Sagont after that he had conquered all beyond the Riuer of Ebro. If then the beginning of Hannibals actions fall out at the fame time with those of Greece, it is apparent that we have not vnaduifedly related his vallour in the last Booke: considering that wee follow the order of time. And for that the Affaires of Italy, Greece, and

Asia, had their proper beginnings, and their common ends, it hath beene necessary to make a particular relation of either of them, untill wee come vnto the time : when the faid affaires being intermixt together. have begun to draw vnto the same end. By this meanes the relation of enery part is more manifest, and the vniting of all more plaine. You must vnder Rand, that they were intermixt and turned to the same end, in the third yeare of the hundred and fortieth Olympiade. Wherefore we will relate in common that which followed. As for that which was before this time, we have delivered it in particular, every thing in its place in the last Booke : to the end that the time should not only fol-

The History of POLYBIVS.

low, but there should be an vnion of all things.

Philip wintring in Macedony, made a new leuie of men; and neceffary prouisions for the Warre : he fortified the Townes against the attempt of the Barbarians, which dwelt about Sparta. Afterwards he went to Scerdilaide, with whom hee made a league, promiling him aide and fuccours to pacific the affaires of Sclauonia: and in blaming the Etoliens, he perswaded him to what he would: For a priuate iniury doth not differ from a publique, but by the number and uate and pub. greatnesse of things which happen. It is also an ordinary thing that lique iniury. B the alliance of wicked men is eafily broken, if Equity and Iustice bee not observed. The which happened at that time to the Etoliens. You must vinderstand, that when as they had compounded with Scerdia laide, that the Booty should bee equally divided, if hee would fall voon the Acheins with them, who giving credit to their words, marcht with them to Cynethe, where after the taking and razing thereof, the Etoliens carried away great store of Gold, and a great number of Cartell, dividing the Booty among themselves, whereof they did frustrate Scerdilaide. Wherefore he grew into choller and indignation : and when as Philip put him in minde thereof i hee fuddainly confirmed the alliance under these Conditions: that he should have twelve thousand Crownes yearely, and should faile with thirty ships, making Warre by Sea against the Etoliens. Behold the things with such like which Philip contriued. In the meane time the Embassadours sent vinto the Allies arrived, first in Acarnania: whereas letting them underfland what they were enjoyned, they prefently and freely confirme what had beene decreed, and make Warre against the Etoliens : although they had beene to bee pardoned, if they had forborne longer then the reft: confidering that for their neighbourhood, they seemed ro have inflicause of seare, and that they had formerly had experience of D what consequence the hatred of the Bioliens was vato them, and for that they alone might be ruined. It is true, and I am of opinion, that honest men, and such as respect their honour, should hold nothing more deare, then to give order that their duty may inno fort be forgotten, the which the Acarnanians have alwayes observed about all the The commen Grecians, although they had but a small beginning : whereby it fold dation of the lows, that no man should for beare to make this people a Companion in his affaires: for they have naturally something in them that is generous and noble; and defireus of liberty. The Epiretes on the other fide, after Bb 2

they had decreed to maintaine peace with them, shewing themselues in such affaires fearefull and inconstant. For they sent Embassadours vnto King Ptelemy, to intreate him not to furnish the Eteliens against Philip and his Allies, with money, victuals, or any other

192

Answeres to-

Embaffadours.

The blame of

the Epiretes.

But the Meseniens (for whose cause this Warre was kindled) and swered the Embassadours, that they would not make Warre against

they had heard what the Embassadours had in charge, they allowed of

the resolution . Yet they made answere, that they would not make War

against the Etoliens, before they were advertised that Philip had begun

it. And afterwards they made answer to an Embassie of the Etoliens, that

the Etoliens, before they had recourred (by the meanes of their Allies) the Towne of Phigales, scituated in the Mountaines, which then the Etoliens detained from them vniustly. Which aduice was

giuen by Oenes and Nicippus, Gouernours of the Towne, with the confent of some of the principall, notwithstanding that the Commons opposed. Wherein I conceiue they vnderstood not their Duty, nor the profit of their Common-wealth. I am of opinion that we should

flie and avoide Warre, but not in such sort, that wee should choose to endure, and suffer all things rather then to enter into it. But why B should wee commend an equality in a Common-wealth, or Faith, or

the name of liberty which is so pleasing, if there were any thing to be preferr'd to peace ? I doe not commend the Thebains, who in the time of the Warre of Media, made choice of it for feare, to free them-

felues from the common calamity and danger of all Greece, whereby they were after ruined. Neither am I of the opinion of Pindarus, who in his Poches exhorts the Burgeffes, that in neglecting all other

things, they should onely seeke for peace and rest : and having sought for peace, hee defines it to bee the end of rest and a cleare light. But when as hee thought to have spoken with great perswasions, soone

after hee deliuered a sentence, the most scandalous and incommodious C thing in the World. It is true that peace is a most excellent thing, if it bee iust and houest. Yet wee may not doe an unreasonable act, nor

fuffer an infamy to enjoy it. It is certaine that the Gouernours and chiefe men of Messene, having a regard to their private profits, were much inclined to peace, which was not reasonable. Wherefore as of-

ten the times were propitious vnto them, according to their defires, and sometime dangerous, they fell continually into the same inconvenience : fo as alwayes having the fame resolution to keepe the peace,

they many times brought their Countrey into great danger. Where D of I conceine the cause was, for that they were Neighbours to two alwayes friends principall Citties of Greece, that is to fay, the Arcadians, to whom they had beene alwayes Allies and Friends, and the Lacedemonians, to

mies to the Lee whom they had beene continuall Enemies, yet they did eot openly carry themselues as Enemies to the Lacedemonians, or Friends to the Arca-

dians: By this meanes they lived in peace, when as the faid Gitties made war betwixt themselues, or with other. But when as the Lacedemonians

(after they had made a peace with their other enemies) ran vpon them,

they were forced to ferue them with ignominy; or abandon the Count rrev with their Wives and Children, to avoide servitude: Confidence that they were not able with their owne forces to refine the powdr of the Lacedemonians, nor to defend themselves with the helpe and succor of the Arcadians, whose Friendship they were not able to keepe. The which hath often happened vnto them, of late yeares. I pray vnto God if it bee his will, that the effate wherein the affaires of Me. res now stands, may be such as that which wee haue to say, may not take place. Yet if there happen any alteration, I fee but one hope A for the Messeniens and Megalepolitains, to preserve and defend their Countrey, if following the fentence of Epaminondas, they live alwayes well united, and gouerne their Councels and Affaires with one consent, whereof they have ancient testimonies of the truth. The Messens as Califines doth report, erected a Pillar in the Temple of Impiter of Lyce, in the time of Aristomenes; on the which these Verses were ingrayen. Seminary of Developer and an accordance to according

existing general and the second and which is a second consequent and their Time on a wicked King bash vengeance flowne. The Traytour to the Messaine state louc hath made knowne : Nor could bee bounne the most revengefull fate of loue, who fauours the Arcadian flate.

You must vinderstand that for as much as they had beene chased from their Countrey? they wrote these Verses, as meaning to pray vinto the Gods for their fecond Countrey. For the which in my conceit they had good reason. For the Arcadians not onely received them into their Citty, during the Warre of Aristomenes, being bas nished and chased away, making them Burgesses, and assisting them with Councelland Wealth : But they also suffered them to marry their Daughters vnto their Sonnes. Moreover, having examined the Treason of King Aristocrates, they not onely put him cruelly to Aristocrates death, but punished all the Race proceeding from to wicked a stocke, But scauing the times past, let vs come to things of a fresher Date, and are happened face this alliance betwixt the two Cittles, which gaug

sufficient testimony of that which we have spoken. You must vinderstand that at what time the Lacedemonians began (after that great Victory which the Grecians had neere voto Mantinea by the death of Epaminondas) to enter into hope to make the Messe-

niens subject, not comprehending them in the accord, the Megalo-D politains and all the Circles of the league tooke these things so to heart for the Messens, as presently they received them into their Alliance, and excluded the Lacedemonians alone of all'the Grecians. Matters standing in this estate, who will not thinke but weehad reason to fay that which wee haue formerly spoken? Wee haue continued this discourse of the Arcadians and Messeniens at length, to the end that remembring the outrages which the Lacedemontans had many times done them, they should continue alwayes true and con-

stant in their Faith and Friendship , and that for no feare of Bb 3

to the Arcadicedemenians,

Lib. 4.

their affaires, nor for any defire of peace, they should neuer abandon one another when it concernes their fafery. But let vs returne now to the discourse where we left.

The Bacedemonians according to their manner of lining, fent backe the Embassadours of the league without any answere : they were so sottish and ouer-weening. Wherefore I hold that to beetrue, which is commonly spoken that ouer-weening doth many times make men mad, and drawes them to raine. After all these things, when as the new Megistrates were created, they which in the beginning made that fedition in the Common-wealth, and were the cause of the Marthers before mentioned, fent to the Etoliens, requiring them to fend an Embaffie. The which when they had eafily obtained, and that Mashate Embassadour for the Esolient, was come to Lacedemon, they goe presently to the Gouernouts of the Citty, telling them, that they must assemble the people to heare this Embassie, and to create according to the custome of the Countrey: and that they must no longer suffer the Empire of the Heraclidis to be loft, contrary to the Lawes of the Citty. And although the Governours were discontented to fee the present estate of their affaires, yet not able to relist their force, fearing also the young men, they made answere, that as for Kings they would B aduise of it afterwards, and presently they would assemble the people to heare Machate.

The affembly being made, they caused Machate to enter, who began to periwade them to imbrace the alliance of the Etoliens: blaming the Macedonians much without reason, and speaking many false things in praise of the Esoliens. Having ended his speech, there was a long debate among the people, and their opinions were divers: for some held it fit to follow the Etolien party, and to embrace their alliance: others were of a contrary opinion, infifting that they should preserve the Friendship of the Macedonians. Finally, after that some Senators were rifen, and had put them in minde of the benefits of Anti-C gonus, and of the Macedonians, and of the loffethey had in the time of Carixenes and Timee, when as the Etoliens entred the Spartains Countrey, and put all to fire and fword, attempting to surprize the Towne, restoring the banished memby force and policy, they caused many to change their opinion : and in the end the people were perswaded to entertaine their Friendship with Philip and the Macedomians. Matters thus decided, Machatereturnesinto Etolia, having effected nothing of that for which hee came. The Heads of this Muriny, whereof wee hauc spoken, being discontented herewith, began to plot a most cruell En-n

Soone after the Youth were to affemble in Armes, to performe a Sacrifice which was done yearely, after the manner of the Countrey in Pallas Temple, where the Governours of the Citty had the authority, and continued some dayes in the Temple. Wherefore they corrupted fome of the Yong men which should be there in Armes with gifts:who at a time appointed amongst them, seeing the Gouerners busie at the Sacrifices, thould affaile them fuddainly, and kill them like Sheepe. And although

although they were in the Temple, the which the Lacedemonians honoured as a Sanctuary, and where all malefactors, (although they were The murther condemned to dye) were in fafety, yet the infolence of men was growne of the Latedeto so great a cruelty, as they slew all the Magistrates before the Altars, monian Gouerand on the Tables of the Goddesse. The like they did afterwards to young men. the Senators, which had followed the opinion of Herides. Finally, after they had chased out of their Citie those that were opposite to the Esosiens, they created new Magistrates of their owne faction: making a league with the Etoliens. By this meanes they declared themselves at A league made one instant Enemies to the deheins, and vnthankfull to the Macedoni- between the A ans. They had a great hope in the loue of Gleomenes, whole comming and Etoliens. they expected with great affection. Beleeue mee, the mildnesse and courteste of Princes hath so great power, as it leaves in the hearts of The power of men, not onely by their presence, but also by their absence, a generall elemencie to

The History of POLYBIVS.

The Lacedemenians having the Government of their Commonwealth, almost for the space of three yeares, after that Cleamenes had beene chased away, they never thought of chusing a King : But when they had newes of his death, they had an humour to chuse one: whereof the first Authors of this practise, were the heads of the sedition, who B had made the league with the Etoliens. Wherefore they elected (according to their lawes and customes) for one of their Kings, one named Agesipoles, being yet very young, the sonne of Agesipoles, who was sonne to Cleombrotus. It happened that he raigned at fuch time, as Leonides was deposed from the Magistracie: for that hee was the neerest of that race. And they gaue him for Tutor Cleomenes, the sonne of Cleombretus, and brother to Azesipoles. And although that Archidamus had two sonnes by the daughter of Hippomedon, who was sonne to Endemides : and Hippomedon living still, who was sonne to Agestlaus, and Nephew to Eudemides: and that there were many others of the fame C blood, yet they made choise for their King, (making no account of the rest nor of their race) of Licurgus, who was of another house, and had Licurgus ches no expectance to raigne. In truth it was faid, that he was of the race of leaking. Herenles, and created King of Sparta, ingining to enery one of the Magistrates sixe hundred Crownes.

Thus you fee that all wicked things have alwayes beene fee to faile. But it was not long but the heads of this crime suffered the punishment of their folly and ouer-weening. Machate advertised of that which had beene done at Lacedemon, returnes againe to Sparta, and perswades the Kings and Magistrates to make warre against the Acheins, saying, that by this meanes, the ambition of those Lacedemonians which held the contrary party, and fled the alliance of the Etoliens, might be eafily supprest. When as the Kings and Magistrates were perswaded by his Marchatepres words, he returned into Etolia, having done what he defired by the folenterprize, ly of the Lacedemonians. Afterwards Licargus leuying mercenary men, and affembling the people of the Citie, enters into the limits of the Argiues: whom he affailes vnprouided, expecting no fuch vlage from the Lacedemonians: And suddainly takes Polychne, Parsie, Leuce, Cyphas, Townestaken

Carinenes. Timee.

194

Machate fent

Embaffadour

from the Eto. liens to the La-

eedemonians.

and some other of their Burroughes, putting all the Countrey to fire and fword. Thefethings being done the Lacedemonians declared warre against the Acheins. And in the meane time Machatewent to the other neighbour Townes, perswading them as he had done the Lacedemonians. By this meanes the Etoliens (to whom all things succeeded hap. pily) vndertooke the warre boldly. Gontrariwife, all things were averse to the Accheins. For King Ibilin (in whom they chiefely relied) did but then leuie men: the Epirotes had not yet begun the warre with the Etoliens, and the Messeniens lived in peace. The Etoliens having drawne vnto them the Elienses, and Lacedemonians, prest the Acheins of A all sides. It happened that Arate had left the government, and his fonne Arate was chosen chiefe of the Acheins, and that Scope was Caprame Generall of the Esolien Army, but he was not to flay long in it: for the Etoliens at that time made their election, after the middeft of September, and the Acheins about the beginning of May.

Summer being past, when as young Arate had vndertaken the gouernment, all the warres in a manner had one beginning. For Hamibal prepared at that time for the fiege of Sagont : The Romans fent Lucius Emilim into Schanonia against Demetrim of Phare: Antiochus began the warre in Syria, by the meanes of Ptolomais and Antyrus, which were de-R linered vnto him in treason by Theodotus : and Ptolomy against Antiochus. Licargus to follow Cleomenes, besieged Athence, a Towne of the Megalopolitains. The Arheins leuied both Horse and Foote. Philip parted Philips Army. from Macedon with his Army, having about tenne thouland Leginaries. and five thousand men arm'd with Targets, and about eight hundred Horse. This was the preparation for warre at that time. The Rhodiens made warre at the same time against the Constantinopolitains for some The scituation such causes. The Constantinopolitains inhabit a City strong by scituation. and wonderfull commodious to finde all things that may give content of Constantia vnto man : For it is so well feated upon the Gulfe of Pontu, as no Marchant can enter not goe forth, but at the mercy of Constantinople. And as the Pontique Sea, brings any things necessary for man, the Constantinopolitains are the Mafters: for the Countries there abouts supplies them with great aboundance of Leather for their common vie, and a great multitude of Stags, and they fend to vs honey for daintineffe, wax, flesh salted, and such like things: They draw also from vs other things which abound in our Countries, as Oyles, and all forts of Wines: Somtimes they furnish Wheat, and we doe the like to them.

These are the things whereof the Grecians make vie, or else the vent would bee unprofitable vnto them; whereas the Constantinopolitains should shew themselves malicious in allying themselves to the Gaules or to any other barbarous Neighbours: So as the Grecians should be forced to abandon the Pontique Sea, for the straightnesse of the places, and the multitude of Barbarians. Wherefore the Constantinopolitains have great commodities by reason of their scituation, transporting those things whereof they abound, and drawing vnto them what they want without any paine or danger. They are also very profitable to the other Cities of Greece, And therefore the Grecians did honour and esteeme

esteeme them worthy, to whom they not onely give thanks, but they are bound to give them Succours against the Barbarians, as doing good to all men. We have thought good to shew the cause, why this Citie is so happy: for that there are many which know not the nature and property of the place: and it hath beene, alwayes our defire, that fuch things might come to the knowledge of many: and that if it might be, they might be visible to the eye, if not, yet at the lest as much as should be possible, they might be comprehended in the vnderstanding.

The History of POLYBIVS.

The Sea then which they call Pontique, hath in circuit two and twen- The circuit of ty thousand furlongs, or there-abouts, having two mouthes opposite one the Pontique A to the other: whereof the one comes from Propontis, and the other Sea. from the blacke Sea, the which hath in circuit eight thousand furlongs. But for that divers great Rivers fall from Asia into it, and more our of Europe, it sometimes flowes into the Pontique Sea by its mouth, and from thence into Propontis. The Mouth of the blacke Sea is called Bofphorus ci-Bosphorus Cimeriques, and is thirty furlongs broad, and threescore in meriques,

Lib. 4.

As for the mouth of the Pontique Sea, it is called the streight of Constantinople, whose length is not in every place equall: for from the Propontis the space betwixt Chalcedon, and Constantinople, containes foureteene furlongs, and from the Pontique Sea, the which they call Fanum, scituated in Asia (whereas Iason first as they sacrificed to the twelue Gods, returning from Cholches) is distant from Europe tenne furlongs. Moreouer, they deliuer two reasons, why the blacke Sea and the Pon- Two causes tique runne continually: whereof the one is well knowne, for that the why the black water encreaseth by the multitude of Rivers which fall continually into Sea and the Pontique run it, and having no other meanes to voide it, it must of necessity encrease, continually, fo as it is forced to passe away by its mouth. The other is, that the bottome is fill'd with aboundance of fand, which the Rivers bring contis nually into it: fo as the water is forced to swell, and so to passe away. These are the true causes of their course, which neede not the relation of Marchants to purchase credit, but onely of naturall reason, which is the truest testimony that can be found.

But feeing wee are fallen vpon this discourse, wee must not omit any thing, (as many Historiographers doe) to seeke out the secrets of Nature: and wee must vie (as much as possibly wee may) a demonstrative relation, to the end wee may leave nothing in doubt to those which defire to understand. Neither were it fitting in these times, (when as all things have beene discovered) to seeke the testimony of Poets or fabrilous Writers in doubtfull things: the which former Historiographers

By this meanes, as Heraclides faith, they have not propounded tellimonies worthy of credit, in doubtfull things, and which are in debate. Wee therefore fay that the Pontique Sea fills it selfe continually with fand, which the Rivers bring into it, and that in time it will be made euen with the land. The like we say of the blacke Sea, so as the scituation of places continue as wee fee them at this day, and that the causes of the fand which fall continually into it cease not. For seeing the time . 1000

11.7

nople.

Lib. 4.

.. 198

is infinite, and the bottomes whereof wee speake are enclosed with certaine limits, it is manifest, that by a long succession of time, they would be fill'd vp by the descent of that which falls into them, bee it never so little, so as it continues. And for that the lands which are brought into them, are of no small quantity, but in a manner infinite, it is apparent that what wee fay will foone happen: and wee fee it partly already, for that the blacke Sea is in a manner fill'd vp: for, the greatest depth hath not aboue five fathome, or seaven at the most, wherefore they cannot faile without great Ships, valeffe the Marriners towe them off by their Masts. And although in the beginning the blacke Sea was like vnto the A Pontique in taste, as the Ancients confesse, Yet it is now a very sweete Marish: for that the sea hath beene surmounted by aboundance of fands, and the many sweete Rivers which fall into it. The like will happen to the Pontique, and begins already: But it cannot be so easily discourred by reason of the great depth. And yet if we shall observe it well, we shall finde it evident: for there are made within it by the subfrance (which by the descent is carryed, for that the Danowe enters by many mouthes) hills which the Marriners call Shelfes, a daics iourney from the shore: where many times in the night they suffer Ship-

Behold the cause why these Shelfes are rather made farre within the Sea, then neere the shore: for the greater force the River hath in their course, driving the waves into the sea, it is necessary that the sand and other substance should be carried farre into it: And whereas the violency of the Rivers ceaseth by reason of the depth of the Sea, rather then by a naturall reason, all the sands sinke and findes a bottome where it stayes. Wherefore it happens that the shelfes of swiftest Rivers are found farthest into the Sea, and their depth neere vnto the shore: where as they which have a flow course, are not farre from the mouth. Fimally, wee must not wonder at the great quantity of wood, stone, and c fand, which is carried into the Pontique Sea: for that many times wee fee a torrent or land flood overflowe a great Countrey in a short time. carrying away earth and stone. So as it sometimes happens, there is fuch an alteration made of a great Country, as in feeing it foome after, we doe scarce know it. Wherefore wee must not wonder, if so many and fuch great Rivers fall continually into the Pontique Sea, in the end fill it vp: for this is not onely likely, but also necessary, if wee will diligently examine the reason, the likelihood it should prove so, is great, for as much as the Pontique Sea differs from ours, for that the blacke Sea is sweeter. Wherefore it followes, that when as the Pontique Sea hath past as much more time as the blacke, for that it is of a greater depth, it will be sweet and moorish like vnto it: and the sooner, for that there are more Rivers, and greater fallen into it. Wee have poken these things for those which thinke that the Pontique Sea cannot bee fill dvp, nor become moorish, being now a full Sea. Wee have like wife done it, for that Saylors report fuch variety of lyes, to the end that like children we should not alwayes give credit vnto them, for that wee have not visited the places: and that having some knowledge of the

trueth, we may discouer whether that which they relate be true or false. But let vs returne to the commodity of the scituation of Constantinople, as the length of the Sea, which ioynes the Pontique, and the Propontis hath fixe score furlongs, and that Fanum limits the part which is from the Pontique Sea, and Constantinople.

The History of POLYBIVS.

On the other which is from the Propontis, there stands a Temple betwixt both, which they call the refuge of Europe, feated vpon a Promontory on the mouth of the Pontique Sea, and is distant from Afia fine furlongs. It is scituated upon the greatest streight of the Sea, where as King Darius made a Bridge as they report, at fuch time as hee King Darius, A made a descent against the Sythians. From the Pontique Sea vnto this place the Waues runne equally, for that the shores of either side are

of one distance. But when it comes to the refuge of Europe, where The refuge of (as we have said) the Sea is narrowest, the Water of the Pontique Sea Europe. beats violently vpon the opposite Country, and those places of Asia which are right against it : Then it doubles its course, against the Promontory of Europe necre vato the Altars; and then it falls into the Country which the inhabitants call Oxe. This stands in Asia whereas The Country Io (hauing past the Sea first) staied, as fables report. Yet in the end of the Oxe. it takes its course to Constantinople, having bin beaten backe by the Oxe. Whereas dispersing it selfeabout the City, it partly divides it

fylfe, and seperates that place which they call the Horne; and on the

other fide it flowes againe in its owne course. Yet this violence cannot passe into that Country which is right against it, where Calcedon stands: For where as it makes so many turnings here and there, and that the Gulfe is of no small breadth, it failes in a manner in this place, passing to the opposite part, not in a direct Line but bending : So as leauing Calcedon, it takes its course by the Gulfe. This drawes so many Commodities to the Constantinopolitains, and the contrary to the Calcedonians. And although it be apparent that the scituation of these c two Cities are equally commodious, yet the passage is difficult for those which will saile to Calcedon. Contrariwise they are carried to

Constantinople by the violence of the Waues: So as it seemes that they which will goe from Calcedon to Constantinople, cannot Saile directly thither by reason of the Violent course of the streame: And therefore they recouered the Oxe, and the Towne which they call Chry sopolis, from whence they are afterwards Transported by force vnto Con-chappellis. Stantinople.

Finally the Constantinopolitans have a good commodity to Saile any D way, whither they bend to Hellesponte with a Southerly Winde, or else from the Pontique Sea to Hellesponte. You must vnderstand that ties of constant. the direct and common course from Constantinople to the streights of timple by the Propontis, is by Abydos and Seftes; and in like manner from the streights Sea of Abydos to Constantinable. Rut it fals out otherwise with the Calcedonians. for and Sefter. to Constantinople. But it fals out otherwise with the Calcedomans, for the reasons which we have mentioned, and for the distance of the Region of the Cyziceneins: for it is a difficult thing for them which Saile from Hellesponse to Calcedon, to keepe the Coust of Europe, and in ap-

proaching the Country neere vnto Constantinople, to turne vnto Cal-

ceden, for the violent course of the streame. And againe, it is imposfible to Saile from thence into Thrace, as well for the violence of the Waues, which go crosse, as the contrariety of the Windes, for a Southerly winde is good for those which enter into the Pontique Sea, and the contrary for such as go foorth; and these two winds only serue to go in, and come out. These are the things whereby the Constantine. Warre of the politains draw such great commodities from the Sea.

The continual Constantinopeli-Thraciaus.

200

Now we will shew the discommodities which the City is to suffer tains with the by reason of the firme Land. Thrace enuirons the Country of Con. stantinople in such fort, as it imbraceth it from Sea to Sea. So as they A are in perpetuall Warre with the Thracians: For although they get a Battaile or two against this cruell and barbarous Nation, yet they cannot quench the Wars, the multitude of people and Princes is so great: For that after they have gotten Victory over one, there doth suddainly arise three other mighty Princes, who over-runne the Country for fboile: Neither can they doe any thing to have an accord, or to pacifie the Warre by paying of Tribute; for presently they find their Enemies multiplied. And therefore they are wasted and consumed with a continuali and cruell Warre. But what can you finde more disloyall then a neighbour enemy? Nor a Warre more dangerous then with a barba-a rous Nation? And with all these miseries wherewith they are oppressed by Land, they are moreover tormented with Tantalus paine. as the Poets feigne: For the Barbarians (confidering that they have a fertile Region) ouer run the Country and spoile it, after that the Land hath bin well manured, and that the fruite which is very beautifull, and in abundance, is in Season.

The Constantinopolitains seeing so great a spoile of their goods, and the losse of their labour and charges, are wonderfully grieued. Yet bearing this War with the Thracians by a Custom e, they alwaies held their auncient accord with the Grecians. But when as the Gaules beganne to be their neighbours, vnder the Conduct of King Comentoire, they were in great danger. You must vade stand that the Gaules which Bremus Chiefe had made Warre vader the leading of Bremus, and had escaped a great danger at Delphos, past not into Asia when as they came to Hellesponte: But allured with the commodity of the place, they staied neere vnto Constantinople, whereas after they vanquished the Thracians, and built The Thracians Tyle the Royall, they made Warre against them of Constantinople. vanquished by Who at the beginning pacified their fury with presents, when as they first assailed them vnder King Comentoire, in giving them sometimes thirty thousand, another time fifty thousand, and sometimes a hun-n dred thousand Crownes, to the end they should not over-runne their An absolute de- Country. Finally, they were forced to give them foure score thoufand Crownes yearely untill the time of Clyare, at what time the Gaules Gaules Empire. Empire had an end, and this Nation was wholly vanquished and extind by the Thracians. Their Treasure being at that time exhausted by reason of these Tributes, they sent first an Embassie into Greece to

demaund their affistance. But for that most of the Grecians made no

account of it, they resolved to take a Tole vpon all those which should

passe into the Blacke Sea. The which all the rest disliking for the no. A Toleimpo. patte into the Biacke Sea. The windrant the felt differing it, as being fed vponthole that failed into then Lords of the Sea.

This was the beginning and Fountaine of the Warre which wee by Conflaminoare now to describe. The Rhediens mooned, aswell with their owne loffe as with that of their neighbours, having first called their Allies.

fent an Embaffie to Constantinople to abollish the Tole. VVho performing their Voyage according to their Charge, could not perfuade the Commons : For that Hecatondere and Olympiodore (who had then Hecatondore & A the Gouernment of the Common weale) opposed themselves: So as they returned without effect. Soone after they fent to declare V Varre

vnto them for the afore-said causes. Presently after the Rhodiens sent Embassadours to Prusias, to perswade him to make Warre against the Prusias, Constantinopolisains: for they knew well hee was offended with them

for certaine causes. The Confantinopolitains in like manner solicited attalus and Attalus and Arheus by many Embassies, to succour them against the Achess, Rhodiens. It is true that Attalus was at liberty, but hee was much on-

After the death of Selencin father vinto Antiochiu, and that his The meanes of Sonne Seleucus the eldest of the brethren, had succeeded in the Realme, Achour raigne. Acheus past the Mountaine of Tauris with him in regard of his kindred. about two yeares before the time whereof wee now speake. For as C soone as Selencus was King, and hearing that Attalus had taken the whole Country which lies on this fide Mount Tauris, confidering that hee must give order to his Affaires, passeth the Mountaine with a great Army: VVhere within few dayes after hee was flaine by Apaturina Gaule, and Nicanor. Acheus resoluing to reuenge the death of his kinsman, kills them presently. And then he gouernes the Army and all other affaires with great VVisedome and Courage. For when as the opportunity of the time, and the generall consent of all the Souldiers. perswaded him to take the Crowne; yet hee would not doe it, but kept the Realme for the younger Brother Antiochus : and gouerning all o. D ther matters carefull, he resolued to subdue the whole Country which is on this fide Tauris. But when as all things had succeeded happily, and that in the end he had left nothing but Pergamus to Attalus, hee Acheut caufeth

Wherat the Conftantinopolitains being moued, they made no difficulty

contrary vnto his Hope. So as it fell out that his name was more

feared, by the Inhabitants on this fide Tanyin, then of any other King

pressed with pouerty: for that Acheus had forced him to retire himselfe

within the liberties of his Fathers Empire. Finally Achem, who teat-R med himselfe Lord of all the Countrey which lies on this side Tauris. and publishing himselfe for King, promised succours vnto the Constan. tinopolitains, which gaue them occasion of great hope, and terrified

very much the Rhodiens and Prusia: For Acheus was allied vnto Aprio. this, who raigned in Syria, and had attained to this Principallity by

fuch or the like meanes.

or Prince.

Lib. 4.

the Ganles.

presently changed his minde, and caused himselfe to bee called their himselfe to be King, being growne proud with the Victories which hee had obtained called King,

to vnder-take a Warre against the Rhodiens and Prusias: Who accused them, that when they had promifed to fet vp his Images, yet they afterwards forgot it thorough negligence : And withall, hee was much more incensed, for that they had done what possibly they could to pacifie the Warre which was kindled betwixt Achieu and Assalus : For that every man knew that their peace was dangerous to him for many Reasons. Finally, hee objected against them, that whereas they had fent an Embaffic to Attalus, at the Games which he had made in the honour of Minerua, they had not fent any one voto him when hee gaues thankes voto the Gods. For which rea- A fons (being incenfed) hee willingly embraced the Rhodiens party against them of Constantinople. And therefore hee agreed with their Embassadours that they should send foorth a very strong Fleete, to affaile the Constantinopolitains by Sea, promising likewise to inuade them by Land with no leffe forces then they should. This was the the beginning, and the causes of the Warre which the Rhodiens made against the Constantinopolitains.

They also at the first entred into it with great Courage, hoping that Acheus would fuccour them, according ento his promife. They had also called Thibete of Macedony, whom they opposed against a Profias: to take from him the meanes to make VVatre against another, being much troubled for the defence of his owne. But Prufias parting with great rage and fury against the Constantinopolitains, hee presently tooke Fanum, a place very strong by Nature, and seated vpon the mouth of the Pontique Lea, which they of Constantinople had lately purchased for a great summe of money, mooned with the opportunity of the place: to the end that no man might enter or goe foorth of the Pontique Sea but by their fauour. Moreouer he put all the Countrey of Afia (which the Constantinopolitains had long helde) to fire and Sword. On the other fide the Rhodiens having made fixe shippes, and taken foure from their Allies, whereof they made Xenophante Commaunder, they failed vnto Hellesponte with an Army of

was carefull of his delivery, they thought good to fend an Embassie to

ten faile of very strong Shippes. And having left nine neere vnto Sefte, for the desence of the entry into the Pontique Sea, the Commaunder hauing a good VV inde failed with the tenth vnto Coustantinople to view their Countenance: And whither at this first beginning of the VVarre they would be better aduited. But finding them ill affeded, hee retited vato his whole Army with the which hee returned

In the meane time the Constantinopolitains fent Embaffies, fome vnton Achem, intreating him to haften his Succours : Others into Macedon, to draw downe Thibete; for it feemed that the Realme of Bythinia did as rightly belong to Thibete as to Prufas, for that hee was his Vacie. The Rhodiem being advertised of the obkinacy of the Conftantinopolisains vied Wiledome and Policy : For when they understood that all their Hope was in Achem, whose Father Prolony kept in Prison at Alexandria, and that Achem leaving all other Affaires whatfocuer,

Ptolomy, and to intreate him with great Affection, to deliver vato them the father of Achem: to the end that by this meanes they fhould make himbound vnto them. Ptolomy after he had heard the Embassadours. did not seeme very willing to deliver Andromochus, hoping to make vie of him at neede : for that hee was not yet well pacified with Autiochm, and that Achem having feazed uppon the Realme without any contradiction, and farre extended his power: For Andremechus was Father vnto Achens. and brother to Laedices Wife to Seleucus. Yet to please the Rhodiens hee delivers him vnto A them, to restore him voto his Sonne if they thought good. The Rhodiens by this meanes having done according to their owne defires. and reconciling themselves vnto Acheus by some other meanes, they did frustrate the Constantinopolitains of their principall hope. There fell out also another accident which troubled them very much : For The Death of Thibete whom they had drawne out of Macedony (as we have faid) died Thibete. fuddainly of ficknesse. For which accidents the Constantinopolicains began to faint.

Contrariwise Prasias having a greater hope of his Enterprize, parted from Alia to make Warre, and leuied men in Thrace, pressing the B Constantinopolitains fo neere, as they durk not issue or fally out of the Gates, which looked towards Europe. Wherefore being thus destitute of all hope, and suffering all the iniuries of Warre, they fought and invented fome honest meanes to be freed. And therefore when as Canare King of the Gaules approached neere vnto the City. labouring by all meanes to pacific this Warre, both they and Prufing Canare King of referred themselves vnto him for all their Quarrells. Whereof the Rhodiens being aduertised, and desiring to bring their Resolution to a finall end, they fent Aridix, and Polemocle to Conftantinople with three Triremes, meaning (as they commonly fay) to fend them peace or C Watre.

After the comming of this Embaffie vnto Constantinople, there was an Accord made with the Rhodiens : that the Confrantinopolitains (hould An accord benot take Tole of any one that fail'd into the Pontique Sea. The twinthecon. which if they performed, the Rhodieus and their Allies would make and the Rhon a firme peace with them. And as Profess they concluded and agreed diess. Popon these Conditions: that Prusias and the Constantinopolisains An accord should live in Peace and Amity, and never hereafter make Warre made with one against another. And that Prusias should make restitution of all Prusias. the Prouinces, Townes, People, and Slaues, without any recompence, in the like manner hee should doe of the Shippes, and other Booty which hee had taken from them in the beginning of the Warre. Moreouer the Carpenters VVorke, Tiles, and remainder of Houses, which hee had transported from Fanum, (for Prusias fearing the comming of Thibete, had razed all the Burroughes whereinto the Enemy might retire himselfe:) and that finally hee should bind himselfe with all the Souldiers of Bythinea, to restore vnto the Inhabitants of Mysia. (which are under the obedience of the Constantinopolitains) all they had taken from them.

An Embessie fent by the Rhadiens to gtelo=Ja

Fanum taken

the Confanti-

nepolitains.

202

This was the beginning and ending of the Warre of Prusias and the Rhodiens against the Constantinopolitains. At that time the Gnosiens sent an Embassie to the Rhodiens, to draw from them three or foure well built Triremes, with the which Polemocle had lately made his Voyage, with three other stately Vessels of Warre, against those which lately had Revolted against them. The which being done, when as the Army arrived at Candy, the Eleuterneins doubting that some sew daies before Polemocle had slaine Timarche their Burgeffe to please the Gnosiens, made Warre against the Rhodiens, after they had made their complaint. A little before the Lyciens had so many seuerall

Candy in a man Gortiniens.

204

Finally all Candy was in Combustion. The Gnosiers and Gortininer reduced all ens making Warre with one Councell and confent, reducing all the vnder the obe- Iland vnder their obedience, except the Lyciens Towne: For the Gnossens and taking whereof they did their vimost power and indeauours, thinkking in the end to raze and ruine it quite: To the end it might ferue for an Example to other Cities, to terrifie them from a Reuolt: For that it alone would not receive them for their Lords. In the beginning all they of Candy made Warre against the Lyciens, but they beganne presently to fall into Discorde, vpon a very light cause: The which R happens often with that Nation. So as the Polyreneins, the Certeins. the Lampeins, and moreover the Horeins, and the Arcadians held the Lyciens party, forfaking the alliance of the Gnosiens. The Gorsiniens were in divers opinions: The most aged held the Gnosiens party: and the young men that of the Lyciens, The Gnosiens seeing the will of their Allies thus changed, and that the Affaires went otherwise then they formerly expected, they drew a thousand men from Etolia by the right of Alliance. Which being done, the most aged of the Gortiniens seazed suddainly vpon the Fort, drawing in the Gnosiens and Esoliens, and delivered them the Towne, chasing away the party of the young men, and killing some most cruelty.

The Lycieus had by chance at that time made a Roade into the Enemies Country, leaving no forces within the Towne, whereof the Gnotiens being aduertifed by their Spies, they tooke it vnfurnished of any forces, and sent the Women and Children to Gnoson. And when they had burnt and razed it with fury, they retired. The Lyciens returning, were so amazed when they saw all in fire and ruine, as no man durst enter into the Towne. But going about it in troupes, they lamented their Countrey and Fortune. From thence turning head, they returned to the Lampeins, who received them louingly and with great affection: Who being Fugitives and strangers, were in one day admitted Burgesses, and made Warre against the Gnosiens with the

Behold how Lycia a Collony of the Lacedemonians, and the most auncient of Candy, was suddainly and miserably ruined. The Polyreneins, Lampeins, with all their other Allies, seeing the Gnosiens to be in League with the Etoliens, and the Etoliens to be enemies to Philip and the Acheins, sentan Embassie to the King and the Acheins, to make a

Lesgue with them, and to draw fuccours from them. Who received them, and sent them foure hundred Sclavonians, under the Commaund of Plator, and about a hundred Phoceins, who at their arrivall maund of Plator, and about a nundred Proteins, who at their arrival did greatly affilt the Polyreneins allied to the Achiens. For within a thore the Schuonie time. their forces being increased, they forced the Eleuterneins, Cy. ans, doniates. Aptereins, and divers others being shut up within their Wals, to abandon the Gnosiens alliance, and to imbrace their party. Which things being effected, the Polyreneins and their Allies fent fine hundred Candyots to Philip and the Acheins. Not long before the Gnoa fiens had fent a thousand to the Etoliens. Thus the Warre was mannaged for the loue one of another. The banished men among the Gortiwiens surprized the Port of the Pheastins and that of the Gertiniens, from whence they made many fallies against them of the Towne, And this was the estate of the affaires of candy.

The History of POLYBIVS.

At the same time Methridates made Warreagainst the Synopenses, Mithidates which was in a manner the beginning and cause of his mis-forture. And when as they required succours of the Rhodiens, they made choise of The Rhodiens three men for this businesse: To whom there was given foure and succour the sytwenty thousand five hundred pounds, to furnish the Synopenses with nopenses. necessary prouision for the War. They which had this Commission. made provision of ten thousand Goate skinnes fill'd with Wine, of thirty fixe thousand pound weight of Ropes made with Haire, and ten thousand made with finewes, a thousand Armes compleate, three thousand pieces of gold coyned, foure Merchants ships, with Crossebowes and other Engines of battery in great number. The Synopenfes having received all this provision, returned to Synope. They were in great feare least that Methridates should besiege them both by Sea and Land. Synope is feated on the right fide of the Pontique Sea, The Scienation where as the River of Phasis enters into the Sea, and likewise vppon of Sympo. a Cape which stretcheth farre into the Sea: The necke whereof is closed in by the Towne, which iownes ynto Asia, and hath in length about two Furlongs: The rest of the Cape advanceth it selfe into the Sea, which is a flat Countrey and the approaches very easie, and contrariwise very difficult and inaccessible, to those which come from the Sea, neyther hath it any passages. The Synopenses fearing that Methridates should besiege the Towne, not onely on that side which ioynes to Asia, but likewise on the other, drawing his Army to Land, they did carefully fortifie that part which is inuironed by the Sea, leaving a good Guard there to keep the Enemy from landing: D for the place is of a small Circuit, and requires no great guard. This is

all which past at that time in Synope. King Philip parting with his Army from Macedony (for there wee lest our former Discourse) caused it to march by Thessaly and Epirus, making hast to passe by those Regions into Etolia. Alexander and alexanders Derimache resolving at the same time to take Egirus, having drawne Dorimache, together twelve hundred Esoliens at Ocanthy, which is one of their Egyus. Townes, opposite vitto that whereof wee now speake, and their Ocanibra shippes being ready to passe, they only attended an opportunity to put

Towne razed and burnt.

of Egire.

206

their enterprize in Execution. It happened that an Etolian having lived long at Egire, and finding that the Guard at the Gate kept no good Watch by reason of their Drunkennesse, hee acquaints Dorimathe therewith, foliciting him to take the Towne by night: he being a man accustomed vinto such Actions. Egire is a Towne of Morea, scituated necre vnto the Gulfe of Cerinthe, betwixt Egia and Sieyon, vpon a certaine Hill which is rough and difficult, drawing towards Parmase, and about seauen Furlongs distant from the Sea. When the time was come, Derimache having imbarqued his Army, and prouided carefully for all things necessary, he came before the breake A of day to a Riner which runs neere vnto the Hill whereon the Towne Stands.

From thence, he with Alexander and Archidamus the sonne of Pantaleon, accompanied with a great number of Etoliens, marche directly vnto the Towne, along the way which leads to Egia. The Fugitiues was gone before with twenty of their best foote-men, for the knowledge he had of the places: And had gotten the Walls by Rockes which seemed inaccessible: Where as entring the Towne by a fincke, he found the Guards a sleepe: Who being slaine, and having Egweiurprized broken the barres of the Gate without discouery, they made way B for the Etoliens, who entred with great fury, and carried themfelues fimply and without discretion, which was an occasion of the Egirates Victory, and of their defeate and shame. For thinking that all had beene lost for the Egirates, they suddainly Armed, and put themselves in Battaile within the Towne, where they staied for a certaine time. But at the breake of day euery manthought of his owne private profit and gaine : And disperfing themselves throughour the whole Towne, they fell uppon the Burgesses houses, and rifled their goods: Finally they had no care at all but of spoile and

of Egire.

The Egirates mooned at this strange accident, some fled out of the An affiult gi. Towne amazed with feare: whose houses the Enemies had forced, for that the Esoliens were apparently masters of the Towne. But they who hearing the found of the Trumpet, were gone foorth with their servants to aide and succour the City, retired vnto the Fort: Wherefore their number and force angmented continually, and the Esoliens grew weaker : For that the Egirates repaired still to the Fort, and the others dispersed themselves in houses for spoile. And although that Dorimache faw the apparent danger : yet without any amazement, he affaults the Fort with a wonderfull Resolution, imagining that n they which were retired into it, being amazed at his comming, would presently yeild voto the Etoliens. But the Egirates incouraging one another defended the Fort, with incredible resolution and assurance.

By this meanes the Combat was furious of either fide. But for that the Fort was not inclosed with wals, they fought man to man; and the Combat for a time was furious and equall: For that the one fought for their Country and children; and the other for their lines. But the Esoliens

in the end beganto flie shamefully : whom the Egirate (growing more The Eteliens couragious) purfued: fo as a great part of the Etoliens died in fallying defeated by the out at the Gate, oppressing one another in the throng. Alexander was Alexander flaine fighting valliantly. Dorsmache ftriuing to get forth, died in the flaine. presse. The rest were presently flaine, or kill'd themselves falling in. Derimache smeto Pits. There were few faued, who abandoned their Armes, and thered. fled to the ships. By this meanes the Egirates by their incredible courage recouered their Countrey in a manner loft by negligence.

At the same time Euripides, (who had beene fent by the Etoliens to be Chiefe of the Elienses, who after he had ouer-run the Countries of the Dimenses, Pharences and Tritenses) tooke his way through the Elienles Countrey, chasing before him 2 great Booty, whereof Micchis of Dime being aduertifed, who by chance was at that time subrogated in the place of the Commander of the Acheins, and following the Enemy voon the retreate, with the helpe of the Dimenfes, Pharenfes, and Tritenfes, fell vnaduisedly into their Ambushes, and was de- ted. feated with the great loffe of his men : whereof there died forty Foot, and there were two hundred taken. Euripides glorious of this good The Castle of fortune, soone after went againe to Field, and tooke a Castle from Maretaken by the Dimenfes, which was of confequence, the which the people of the Enripides, Countrey called Mure : and they fay, that Hercules built it in old time, making Warre against the Elienses, to vse it as a Fort, and retreate in the time of Warre.

The Dimenses, Pharenses, and Tritenses having made this losse, and fearing for the future by the taking of the Castle by Euripides, they first sent Letters to the Chiefe of the Acheins, to aduertife them of their misfortune, and to demand fuccours against the Etoliens. And afterwards they fent some of the Chiefe of their Towne in Embaffie, Arasecould not raze any mercenary Souldiers, for that during the Warre of Cleamenes, the Acheins had payed them ill, and withil hee mannaged the affaires fearefully and without confideration. And therefore Lycurgus tooke Athenes, a Towne of the Megalopolitains of the like Enri- Athenes taken pides did (besides the former prize) to Gorgon and Telphusia. The by Lieurgus, Dimenses, Pharenses, and Tritenses being frustrate of the hope they had in the Chiefe of the Acheins, resolued among themselves not to contribute any more money, to supply the necessities of their Warre: And that they would leuie at their owne charge about three hundred Foote, and fifty Horse to defend their Countrey. Whereby they seemed to have taken good order for their private affaires, but they had no great D respect to the profit of a Comminalty: For they have given avery bad example to others, to make a new enterprize voon any occasion: whereof the blame may well be layd voon the Commander, who by his floth and negligence had frustrated his men of their expectance.

It is a common course, that all they which are in danger, hold that Friendship is to be entertained and kept, so long as there is any hope to draw succours from them : and when that ceaseth, then they are to prouide for their owne affaires. And therefore the Dimenses, Pharenfes, and Trisenfes are to be pardoned. for that in the extreame danger

himselfe.

of their Townes, they had leuied men, confidering the negligence of the Chiefe of the Acheins. But whereas they would not furnish money for the common affaires of the league, that is not excusable: For as it was not fit to negled their owne affaires, fo it was a base and dis. gracefull thing to omit that which concernes the preservation of a common league: feeing they wanted not Victuals according to the common conventions: and moreover they had beene Authours of the league with the Acheins. And this was the effate of the affaires of Morea.

Philips Army.

208

King Philip had past Thessaly, and was in Epirus: whereas taking a number of Epirotes, with the Macedonians he brought with him, and A three hundred Slingers out of Acheia, with a hundred Candiers which had beene fent by the Messeniens, hee comes vnto the Countrey of the Ambraciates: whereas if hee had entred presently into the heart of Eio. lia, the Warre might have had an end. But for that hee was solicited by the Epirotes to force Ambracia first, he gaue the Etolieus meanes to refift, and prouide that which was necessary for their defence. But the Epirates preferring their private interest before the common profit of the Allies, having a great desire to make Ambracia subject, perfwaded Philip to befiege it, and to take it before he past: For they conceived that the Towne of Ambracia would beevery beneficiall vnto a vnto them, if they might take from the Etoliens, and that it would easily fall into their hands. You must vnderstand that Ambracia is a place firong by nature, well fortified with double walles, and fo enuironed with Moares and Marishes, as there is but one narrow passage by Land, made by Art. Moreover, it lookes towards the Towne, and the Province of the Ambraciases. Philip at the perswasion of the Epirotes, plants his Campe necre vnto Ambracia, making provision of that which was necessary for the Siege.

The scituation of Ambracia.

Scope makes an incursion into Macedony.

At the same time deepe drawing together a great number of Etolieus. and passing thorough Thesaly, enters into Macedony, and puts all a that Region to fire and fword which lies neere vnto Mount Pierie, and drawes rowards Die, making a great spoile. And for that the Inhabitants of the Countrey were fled, he razed the houses, and places for Games: and not content there with, he let fire on the Cloisters built neere vnto the Temple with great charge: moreover, he ruined whatfocuer was credted there for ornament or for vie: Finally, he beate in pecces all the Images of Kings. Thus Scope in the beginning and first fury of the War, having not onely affaulted Men, but even the Gods themselves, returned into Etolia, nor as a Church-robber, or execrable to the immortall Gods, but he was honoured as a man of merit, n and a good fervant to the Common weakh: and withall he gaue great hope to the Eseliens for the time to come. For they conceived that by this meanes no man durst presume to enter as an enemy into their Countrey, and contrariwife they might cafily run and spoile not onely Marea, as they had beene accustomed, but also Theffaly and Mucedony. Philip aduertised of these thing which had beene done in Macedony, and suffring for the ignorance and conetousnesse of the Epirotes, held Ams bracia besieged: whereas making vse of all Engins of Battery, he tooke

Ambracia taken by Philip.

it within forty daies, where leaving a garrison, having first taken the oath he satisfied the will of the Epirotes, to whom Ambracia wasdeliuered. After these things he raiseth his Campe, and marcheth directly by the next valley, making haste to passe the Gulfe of Ambracia, the which is very narrow, neere ento the Temple of Acarnania, which they call Antia. This Gulfe comes from the Sea of Sicily betwixt Epirus The Gulfe of and Acarnania, with a very narrow entry, being scarce fixe hundred pa- Ambracia, ces broad. But when as it dilates it selfe towards the Land, it is in a manner a hundred Furlongs broad, and three hundred in length, beginning at the Sea of Sicily. It divides Epirus from Acarnania the one lying directly towards the North, and Acarnania directly towards the South. Hauing past this Gulse with his Army, and entring into Acarnania, he came to a Towne of Etolia which they call Poetia, lea- Poetiataken by ding with him two thousand Foote, and two hundred Horse of Acar- Composition, nania. And planting his Campe about the Towne, and giving many sharpe affaults, he tooke it the third day after his comming by com. position, and left a Garrison of Etoliens therein taking their Oath. The Night following fifteene hundred Esoliens thinking that all things had Night following inteene nundred Esotiens thinking that an things had beene fafe, came to succour their fellowes. The King aduertised of dred Etoliens their comming, layed an Ambush, and slew the greatest part: The rest defeated by. were taken, except some few which escaped by flight. After this hee Philip. distributed Wheat to the Souldiers for a Moneth, for hee had gotten a great quantity in this Towne. Then he marcheth to the Region of

At the lame time the Acheins more tormented with the Warrethen the rest, and aduertised that the King was not farre off, they sent an Embassie vnto him to demand succours. The Embassadours met the King at Straton, where acquainting him with their necessities according to their charge, they intreate him to give them succours, and perswade him by many reasons, that in passing the Rhie, he should take his way thorough the Countrey of the Eliences. Hauing heard them, the King sent them backe, promising to consider thereon: who raising his Campe, marcht to Metropolis and Conope. Whereof the Esoliens being aduertised, they abandoned the Towne, and retired to the Fort. Metropolista-When as Philip had fet fire on the Towne, proceeding in his course, he ken and burne, drew to Conope. There the Etolien Horse-men had made a head, to An affembly encounter him at the passage of a River, twenty Furlongs distant from of the Brollens the Towne, to stop his passage, or to fight with him if he past.

the Stretenses, and plants his Campe necre to the River of Acheloe, a-

bout ten furlongs from the Towne: And from thence ouer running the

Province, hee puts all to fire and sword, for that no man durst shew

Philip advertised of their enterprize, commands those that were ar. Passage of a med with Targets to enter the River first, and that keeping close together, they should striue to passe in Battaile. Having obeyed him, the Esoliens having skirmished in vaine with the first Troupe, for that it kept close together, and afrerwards with the second and the third, in the end they retired to the Towne, despairing of their Enterprize. From that time the Esoliens Army kept the Townes: but Philip ouer-running

L1b. 4.

Ithoria verv ferong.

Peania taken

by affault.

210

the Province at his pleasure, spoiled Ithoria it selfe. It was a place seated upon the passage, of great strength both by Nature and Art: the which the Garrison abandoned voon his approach. The King razed it to the ground Finally, he ruined all, reducing under his obedience many Townes which were strong by scituation and fortification : demollishing all the Castles, whereof there were a great number in the Countrey. Then abating his fury, he gaue leaue vnto his men to run where they pleased for their owne gaine. After which he led his Army full of wealth towards the Eniades, and layed Siege to Peania, resoluting to take it by affault: The which he did after many attempts, for although A the Towne were not very bigge, having but a thouland paces in circuit : yet it was not inferiour to the rest in the strength of Walles. Towers and Houses. He razed the Walles to the ground, and ruined the Houses, commanding to carry away the Timber and Tiles to the Eni-

ades by Water. The Etoliens first began to fortifie the Fort of the Ceniades to defend it, rampring the Walles, making of Ditches, and doing all things necessary for the fortification of a Towne. But being aduertised of Philips approach, they fled for feare. Philip taking this Towne without any refistance, led his Army into Calydonia, to a certaine Towne which R was held very frong, called Glaos, the which was well rampred with Walles, and all manner of fortifications. Attalue had furnished the B. soliens with munition to defend it. But the Macedonians taking it by force, they ouer-ran and spoiled all Calydonia, and then returned vato the Eniades. Whereas Philip confidering the opportunity of the place, as well for other affaires, as for his passage into Morea, resolued to repaire the Walles. For the Enjades are Maritime opposite to Acarna. nie by the Sea which ioynes vnto the Etelieus, neere vnto the mouth of the Gulfe of Corinthe. It is a Citty scituated in Mores, right against the Bankes of the Dimeens, and neighbour to the Countrey neere vnto Araxis, distant onely a hundred Furlongs. Which things Philip con. fidering, hee fortified the Fort apart, and ioyned vato it the Port and Arsenall with a Wall, making vse of the materials which were brought

the Fort of the EniAdes.

from Peania. While Athat Philip was busie about this worke, hee receiued Letters from Macedony, by the which they did advertise him that the Daydanians doubting of his Voyage into Morea, made hafte to leuie men. and to make preparations for Warre, to fall fuddainly vpon Macedony. After which newes resoluing to succour it speedily, hee sent backe the Acheins Embassadours with this answere, that as soone as hee had gi-n uen order for his affaires of Macedony, hee would have nothing in fo great recommendation, as to come to their aide with all his forces. After this hee returned speedily with his Army by those Countries where hee had formerly past. And as he past the Gulfe of Ambracia, parting from Acarnania to Epirus, Demetrius of Phare (whom the Romans had chased out of Sclauonia) met him. Whom the King (imbra. cing him with great courtesse) caused to saile to Corinsbe, and from thence to march into Macedony by The Saly. Where drawing to Bjirm,

he presently transported initifelse into Macedony, to the Towne of Pella. But when the Dardanians were advertised by some fugiriue Thracians of the Kings comming, they presently dissolved their Army, being terrified with feare, notwithstanding they were neere voto Maredony. Philip aduertised of the retreate of the Dardanians, gaue leave voto his The retreate of Souldiers to gather new Corne, and every man to retire into his County without doing trey. For his part he went into Theffaly, and spent the rest of the Suin- any thing.

Arthe same time Panlus Emilius triumphed at Rome, after his re-A turne from Selauonia. Hannibal after the taking of Sagont, had fent his Army to winter. The Romans aduertised of the razing of Sagont, sent an Embaffie to Carthage, demanding Hannibal: and made their preparations for Warre, Publius Cornelius and Titus Sempronius being then created Consuls: Of which affaires wee have spoken in the precedent Booke. But we now make a briefe repetition, to refresh the memory: to the end that (as we have promised) all the actions may be present to the eyes of the Rcaders. The first yeere of this Olympiade is past. And when as the day of the Election which the Etoliens make, was come, they made choice of Dorimache for Generall of the Warre, Dorimache che-Who being teized of the Magistracy, he drew together a great num-ten Generall the Etoliens. ber of Souldiers, and falling vpon the high Countrey of Epirus, hee made a most cruell spoile : so as it seemed, hee did it rather to ruine the Epiroses, then for his owne profit. Then paffing the Temple of Iupiser Dodonee; he set fire of the Cloisters, and ruined all its beauty : and finally, he demollished it.

Behold how the Etoliens cannot observe any meane either in peace or warre, fo as both in the one and the other they violate the common conversation of men, and in a manner the Law of Nature. When as Derimache had committed all these mischiefes and many greater, hee C returned into his Country. But whilest that Winter lasted, and that enery man despaired of the comming of Philip by reason of the roughnesse of the time, and hardnesse of the Winter, the King taking three thousand men with Bucklers, and two thousand with Targets, with three hundred Candiois, and about fourehundred Horse, parted from Larifa: and taking his way by Thefaly, he came to Negrepone : and from thence passing by Beecia and Megara, in the midst of Desember he ariued at Gorinthe, making his voyage fo fecretly, as no man of Morea discovered it : then keeping the Gates of Corinthe shurs and ferting Watches upon the wayes, the day following hee fent to Si-D eyen for old Arate. He then advertised the Chiefe of the Acheins and Townes, of the time and place when they should be ready and in order. These things thus ordered, he continued his voyage as he had resolued, and seated his Campe neere to Diescore, a Towne of Philiafia.

At the same time Euripides parting from Psophis accompanied with two Legions of Eliences, Pirats at Sea, and some voluntaries, so as all together made two thousand two hundred Foote, and about a hundred Horse, tooke his way by Phenice and Stymphalia, being ignorant

212

Extipides from Symphalta.

The Mountaine of Aps aure.

Thy flight of Euripides.

A defeate of the Etoliens.

Arate loynes with Philip.

of P fopbis.

that Philip was in field, and defirous to spoile the Countrey of the Sievoniens. It fell out the Night that Philip camped neere vnto Diescore, that Euripides passing further at the breake of day, entred into the Countrey of the Sicyoniens, and that some Candiers which were with Philip, abandoning their Enfignes, and going to forrage met him. By whose meanes knowing that the Macedonians were neere, hee drew his army out of the Countrey, hoping that after he had past the Country of Stymphalia, he might eafily defeate the Macedonians in places of The retrease of advantage. Phillip having no advertisement, raised his Campe the next day at the Sun-rifing, as he had refolued, to take his way under A Seymphalia towards the Caphires: for there he had appointed the Acheins to meete in Armes.

When the Macedonian Scouts were come to the top of the Mounraine, which the Countrey-men call Apeanre, about ten Furlongs distant from the Stymphalins Towne, it happened by chance that the Scouts of the Eliences arrived there also. The which Euripides perceiving, and amazed at the disadvantage of the place and time, hee slies with some of them, and recovers Sophis by Groves which lay dispierced. The rest of the Eliences Troupe being amazed, as well fer that they were abandoned by their Commander, as for the newnesse of the accident, a were for a time in suspence what they had to doe. But conceiuing afterwards that they were Megalopolitains, to see the manner of their Harnesse (for the Macedonians carried Helmets) they marcht in Battaile, keeping good order for a time without any despaire. But when the Macedonians began to approach, (knowing then the truth) they abandoned their Armes, and fled. There were about twelue hundred taken aliue by the Enemy: the rest were saine, some by the Macedoni. ans like Sheepe, others falling downe the Rocks, so as there escaped not a hundred. Philip continued his course, and sent the spoiles and Prisoners to Corinthe. This seemed very strange to them of Morea, to whom the newes of the Victory, and of Philips arrivall came at one instant.

When the King had past by Arcadia, having suffred much vpon the way by Snow, and the difficulty of the Countrey, hee arrived at mid-night at Caphies on the third day. Where after hee had refresh't himselfe three daies, and that Arate the younger had joyned with him with his Troupes, so as the whole Army consisted of ten thousand men, hee arrived at Pfophis, passing by Cliteria, and made great prouision of Darts and Ladders taken out of the Townes where hee past. The seituation Psophis is a very ancient Towne of the Areadians, scituated in the midst of Morea, joyning to Arcadia vpon the West, and neere to the Countrey of the Eliences, who at that time had the gouernment. Where Philip arrived the third day after his departure from Caphies, and sea. ted his Campe vpon the Mountaines which are opposite, from whence he might discouer the Towne and Countrey round about without danger. Where viewing the strength, he was for a time in suspence : for towards the West there ran a swift Torrent along the walls : the which for the most part of Winter, was not to be waded thorough, so as no

man enters that way. And vpon the East it hath the River of Eriman. The River of the, which is great and violent: Of which the Poets and Historiogra- Erimanthe. phers tell many tales. Moreouer, the Torrent whereof we have spoken) defends and assures the third part towards the South. In regard of the fourth which lookes towards the North, it hath aboue it a Mountaine which is steepe and difficult, and seruesthem for a good Fort. By this meanes the Towne is defended on three fides by water. and on the fourth by the Mountaine: And moreover it is environed with good walls, made with great Art. Finally, there was a Garrison of Eli-A enfes, with that which Euripides had brought with him in his flight.

All these things considered, Philip was partly distasted to force it, for the difficulty thereof. And partly inflamed to befiege it, for the opportunity of the place. For hee confidered that as this Towne was an anovance to the Acheins and Arcadians (for that it was an affired Fort and fafe retreate for Warre to the Elienfes) so if it might bee taken. it would bee to them of great consequence, and a retreate to the Arcadians for the Warre. Wherefore in the end following this adnice. hee fent vnto the Macedonians, that they should bee ready the next day in the morning, and in Armes after they had fed. Then paf-B fing the Bridge of Erimanthe without any opposition, considering the strangenesse and greatnesse of the accident, hee came boldly, and log'dat the foote of the Wall. Whereat Euripides and the Chiefe of the Towne were in great doubt what to doe : for they immagined that the Macedonians had no conceite to bee able to force this strong Towne, and that they should not bee able to continue the Siege long during that season. Wherefore when as they saw no likelyhood of any Treason within the Towne, the greatest part run to the walles to defend them.

The Voluntaries of the Elienses made a fally upon the Enemy by the Atily of the C Gate which lookes directly to the Campe. But when as Philip had ap- Elitafe; you pointed men to set vp Ladders in three places, and a sufficient number the Massachini. of Macedonians for either of them, hee gaue warning for the affault. 485: Which done, they all fell to fighting with wonderfull fury. The befie. ged in the beginning defended themselves valiantly, and overthrew many which laboured to scale the walls. But when as their Darts and other munition failed them, as to men which had run hastily to the walls: and withall the Macedonians retired nor, but after the fall of one, the next ascended the Ladder, in the end they fled, and retired to the Fort. Then the Macedonians of the Kings Troupe recouered the wall. On the other fide the Candiots who fought with those which made their fally from the vpper part of the Towne, forced them in the end to flie, abandoning their Armes basely: And pursuing them with great fury, they slew many vpon the way, and entred the Towne with them: fo as it was taken in divers places at one instant. All the Burgesses retired into the Fort Popph taken with their Wines and Children. The like did Euripides, with the reft which had escaped the danger. The Macedonians being entred. they spoyled both publique and private houses, and afterwards kept themselves quiet within the Towne. They which held the

made betweens of Pfopbis and Philip.

214

Fort, being without victuals and other munition, they began to thinke of yeelding, fore-feeing the future. Whereupon they fent a trumpet to the King: and having obtained a passe-port for an Embassie, A composition they sent the Princes of the Towne with Euripides to Philip, who comthe Citizens pounded with the King, that in yeelding him the place, the Burgeffes and strangers might retire in safety. This done, they returned againe to the Fort according to the Kings command, not to depart before hee had retired his Army out of the Towne, left falling into the Souldiers hands, they might bee spoiled. The King stayed some dayes there by A reason of the roughnesse of the weather : during the which hee calls together the Acheins which were in the Army, and made a long speech vnto them of the scituation of the Town, and of its opportunity for the prefent War, putting them in mind of the love he bare them: Finally, he gaue them the Towne, to the end they should know plainely, that hee was refolued to please them in all things, and not to forget the affection and diligence which was requifite in their affaires.

After which Speech, when as the Acheins had given him thanks for his love and good-will. Philip leaves the Company, and drawing his Army presently together, he marcht directly to Lassion. The Pophi- R ens leaving the Fort came into the Towne, and every man returned to his house. Euripides retired with his men first to Corinthe, and afterwards into Etolia. The Chiefe of the Acheins which were there prefent, gaue the guard of the Fort to Proflac a Sycienian with a sufficient Garrison, and made Pythias Pellenense Gouernour of the Towne. And

this was the end of the P (ophiens Warre.

Laffion takeni

Philip giues forces to the

Acheins.

Straton.

When the Garrison of Lasson which consisted of Elienses, being (formerly aduertifed of that which had happened at P sophis) faw the Macedonians, they abandoned the Towne, as amazed at so strange an accident. So as Philip tooke it as soone as hee saw it. The which he likewise gaue to the Acheins, according to the loue and affection which hee bare them. Hee likewise gaue Straton to the Telpulsiens, which the Elienses had taken. This done, the fift day after hee arriued at Olympia: whereafter he had facrificed to the Gods, and made a solemne Banquetto all the Captaines, and refresht his men for the space of three dayes, hee marcht, and entring the Countrey of the Elienses, hee abandoned it to his Souldiers: Then planting his Campe neere to Artimisea, hee returned soone after to Dioscoria, bringing a great Booty from thence. Then making many Roads into the Countrey, there were a great number of men taken. Many also retired in n to the neighbour Townes, and into places of Arength: For the Region of the Elienfes is very fertile amongst the rest of Morea, in people and abundance of wealth: for that the greatest part of the Countrey people are given to tillage, imploying their time in labour, vnto the second and third generation : And alhtough they bee otherwise rich, yet they enter not into Townes. The which happens, for that the principall of the Townes have the Labourers in recommendation, and are very carefull that they may not be oppressed with the want of any thing of that which is requisite and necessary for them.

and that no man should do them wrong. In my opinion the ancients haue so ordained it, for that in old time the multitude was commonly given to tillage or rather for that they led a holy and religious life, when as with the consent of all the Grecians, they lived in fafety, free from all inconveniences and trouble of Warre, for the Combate which was made at the Olympicke Games. But when by the controuertie of the Arcadians, concerning Lassian and Pifa, they were forced to vindertake War for the defence of their Countrey and to leave their first manner of living, they cared no more to refume that ancient and heredita-A ry liberty given them by the Grecians, remaining in the fame efface. and making a bad discourse of the time to come. For if any may have from the Grecians (in observing right and justice) peace and quietneffe for ever, which is a thing which wee all demand of the immorcall Gods, and for the which wee endure any thing, and which all the world confesset to bee an vindoubted good, and yet they contemne it. and doe not esteeme it, or hold some other thing in greater recommendation, are not they to be held fooles and mad men? But some one will say vnto mee, that they which shall hold this course of life, shall not be able to defend themselves, when they shall be oppress with War-R or fome other outrage. This without doubt happens feldome, and if it doth, they may be defended and relieued by all the Grecians. And if it be a particular offence it will be no difficult thing to leuie men with the money which they have gathered together by long peace and reft? But now fearing that which happens seldome, and beyond all humane confideration, they confume themselves and their Countrey in continuall Warre and troubles Wee have thought good to relate these things of the Elienfes; for there was never time, when as a greater opportunity was offred, to recouer this liberty from all the Grecians, then at this day. The people then as wee have faid, dwelt in all affurance. Wherefore there were taken by the Macedonians a great number of men, although that many were retired in ftrong places. For there was affembled a great multitude of men and Cattell, with other wealth in a neere Burrough, which they call Thalame: for that the Countrey about it is very streight, the approach is difficult, and the Burrough very freepy, and in a manner inacceffible. Philip advertised of this great asfembly, and being loath to leave any thing which hee would not vider. take, recovers the places of advantage, to enter it with his Mercenaries: and marcheth in person by the streights of the Countrey with the men which bare Targets, and were lightly armed, leaving the Baggage, and D the greatest part of his Army in the Campe, and came vnto the Burrough finding no refistance.

The History of POLYBIVS.

They which were therein, amazed at the greatnesse of this accident, and ill furnished for the war, and without experience : having moreover many enprofitable persons for their age, yeelded presently: Among the Thalans which were two hundred Souldiers of divers nations, whereof Amphi- yeelds, damme Chiefe of the Elienses had the charge. Philip having made booty of all things, as of five thousand men, and of an infinite number of Cattell, returned presently to the Campe. And when as afterwards

the

the Souldiers feemed ynprofitable voto him for the Warre, being thus

Appelles Tutor

The malicious

policy of Ap.

pelles.

216

laden with spoiles, he raised his Campe and returned to Olympia. Appelles was one of the Totors which was left to Philip in his infancy by Antigenue, and had shen great authority and favour with the King. Who beginning to puactife with himselfe, by what meanes hee might reduce the Nation of the Acheins, to the same estate wherein the Theffalians were, he bethought himselfe of a notable villany. You must understand that the Thefalians seemed to line under their owne Lawes, and to differ much from the Macedonians, onely they endured all things like vnto them, and obeyed the will of the King. Where A fore Appelles tending hereunto, began to try the hearts of those that were in the Campe. And arthe first hee commanded the Macedona ans of that if by chance the Acheins should take any placebefore them. they should alwayes chase them away, and strip them of their Booty. Afterwards he caused some so be whipt by the hangman for small offences; And if any one questioned this kind of ourrage, or did succour them that were beaten, they were put in prilion, hoping by this meanes to accustome the Acheins to endure patiently what should please the King. Finally, when as some young men Acheins were affembled and come to Arate, relating vinto him the practife of Appelles. Arate confidering that B this must be prevented in the beginning, he came to Philip, and accompanied with these young men, delinered all things in order. Who being heard, Philip witht him to take no further care, and that hereafter they should not be so intreated. He gives charge to Appelles not to decree any things against the Acheins without the aduice of their Commander. Philip was held excellent in Eloquence and sweetnes of speech to perswade his Souldiers, and of great wisedome and courage in the profes-Gion of Armes, not onely in the judgement of Souldiers, but of all Mores: neither was it easie to finden King which had so many gifts of Nature. He was a man of great diligence, memory, and of a good afpect, and held, him worthy of an Empire, in whom there was a royall power, a great force, and an incredible courage in actions of Warre, and as he lavd the foundation of his Empire by formany great virtues, it is hard to fay for what reason he was in the end so perserted, and made an execrable and wicked Tyrant of a good and just King. Wherefore leaving this to another feason, we will returne to our discourse. Philip parring from Olympis with his Army, came first to Pharia,

Philip.

to the Elienses by Derimache.

then to Erea, where the Booty was fold, whereof wee haue spoken. Hee made a Bridge vpon Alphia, meaning to passe from thence into Triphalia. At the same time Dorimache chiefe of the Etoliens, sent D fuecours vnto the Elienses at their request, whilest they ruined their Countrey: being about fixe hundred Etaliens under the command of Philides, who passing by the Countrey of the Elienses, after that he had taken about five hundred voluntaries of theirs, and a thouland men of the City with the Tarentines, he came into Triphalia to succour the Allies. It is scituated in Mores, berwixt the Regions of the Elies as

and Messeniens, having drawne its name from Tripbalia in Arand its Townes sadia. Finally , it lookes towards the Sea of Lybia in ming to Acheia

voon the West. Wherein are comprehended the Townes of Sa. micon . Lepres . Hygianne . Typanea . Pyrgen . Epion . Bolac . Tylangion, and Phrixe. The which as the Elyenees held before, fo as they had also taken the Towne of the Alphirences, which formerly did belong to Arcadia, by the meanes of Alliades the Megalopolisaine. who deliuered it vnto them in exchange, at fuch time as hee was King. As soone as Phylides was entred into Triphalia, he sent the Eliences to Lepreon. and the Mercenaries to Alphira: and he remained at Tipanes.

having the Esoliens with him.

Lib. 4.

Philip leaving the Baggage, having past the Bridge of Alphia, which The scienation runs along the walls of Erea, he came to Alphira, which is scatted vpon of Alphira. a certaine Mountaine full of Caues and Pits round about it, and hath aboue ten Furlongs in ascent. Finally, it hath a Fort vpon the top of it, and the Image of Minerus made of Copper, much differing from others in greatnesse and beauty: The people of the Countrey know not The Image of who made it, nor at whose charge, nor at what time it hath beene ca rected. All the World holds for certaine, that it is the most excellent, worke among all those which Hecatedorus and Soffrates have made, The next Morning being cleare and bright, Philp commands many n Ladders to be brought, before the which he had Troupes of adventurers, and then the Macedonians, commanding them all at the Sun rifing, to make haste to creepe vp the Mountaines, and to affaile the philip affaile Towne. Which being performed, the Alphirenfes ran all to a place Alphire. where they saw the Macedonians vse the greatest force. In the meane

time Philip having with him the choice of all the Troupes, was come fecretly to the wall by a difficult Countrey. And when as the Souldiers affailed the Towne of all fides, and scaled it, Philip commanded to doe: the like vnto the Fort which was neere the Fortreffe : the which hee tooke fuddainly being vnturnished of Souldiers. When as the Alphirenfes faw it on fire from their walles, they were terrified with this new danger, fearing that if the Macedonians should take the Fortresse, there were no meanes of safety, they retired suddainly, abandoning the walls, the Macedonians tooke presently with the Towne. Afterwards they which held the Fortresse, yeelded it to Philip, to have their lives saucd, according to the Composition which they had made with him.

After these actions, the people of Tripbalia being amazed, were carefull of their fafeties : Philides also parting from Typanes, after he nad ranfack'd and spoil'd some houses, retired to Lopira. Behold the recompence which the Etolicas at that time made vato their Allies: fo as they D not onely abandoned them in their greatest extremity, but made them not onely abandoned them in their greatest extremity, but made them. The Typanestes fuffer things which were fearce fit to be endured by an Enemy. The Typanestes yiele vito paneates yeelded the Towne presently to Philip: the which they of Hip. Philip. pane did in like manner. In the meane time the Phialences having newes of that which past in Triphalia, being in Armes, tooke a place neere vnto Polimarche, detecting the alliance of the Etoliens. The Etolien Pirates who by chance were in that Towne in regard of the Meseniens, laboured in the beginning to relift the Phialences. But when they were aduertised that the whole Towne was of one accord, they gaue

Dd a

218

ouer their enterprize, and truffing vp their Baggage, departed. The The Phialences Phialences sent an Embassie to Philip, and submitted themselves and yeeld belief their Towne under his obedience. This being done, the Lepresses gaining a place of aduantage within their Towne, refolued to chafe away the Garrison of Eliences, Eteliens, and Lacedemonians. Philides in the beginning was nothing moued herewith, but continued still within the Towne. But when the King had fent Tauries with a part of his Army against him, and comming in person with the rest to Leprson, Philides and his Company hearing the newes, began to faint. Contrariwile the Lepreates growing more resolute, did an act worthy of me-The revolte of against the Eto- mory : For having within their Towne's thousand Bisences, fifteene hundred Etoliens, and two hundred Lacedemonians, Voluntaries, holding moreouer the Fort, yet their courage was fo great, as they refolued not to forget the lafety of their Countrey in lo great a danger. But when as Philides faw the Leprestes to profecute what they had

begun with fuch courage, and the Macedonians to approach neere vnto the Towns, he fled with the Elienfes and Lacedemonians, having no more hope of lafety. So as the Lacedemonians taking their way by Mesena, returned to their houses, and the Etoliens went to Samice with their Commander Philides. The Lepreates being Masters of the B Towne, fent an Embaffic to the King to yeeld it voto him. Who being heard, the King sent part of his Army thither, and pursuing Philides for a time, with those that were lightly armed, hee tooke all the Baggage, and Philides faued himselfe within a Castle. There the King planted his Campe, and made fhew to be lege the Towne, canfing the rest of his Army to come from Lepreon : wherewith the Esoliens and Elienfes being amazed, as having nothing wherewith to defend the Siege but their hands, began to parley for their safeties. Who going forth ypon the Kings word, retired to Elis. The King was prefently Lord of Samice. Afterwards divers others came to fubmit them-Townes which felues , fo as he tooke Phrixe, Tylangion, Epiron, Bolac, Pyrgon and C recldto Philip. Epicalion. After which he returned to Lepreon, having in fixe dayes

made all Typhalia fubica. There he made remonstrances to the Lepreates according to the time, and put a sufficient Garrison into the Fort, he led his Army to Erea, leaving Ladix of Acarnania, Governour of Tryphalia. Being arrived there, he divided the spoile among the Souldiers, and having made prouision of victuals, he tooke his way to Megalopelis in the heart of Winter. When as Philip was in Tryphalia, Chylon the Lacedemonian imma-

chylou.

gining that the Crowne of the City belonged vnro him, and being discontented at the infolency of the Magistrates in choosing Lycurgu, he began to plot an enterprize of revolte. Hoping therefore to gaine the loue and fauour of the people, if doing like vnto Cleomenes, he put them in hope to divide the Lands againe, hee doth his indeauour to bring it to effect. And communicating his practice to his Friends, he had 200. Confederates of his enterprize. But knowing that Lycurgus and the Magistrates which had made him King, would make a great opposition, he Rudied first how to present it. When as by chance all the Magistrates

fupr together, he affailes them by furprize, and kills them cruelly. Be- The Lacedemohold how Fortune prepared a punishment worthy the deedes which mian Magistrate they had committed. Beleeue me, there is not any man bucwill fay flaine by chylon. that they had well deserved to be punished by him, and for the cause for which they suffered. As soone as Chylen had done this Execution, he transports himselfe to Lycurgus house: And although he were there, yet he could not come at him; for hee was preferued by his Houfhold Seruants and by his neighbours, and retired vnto Bellene by vnknowne A wayes. Chylon frustrated of so great an opportunity, being wonderfully discontented, was forced to doe that which necessity required; and transporting himselfe to the place, he seazed upon all his enemies, and gaue courage to his friends, labouring to induce the rest to revolt. But when as he faw no man to like of it, and that the Citty was in mutiny against him, fearing what might happen, steales away from thence, and comes into Acheia alone, being chased out of his Countrev. The Lacedemonians fearing the descent of King Philip, retired with what locuer they had in the fields into their Townes : and fortified them with men and all forts of municion, razing to the ground Aphenee of the Megalopolitains : For that it feemed a very connenient place for the enemy.

It is certaine that whilest the Lacedemonians maintained their good gouernment, according to the Lawes of Lyeurgus, they were growne The Lacedemovery great vnto the Warre of Leudres. Since which time they be- formate after ganne to feele the croffes of Fortune, and their gouernment grew they had left worse, being full of many discommodities and intestine Seditions, with the Lawes of Banishments and ruines vntill the Tyranny of Nabydane: whose name they could not endure. These are things which haue beene related by many and are well knowne, fince that Chemenes ruined the governe. ment of the Country, whereof wee will speake heereafter when opportunity shall require. Philip passing by Megalopolis with his Army, drew to Argos by the Country of Tegerane, and there past the remainder of the Winter: purchasing a wonderfull renowne of all the World, aswell for his course of life, as for the things which he had done in this Warre, beyond the ftrength of his age. Appelles who (notwithftanding the Kings Commaundment) defifted not from his desligne, labou- lists in his end red by little and little to make the Acheins subject. And when he found terprize. that Arate and the rest that were with him, were opposite vnto his ends, and that the King had them in great Reputation, especially olde D Arate, for that he was in great Authority among the Acheins and Antigonus, and was moreouer a good and discreete man, he beganne to Traduce him with injuries. Then hee inquires what men there were in Acheia of a contrary faction to Arate, and drawes them vnto him. To whom hee gives a curreous and gracious reception, drawing them by perswasions to his friendship, and afterwards recommended them in percicular to the King, he gave him to vnderstand that if hee favoured the party of Arate, hee should enjoy the Acheins, according to the Contract of the League : But if ving his Councell he received the others into friendship, hee should dispose of all Morea at his pleasure.

Dd 4

Lab. 4

Eperate cholen chiese of the Acbeins.

The CaRle of

Mur yeilded to

Philip.

220

Moreover the time of the Election approaching, hee had an intent to cause one of the other Faction to be chosen. Wherefore hee beganne to solicite the King to be at Egis at the Common Assembly of the Acheins, as if he meant to goe from thence into the Elienfes Countrey. The King perswaded by his Words, came vnto Egia at the prefixed time: Where Appelles amazing the aduerle party, in the end prevailed with great difficulty. By this meanes Esprate was chosen Chiefe of the Acheins, and Tymexenes quite rejected, whom Arate had named...

After these things Philip drawing his Army from Egira, and mar- A ching by Patres and Dimes, hee went to a Caffle, which the Countrey-men call Mur, scituated in the Dimenses Country, and lately taken by Euripides, as wee have formerly faid. As hee hafted with great heate to yeild it to the Dimenses, having his Army ready in Battaile, the Garrison of Elienses was so amazed, as they presently veided themselves and the Castle, the which is not great in Circuit, but very strong by Scituation and Walles: For it had but two furlongs in Compasse, but the VValls had not lesse then seauen Fathomes and a halfe in height. Philip deliuering it to the Dimenses presently, hee ouer-ranne the Province to spoile it : After which he put all to fire and R Sword, and returned to Dime, laden with great spoiles. Apelles supposed that hee had effected part of his dessigne, for that the chiefe had beene chosen according to his desire, hee chargeth Arate againe, desiring to him into disgrace with the King and raiseth a slander voon him vpon these causes.

amphidamus Chiefe of the Elienses in the Burrough which thev call Thalame, being taken and fent with the other Prisoners, came to Olympia: And there hee beganne to feeke (by the meanes of fome) to speake vnto the King: To whom when hee was brought, hee told him that it was in his power to make the Elienses imbrace his Alliance and Friendship. The King perswaded with his Words, let him goe without ransome, with a Charge to tell the Elienfes, that if they would entertaine his Alliance, hee would deliuer all their Prisoners without ransome, and that hee would preserve their Province from danger, fuffering them moreover to live in liberty, and that hee would give them no Garrisons, nor pretend any Tribute, but would suffer them to leuie mercenary men where their Affaires required. The Elienses hearing these offers, would not accept of them, although they were great and profitable.

Appelles making this the occasion of his slander, goes to Philip, tel-n ling him that Arate and his Confederates kept no true Friendshippe with the Macedonians, nor entertained the League sincerely : For it was c raine they had beene the canfe that the Elienses had not accepted the Conditions of the Alliance which had beene offered them: For at that time when as hee fent Amphidamus to Olympia, they had vied fpeeches secretly vnto him, that it was not for the good and benefit of Mores, that Philip should be Lord of the Elienses; and by this meanes the Elienses, disdayning the conditions of Peace, observed their League

with the Bioliens . and indured the Macedonian Warre. This Speech being ended . Philip caused Arms with the Acheins to be valled , and Commanuds appellanto speake the same Words in their Presence, the which hee performed boldly and without blothing: Finally, the King The accusation speaking not any thing, hee said moreover vnto them: And for that gains drate & Arate the King hath found you ingratefull and deceirfull, hee hath ret the Acheins. folued to returne into Macedony, Maning first called the Achterns, and acquainted them with the occasion. Whereunto estrait answered The Answere The King faud here phohe noise helesin 18 hills him to the of drate. The King, fayd hee ought notes beleeve lightly; bur to confider well of the businesse, when they speake any thing against his Allies and Friends, before hee give credite to a slander. This is proper for a King and very profitable in all things. And therefore in this flander you thust call them that heard the VVords, and let appelles enter with them, and omit nothing that may bee necessary to discouer the Truth, before it be reuealed to the Affembly of the Athans. This answere was pleasing vinto the King a faying That he would diligent ly fearch out the trueth, they theh departed.

But within few dayes after withen as Appelles could not finde any proofe of those things which hee had objected; there was by chance a great testimony found of write his innovency : For whilst that Philip B ruined the Pronince, the Elienfes having fome luspition of Amphidamus, had resolved to take him and to fend him bound into Etolia. The which Amphidamus discontentio, hee steales away secretly, and comes first to Olympia: But having certayne newes that Philip stayed at Dyme to divide the Spoile, he went speedily vnto him. As soone as Arate had newes of the banishment of Apalidance from his owne Countrey, hee was wonderfull joyfull, knowing that hee had not committed any thing against the Macedonians, and goes vnto the King, intreating him to call Amphidamus: For hee was the man that could give best satisfaction in those things wherewith hee was charged, 6 to whom the Words had beene spoken . And that moreover he would willingly deliuer the trueth, feeing that for the loue of Philip hee had beene Banished his Natiue Countrey, and that all his hope confisted in him onely.

At whose words the King was mooned, and calling for Amphidamus hee found that Appelles had fallly flandered him. Wherefore after that day hee held Arate in greater esteeme and fauour, but disliked the practife of Appelles; although hee were forced to indure this and many other things for the great Authority which hee held. But Ap. Taurian dipotpelles changed not his humour: Hee deprined Taurion of the gouerne- left of the goment of Mores, not taxing him with any offence, but commending Mores. and holding him worthy to bee in the Campe about the King, for that hee desired to put another in his place. Behold a new invention of the conditions flander to wrong any one, not in blaming him but in commending him. There is also found (but principally among Courtiers) a malicious diligence accompanied with Enuy and fraud, by a mutuall lealousie Alexander

and extreame Auarice.

Hee did likewise indeauour to disappoynt Alexander the Chamber- to King dans

laine. genes.

The flander of Appelles.

laine, and affected the care of the Kings Person for himselfe and finally to breake all the Order which wasigeness had left. Who had duly performed his dury in the Government of his Realme and Sonne during his life: And dying hee prouided wifely for the future : For he left a Will, by the which hee fer downe an order what the Macedonisas should doe, and what charges they should execute, labouring to take away all occasions of Ambition and Discord, which might rise in Court. Hee appointed Appelles to be Tutour to his Sonne, who had beene at the Warre with him : And hee made Leence Chiefe of the Souldiers which carried Targets, and Megalee Chancellor, and Tan. ries Gouernour of Mores.

It is true, that appelles at that time held Leonce and Megalee in his Subjection, and was resolved to chase away Alexander and Tansien: To the end hee might supply their places in Person or by his Creatures. The which undoubtedly hee had done if Arate had not prevented it. But now hee fuffers the paine of his folly and Couctoufnesse: For within a short time after hee suffered that, which hee laboured with all his power to doe vnto others. But wee will forbeare at this present to deliver the causes, making an end of this Booke, and we will endeauour in the following Booke to let downe enery thing in its place.

After this Philip came to Arges, where hee past the remainder of the Winter with his friends, and fent backe his Army into Macedons.

The end of the Fourth Booke of Polybius.



The



BOOKE the History of OLYBIVS.

AHe Yeare of Arate his Government being ended about May (for fo the Acheins meafure the time) he left it , and Epirate tooke Eperate Chiefe it : And Dorimache was then Chiefe of the and Dorimache Etoliens. At the same time Summer be- of the Etolieni, ginning, Hannibal was parted from Carthaze with his Army, for that the Warre

lgrew hote betwint the Romans and the Garthaginians, and made hast (passing E. bro) to goe into Isaly. Then the Romans Sent Titus Sempronius with an Army into Affricke, and Publim Corneli. w into Spaine. Antiochus and Peolomy having no more hope to decide their Controuerfie concerning Syria, neither by Embassies nor meetings, had begunne the Warre. And then King Philip prest with want of Victuals and money for his Army, caused the Acheins to affemble by their Magistrates. But when as the people were met at Egis, according to the custome of the Countrey, the King seeing Arate much discontented for the affront which hee had received from Appelles, at the time of the Election, and that Eperate was disdained of them all, as a man fimple by Nature and floathfull, and was helde as a scorne, knowing also the treachery of Appelles and Leonce, he beganne againe to turne his affection to Arate. And after that hee had perswaded the Magistrates to referre their Diet to Sieyon, hee spake curteoufly to olde and young Arate, and perswaded them to continue in

Philip by the

224

their first affection, charging appelles with all that had beene done. Whereunto they contenting, here presently after his entry into the Assembly, obtained by their fauous what locuer was necessary for his present affaires. For it was ordered by the Acheins that they should pay vitto the King thirty thoughted Crowsles. That is to say, three moneths pay for the Southers, and threescore and eleauen mines of Wheate, (encry mine being valued at the Quarters & Combe and a Bushell of London mines of with all agong as Paris thould remaine in Morea, he should have fixe thouland two hundred Crownes monethly. Which being done, the Acheins returned every man to his Towne. But win. A ter being past, and the Troupes returned, the King thought it best to assaile the enemy by Sea: for hee saw well that by this meanes hee might enter their Countres, and surprise them on either side, and that they should not beeable to succour one another, aswell for the distance that is betwire them, and for the newnelle of the Warre by Sea, as al. fo for that they should bee amazed at the suddaine descent of their Enc. mies : for at that time hee made Warte against the Etoliens , Lacedemonians, and Elienfes.

the Macedoniaus;

cy of Appelles

and Leence.

After this resolution, hee drew together the Acheins Vessels and his owne at Leche, a Port of Corinthe: Commaunding that in the meane 1 time, they should inure the Souldiers to the Oare, wherein the Macedenians did him great service. You must vinderstand that they are excellent men at Land in a pitcht field, and ready at Sea in Combates of Surprize. Moreover, they have not their equalls to Rampire and Fortifie: and they complaine not of their paines in such affaires: Finally, they are like vnto the Eacides, whom Hefiedus brings in rejoycing more for Warrethen a Banquet. The King flayed at Corinthe with the Macedemans, being busic in the preparation of the Sea Army. Appelles The Confere, who could not alter the Kings humour and disposition, nor suffer any abatement in his credite, being full of disdaine, hee made a Conspiracy with Leonce and Megalee, which was, that they being prefent, should hinder the Kings enterprizes, when opportunity did ferue; and that for his part he would goe to Chaleis to Stoppe the Victualls that should come to the Kings Army. When he had plotted this, hee went prefently thither, to put it in practife against the King : wherein hee kept his Promise, and forced him to ingage his plate and all the rest of his mooueables.

When as the Army at Sea was drawne together, and the Macedonians accustomed to the Oare, and that the Souldiers had received Corne and Money, Philip fet Saile to Corinibe, and arrived three dayes after, p having fixe thousand Macedonians, and twelve Hundred Mercenaries. At what time Dorimache Chiefe of the Etoliens fent Agelane and Scope vnto the Elienses with twelve Hundred Candysss newly levied. The Elienfes fearing that Philip would come and beliege Collene, levied Voluntaries with all speede, and likewise made a leuy of men within the Citty, doing their indeauours to fortifie Cyllene. Philip advertised hereof, hee left at Dime the Mercenaries of the Acheins, and the Candjots which hee had with him, and some Horse-men Gaules, and

The forces which Philip left #Djme.

about two thousand foote of the choice of the Acheins, for the guard and fafety of the place against the affaults and attempts of the Elienfes. And as a little before he had Written unto the Weffeniens, Epirotes, Mearnaniens and to Scerdilaide, to meete him in Cephalenia with their Equipage by Sea, hee parts presently from Patres, and failes directly into Cephalenia to the Burrough of Prones. But when he saw it difficult to besiege, and the Countrey streight, hee past on with his whole Army, and came to Palea: Where feeing the Region fertile in Corne, and in all other manner of munition, and fit to feede his Army, he landed his men, and planted his Campe neere vnto the Towne Wals. He also drew his shippes a shore, and inuironed them with deepe Ditches and strong Pallisadoes, fitting for their defence. Hee likewise sent the Macedonians to forrage, and himselfe went to view the Towne: and refolued to fet vp his Engines, and to make all necessary preparations to force it, meaning to attend the succours of friends and Allies, and to make the Towne subject to his obedience: As well to deprive the Elienfes of the greatest benefite and commodity they had by Sea (for without doubt they failed into Morea by night, with the Cephalenian shippes, and spoiled the Sea Coasts of the Epiretes and Acarnaniens) asalfo to prepare this. Towne for his Allies, as a retreate in the enemies Country.

Now for the Scituation of Cephalenia, it lyes within the shore of The scituation the Corinthian Gulfe, looking towards the Sea of Sycily, and bends of Cephalenia. towards the parts of Morea; which turne towards the North and West, and likewise towards the Pronince of the Elienses, and the parts of Epirus, Etolia, and Acarnania, which have their aspect towards the South and East. VV herefore he resolued to do what possibly hee might, to Conquerthis Iland, for the place was very convenient to affemble the Allies, and well feated to offend the enemies Townes, and for the defence of those of the League. And when hee faw that all the Quarters of the Towne were inuironed, partly with the Sea, and partly with steepy Rockes, and that there was onely a little plaine which lookes towards Zacinthe, hee was fully refolued to plant his Battery there, and to prepare and make all things necessary for the liege.

if. In the meane time there arrived fifteene shippes of VV arre sent by scerdilaide, faying, that for the present hee could not furnish and make ready any more, by reason of some mutinies and dissentions D which had lately happened in Sclauonia. There also arrived succours and supplies from the Epirotes, Acarnaniens, and Messeniens, as he had ordained : For the Messeniens maintained the rest of the VVarre freely, after the taking of the Citty of Phigalee. VVhen as the King had prepared and made things necessary for the siege, and the En. gines of Battery were appointed in convenient places, hee approaches them to the Towne incouraging and giving heart to his men: By whose meanes after they had mined, they presently openeda Quarter of the VVall the which was vnderpropt with great peeces of Timber, for great is the experience & knowledge of the Macedonians in fuch affaires.

Lib. s.

226

Then Philip approaching neerer vnto the Wall, hee beganne to summon the befieged to yeilde. But vpon their refufall, they fuddainely fet fire en that part of the Wall, and ouer-threw it. This beeing Lames a Tray- done hee sent the Souldiers which carried Targets to make the point, being vader the Charge of Lience, commanding them to affaile it and enter that way.

Leonce remembring his Conspiracy, and finding an opportunity to put it in execution, perswaded three young men of his followers, which marcht before all his Troupes to the affault of the Towne, that they should hinder the taking thereof, winning the Captaines of their A acquaintance, and Charging very faintly as if they were affraide. By this meanes they were shamefully repulfed and beaten off from the affault having many Wounded and foare hurt : Although they might eafily have had the Victory, and have come off with a great deale of honour. The King seeing the searce of the Captaines, and the multitude that were Wounded, raifed the fiege. And from that time hee affembled his Friends and Allies, holding a Councell of that which hee had to doe for the future.

Embaffadours fent to Philip from the Mef-Ceniens and A. carmaniens,

In the meanetime Lycurgus entred into Messenia with an Army: And Derimache with halfe the Etoliens, fals into Theffaly : Wherefore Embassadours come vnto the King from the Acarnaniens and Messens. He of the Marnaniens intreated him to make a Descent into the Etoliens Country, to the end hee might draw Derimache from his Enterprize, and that he would spoile and consume all the Enemies Countries. He of the Messeniens demaunded Succours, shewing that it was but a dayes iourney from Cephalenia vnto Messena, a Northerly Winde blowing : And therefore Gorgon fayd that the Voyage would besuddaine and of great profite and gaine. Leonce remembring his Conspiracy, helde for gorgen, seeing plainely that by this meanes, Philip thould spend all the Spring in doing nothing : For the Voyage from thence to Messens was casie, but the returne impossible; for the C Winds blew still Northerly.

Wherefore it was apparent that if Philip past with his Army this ther, hee should consume the rest of the Spring idlely, and in the meane time the Eteliens ouer-running Thefally and Epirus, would put all to fire and Sword. This was the reason why hee Councelled this and such like things. But Arste was of a contrary minde and opinion: For hee was of aduice that they should sayle into Esolia, and to make Warre first there: For hee immagined that the time was very fitting and convenient to spoyle and ruine the Province, for that the Etoliens were gone to the Warte with Derimache. The King fold D lowed no more the Councell of Leone in any thing, both for that the affaires succeeded ill in the last slege, as for that hee was resoluted to imbrace that of Arate, confidering the long experience and pra-Rische had of his Wisedomes Wherefore hee wrore vnto spereses Chiefe of the sebeins that in holding the Legions suddainely ready, hee should succour and ayde the Messense. And in the meane time he parts from cephalinia, and two dayes after arrives in the middle of

the night with his Army by Sea at Leucade : And from thence holding his course a long the Sea of Ambracia, the which as wee have for merly layd, parting from that of Sycily, extends it felfe into Etolia. And when hee was come vnie the Marthes, hee flaved there a little before day, and causeth his men to feede and refresh their weary bodies in Commanding them to be ready without any Baggage. Then he called his guides and inquires of the places and Townes, and of all things elle that were necessary.

The History of POLYBIVS.

At the lame time Carifoghames arrived with a good Troupe of carnations, it having a great defire to revenge the great and many out A rages which the Esoliens had done them in former times. Wherefore receiling the Macedonians willingly, they drewere Armes, not they dhely which were bound by the Law , but even many olde men. The Epirote had no telle defire to doe the like for many realons : But they could not affemble in time for the great extent of the Prounce, and the widdaine comming of Philip. Dorimache, as wee have for merly fayd, had halfe the Brillens with him, and left the reft in fenerall parts of the Countrey to be ready, if any new accident should happen.

The King parting after noone from the Fenns, and having left fuffic cient force to guard the Baggage, when hee had marcht about three fcore Furlongs, he planted his Campe. Where after hee had flayed some tertaine space, and had caused his Souldiers to feede, and refreth themselves being formerly wearied, he continued his course : So as marching all make, he arrived before day at the River of Acheloe, The River of betwixt Conope and Strate, feeking to furprize Therme by a way which they did not regard. Leonce and Megake fore-faw for two reasons that the King would prevaile in his enterprize, and that the Esoliens would haue the worlt. The one was, that the Macedonians descent was sud-C daine, and much more speedy then they could immagine . The other, that the Etoliens fearing not that Philip paffing by those rough and difficult Countries, would be unprouided. Wherefore confidering thefethings, and mindfull of their Conspiracy, they aduled Philip that in feating of his Campe neere to the River of Achelee, he should refresh his Army for the last nights labour: Hoping that by this meanes the Esoliens should have time to seeke for succours, from their friends

But Arate holding the time very precious to effect the Kings Refo. lution, and that Leonice and Megalee like Traytors fought how to ftop and preuent his passage, hee intreates Philip not to loofe fo faire an opportunity. Following whose aduse, the King beginning to bee difcontented with Leonce and Megalee, hee proceeded in his journey! And passing the River of Acheloe hee marche directly vnto Therme with his whole Army, putting all to fire and Sword : On the left hand hee left the Townes of Strate, Agrinia, and Teftia : And uppon the right hand he left Conope, Lysimachia, Tryconia, and Philea. Beeing come to the Towne of Methape, which lyes betwirt Tryconia and the Fenns, about threescore furlongs diffant from Therme, the Etoliens fled.

Where-

Methape taken by Philip.

Wherefore hee tooke it a and pur into it a Garrison of five hundred

The order the fireights of

Therms.

nians.

men, to the end he might make vical it for a Reugate, aswell in his passage as in his returns by those streights. For the Countrey especially about he Fennes is Mountainous, difficult, and inhiroged with thicke Forreits. The second to the second se

accessible. Then he put the Voluntaries in the foreward, and after them the Scianonians : Then followed the Targeteers and the Legimaries, and in this manner her marche thorough, the freights, having held to passe the Candysto in the Rears, and the Americas on the right Wing for A a support. In regard of the last side she Fenore, did fortific them about thirty Authors in length or anher more: When hee had speedily past the Greights, and saken, the Burrough of Ramphia , and had pura Garrifon into it subsproceeded towards Theme which is not onely difficult and inaccoffible, but bath allo deep Vallies round about Berloas in forme placeathe way is dengurous and nersow, with an Alfoncabenthery furlongs high, wathe, which having foone past, for Therme (poyled that the calleged among had carried them follows like brave men, hee by the Macedon came in the dead of the night vnto Therme, a very rich and likewife a faire Towne : Where planting his Gampe, hee abandoned the Countrey and the Houses of Therme to the spoile of the Souldiers, the which were furnished not onely with Come, and all other manner of munition, but with the richest mooncables of the Ejeliens : For enery man carried thirther the sichest stuffe hee had, for that yearely they kept Faires and Featts there , and they made their Election . And withall they held this place for the lafelt and most surest of all the rest, whereunto no man durst approach; being such by Nature; as it seemed to be the Fort of all Etolia.

Wherefore the Houses (considering their long peace) were full of all Wealth, not onely those that were neere vnto the Temple, but in all other places. They refled this night within the Towne, being inricht with spoiles. The next day they made choyse of the best, and fer fire of the reft. They also tooke the best Axmes, which hung vp in their Cloysters or Galleries, and changed forme, fetting fire of the reft, being about fifteene theuland. You must vuderfland that hitherto they manuaged the Warre infily, and according to its Lawes. But I know not what to fay of that which followes : For they ruined all the Cloysters and stately Houses, and ouer-threw all the ornaments which had beene made with great care and Charge, calling to minde that which the Eteliene had done at the Temple of lapiter Dodonet. They not onely confumed the building by fire, but they ruined all the D Walles : And withall they ouer-threw and beate in peeces aboue two thouland Images, yetthey would not touch those which had the figure or inscription of one God. They had grauen uppon the Walles. when as the dexterity of Same, the fonne of Chrifegone (who had beene nurft with the fame milke that the King) beganne to shew it felfe,

Thou feest the God, which will terrific him with his Dart.

The King and his Friends thought they had done well, and that by meanes they had reuenged with the like recompence the execration which the Etoliens had made vnto God. But for my owne part, 1 am of another opinion; and every man may judge whither I have reafon, calling vnto minde the example of Kings of the same Line, and not of other Races. When as Antigonus had chased away Cleome of Antigonus to A nes King of the Lacedemonians and was Lord of Sparta, hee forbare wards the Lato vie any outrage or cruelty to the Lacedemonians, and carried him- sedemonians. selse not onely like a moderate and temperate man, but was also gracious vnto his Enemies : And returned into his Countrey leaving the Lacedemonians in their full liberty, doing them many fauours, both in generall and perticular. So as they not onely tearmed him at that time their Benefactor, but likewise after his Death they called him their Sauiour : So as hee not onely purchased Prayse and immortall glory with the Lacedemonians, but likewife withall other Nations, Moreouer Philip who first inlarged the Realme of Macedony, and made the name of his Race great, hee did not winne the esthenians (after that hee had Vanquished them in Cheronia) so much by Armes, as by his milde course of living, and the sweetnesse and gentlenesse of his Nature.

It is true, that hee Vanquished those that came against him to Battaile : and had wonne the Athenians and their Citty : Not by a continuance of his Choller and indignation against the Vanquished, but in fighting with his Enemies vntill occasion were offered to shew his mild. The outselfe of neise and Vertue: For hee sent vnto the Athenians (who had done him ther of Alexan) many wrongs) their Prisoners free, and caused such as had beene slaine derto the Ather C in the Buttaile to bee interred, foliciting the Athenians afterwards, viante so carry away the bones vnto the Sepulchers of their Auncestors. And afterwards fending backethe fayd bones, and many flaues freed, being lightly attired with Antipater, hee decided a great businesse by his industry : So as the votamed hearts of the Athenians, being Variquished by his magnatimity, they were alwaies after obedient vito him , and ready to fasisfic his defires. What did Alexander; whose Alexander the Choller was so great against the Thebanes, as hee made all the Citti Great. zens flaves; and razed their Citty vnto the ground, reducing some of their Princes into feruitude, fending others into Banishment, and raking all their Wealth ! Yet his rage and fury did not lo farre exceede, as to force and violate the Temples of the immortall Gods, wling all possible diligence, to keepe his meiristion committing any disorder and villanys: And when bee past into Asia, to renenge the outrages which the Persians had done voto the Brecians, hee punished the men which had committed them, according to their deferts: but hee touched nor the Temples: Although the Persians had most wronged the and a military

This Philip (hould have confidered, to the end hee shoulding bee so Ec 3

much esteemed, the Heire of the afore-sayd Kings in their Soueraign-The blame of ty, as in life and Conuerfation. Hee did what possibly hee could in Philip. his life time, to shewe himselfe to bee of the blood of Alexander and Philip: But heedid not care to imitate them, nor to doe as they had done. Wherefore leading another course of life, hee also lest another opinion of him with all Nations. For as hee laboured to yeeld the like vnto the Etolieus for their outrages, and to purge euill by euill, he thought not to offend. Calling to minde the outrages which Scope and Dorimache had done unto the Temple of Inpiter Dodonee, hee did not perceive that he committed the like errour, fraying wonderfully from A The Lawer of reason. It is true that the Lawes of Warre, permit to vie cruelty against enemies, and to ruine and spoile their Castles, and Gardens, Warren Townes, and Burroughes, Shippes, Fruites, and fuch like: To the end that their forces may be weakned, and his owne fortified and augmented. But it is the Act of a furious and mad man, to ruine those things that are neither any way profitable or commodious vnto himfelfe, nor hurtfull vnto his enemy : As Temples, Cloisters, Images, and fuch like.

It is not fitting that a good and vertuous man; should persecute his Enemy to his totall ruine. It sufficeth onely that the faultes of Delin- & quents may be purged and Corrected; and not to ruine with the vniust those things which have not offended, nor to seeke to destroy and pull downe with the Enemy that which hath committed no outrage. It is the practife of a cruell Tyrant, to Raigne in doing euill, forcing The practice of his people thorough feare, and living in mutual hatred with his Sub-The Duty of a icas. But the duty of a King is to doe good vato all men, gouerning his people without feare, with bounty and Clemency: And living with his Citizens in mutuall lone and friendshippe. But wee shall see more plainely the great errour which Philip committed, if wee shall truely confider the opinion which the Eteliess might have had of him, if hee had not ruined the Cloisters and Images, nor carried away the Ornaments of the Temple. I conceive that beeing culpable of the things, which had beene committed at the Temple of Ispite Dede. mee, they might have seene plainely that Philip could have done the like, and yet it had beene cruelty, the which notwithstanding in thewe bee had done with reason: And that bee would not imitate and follow their Wickednesse in regard of his Bounty and Magnanimity, they would undoubtedly have condemned themselves for their faultes, in commending and appropuing Philip with great admiration, for that like a magnanimous King, hee had carried a respect vinto the Gods, and n executed his Choller vpon them.

a Tyrant.

230

There is no doube, but it is better to vanquish an Enemy by mildenemy by mild nesse and Clemency; then by force and might: For by Armes necessis ty forgeth men to obedience; burmildnesse drawes them to it willingly. By the one faults are corrected with loffe : And by the other offendersamend and reforme themselves without damage. Moreover in the one the Souldiers attribute vnto themselves the greatest part of the glory, which is a great matter: But in curtesie, gentlenesse, and

mildnesse, all the Victory is given vnto the Commander. So as happily considering his age, they will not attribute to Philip the greatest part of those things which he had done, but to those that were in the Warre with him, of which number were Arate and Demotrine of Phare. The which would be easie to say vnto him, although he had not beene there present, and that this outrage done vnto the Gods, had beene by the aduice of one of them. It is true, that this was done contrary to the course of Arates life, during the which hee never did any thing rashly, nor without consideration : whereas Demetrine did alwayes the contrary. There are likewise particular presumptions thereof, whereof we A will speake when it shall be fit.

The History of POLYBINS.

Ph lip then (returning to our discourse) parts from therme, laden with all spoiles : and returnes the same way he came, causing the Baggage to goe before, with those that were best armed : and placing the Acarnaniens in Rearward with the Mercenaries, he made haste to passe the streights. He seared that the Enemies relying vpon the advantage of the place, might charge him in the Reare. The which was presently put in practife, for that the Etoliens having drawne together three thouland men, neuer approaching neere vnto Philip, whilest hee held B the high Countrey, made their Ambushes in scattred places under the command of Alexander. But when the Rearward began to march, they entred into Therme, charging them vpon the Taile. When as the al- The Etolicus larum was giuen, the Etoliene relying much voon the aduantage of charge Philips places, purfied them with great courage. But Philip having wifely Rearward. pronided for the future, had left the Sclanonians in Ambush vader a certaine Hill, with many others that were armed with Targets. Who feeing the pursuite of the Esoliens, they marcht against him with great fury; and presently slew sixe or seauen score, and tooke as many: the rest saued themselves by infamous and shamefull slight.

C. The Acarnanians and Mercenaries, after they had gotten the victofy, they presently set fire on Paphia: and when they had past the capbia burns, freights with great speed, they found the Macedonians. Phillip feated his Campe neete vnto Methape, staying for his men. And parting Methape razed from thence after he had razed it, he comes to a Towne called Arres. Then continuing his way for three dayes together, hee wasted the Whole Countrey: The day following he planted his Campe neere voto Conope, where he stayed the next day. After which hee march't at the breake of day towards Strate, where hee past the River of Acheloe, and lodged within a Bowes shoote of the Towne, drawing the Inhabitants often to skirmish. For he had beeneaduertifed, that there were three thouland Exelien foote within it, and about foure hundred Horle, with fine fiundred Candiots. When as no man durk come forth, hee raifed his Campe againe, and at the first tooke his way towards the Fenns, to recouer his ships. But when as the Reare of his Army began to passe the Towne, a number of Etolien Horfe-men make a fally and charge The Beoliens them. They were prefently followed by a Troupe of Candiers, and made a fally many Etoliens came to fuccour their Horfe-men, the Acarnaniens being in danger, turned head against the Enemy, and the Combate began

betwixt

Libisi

TIGE TO ATAIL .

Megalee and

betwixt them. The Victory was long in suspence: Finally, Philip sent the Sclausnians to succour the Mercenaries. Wherefore the Etoliens being vanquished, fled of all sides. Those which the King had sent. pursued the greatest part of them to the Gates and walls of the Towne. whereof there were a hundred flaine in the chase : the rest durst no more shew themselves in Field. By this meanes the Kings Army reti-

red without danger to their ships.

After which Philip planted his Campe, and gaue thankes vnto the Gods for the good fortune which he had obtained according to his defire : And making a Banquet, he isuited all the Capraines. It feemed A true, that he had past by dangerous places, into the which no man before him durft lead an Army. But he not onely past them, but did what he would, and returned without loffe or danger. Moreouer, Mega-Lee and Leence (discontented at the Kings good fortune having sworne to Appelles to hinder all his enterprizes; which they could not effect, for that all things succeeded happily to Philip) were present at this Supper fed and penfiue : so as they discouered easily vnto the King, and to the other assistants what their hearts were. But when the Tables were taken away, and they were well inflamed with their free drinking, they returned to their Tents, seeking for Arate. Whom when they met vpon the way, they yied many iniurious speeches against him and Legace docoute began to affault him with stones. But for that much people came of cither fide to succour them, there grew a great mutiny in the Camper Philip hearing the Trumpet, fent men to inquire, and to pacific this tumult. To whom Arase declaring the businesse as it had past, and referring himselfe to the testimony of those that were present, hee returned presently vnto his Tent. Leonce retired secretly out of the prese. Philip causeth Megalee and Crinon to be called, with whom he was much offended. And when as they answered him proudly, that they would neuer cease untill they had beene reuenged of Arase: The King incen-Crinon condem fed therewith, condemned them presently in twelve thousand Crownes. King in 12000, and to bee committed to Prilon. Three dayes after he calls for drate, and intreates him not to care, promiting him to give order for all things when as opportunity shall ferue. Legace, aduertised of the imprisonment of Megalee, came with force to the Kings Tent : immagining that Philip (confidering his youth) would alter his sentence for searce. Being come before the King, he demanded what man was to hardy to lay hand on Megalee, and who had committed him to Prison. But when as the King answered boldly, that hee had done it, Leones went away amazed, and in a manner fighing. See

Philip ferting fayle with his Fleete, came prefently to Leucade : where after he had appointed men to divide the spoile, he called all his friends to judge Megales. There Arate laied before them the outrages of 14ance, the great wrongs he suffred in the time of Antigonie, the Conspiracy he made with Appelles, and the hinderance he gave at Malea: To all which things he produced witnesses. Whereunto when Asses nation of Ma- lee nor Crimen could not answere any thing, they were condempedby all the affembly. Whereupon Crinen remained a Prisoner But

The condem

]Xj∀/...

Megales was delipsed upon Lipsices caution. This was the chare of Appellar and his Confederates a whole Fortune was not fuch asthey exu peded lear hoping to tertifio want, and to doe what they would with the Kings and by this meane are prousile in their wills, all things from ceeded contrary commences in only as easy popular in the conso ent

la sile meane tinid Licurgus reviers out of the Meffentens Countres hauing done narbidg worthy of memory. Afterwards parting from Latte count with an Army, he took ethe Towne of Etch, and belieged Lieuren take the Fort, whereinto the Cittizens were retired where after hee hadrice Towns of A flayed there formerine; and feeing his labour for where wirned againe Bles. to Agent. And when as the Him grouer ran the Countrey of the Di mangas same Hoth men which were in Ambulh and come to fuccour them oplushem easily to flight, and flew a good number of graphs, tack king Prisoners those of the Townes of Polymede of Egiza Merspoli and Diede of Dime : w Die mache was gone in the beginning with an Army onely of Endians o thinking this ho migherafully ouer run Thefield, and by this meanes draw Philip cornin lis Diege from Pales. But being aid nersifed of the preparation of Chrylagones and Petres to come and fight with him I be durit not enret into the Plained but alwayes kept the rope of the Mountaines with his Aimy: And when he had newes of the comming of the Macedonians into English the leaties The Saly prefently to goe and wecour his Countrey : where being addertifed of the Kings retreat, not knowing what to doe, and distippointed it all his enterprizes, he remained fad and discontented when by a said han

The King at his departure from Lencade with his Fleete, having spois led and wasted the Sea coasts, landed at Corinche with his Army, leg. Philipcomesto uing his ships at Liebes: Then he lent Letters to all the allied Townes of Corinthe, Morea, to aduertife them of the day when they fhould come in Armes to Trgee. 5 Which shings being thus ordered, without making any long C flay at Corinite, he parted with his Army : and paffing by the Countrel of Arges; three dayes after his departure, he came to Fegee: whereas after ho had receined the Acheine which were there affembled, he proecceled in his course, passing secretly by the Mountaines, he laboured to enter the Countrey of Sparra, before the Lacedemonians should be aduertifed. Where having marched foure dayes by the Defarts of the Mountaines, he came to those which were right against the City: Then leaving Manelais on the right hand , he drew to amycle. The Lacedewoman feeing the Army passe by their Citiy, they wondred at this ftrange accident, and being torified with this fuddaine feare, they knew nor what to doe. For they were amazed at the valiant exploits D which they layd Philip had lately done at Therme, and throughour all Eselis And there was a certaine bruite amongst them, that Livergue was fent to luccour the Etoliens. As for Philips fuddaine descent into the Countrey of sparta, no man had ever thought of it, and the rather for that his age feemed worthy of some contempt. Wherefore matters succeeding contrary to all hope, the world had reason to seare! The great dia for Philip mannaging the Warre with greater courage and policy then light this age did beare he terrified his Roomies. And namely case we have his age did beare, he certified his Enousies .- And namely (as we have

2345

fayd) he parted from Etolia, and pelling the Gulfout Limbraria in one night; he same to Legerday where flaying two dayes, and parties the third excessin the morning he arrined two dayes after at Cerinele hauine spoiled the Sea coasts of Biolic and from thence cominaine his course, he came within nine dayes to the Mountaines which are right against sparts necre vnto Menclais : for they could hardly believe it when they faw him. The Lacedemonian then terrified with the great neffe and newnelle of this accident, knew not what Councell to take. Second dinorto, whom to haue recourse. of wester it of the to we the

The feituation of Amycle. The Temple of Apollo.

The day following Philip campes neare vnto Amyele. It is a place A in the Sparsains Countre's abounding with all forts of Trees and wealth. twenty Furlangs from Matelines : Where the Temple of Apollo frands. being the most excellent of all the rest of the Province, as well for Art as wealth, being scared in that part of the Towne which looks towards the See. Three dayesafter when he had spoiled the whole Country. he went to the Calticof Pybu, where he stayed two dayes, and wafring the whole Country, he parall to fire and fword, and planted his Campe neergypto Carnia From whence he fuddainly marche to fine, from whence (after he had attempted in vaine to take it by affault) he railed the Siege, and walted all the reft of the Countrey, marching 1 directly to Tenare: From thence turning his way, hee drawes to the Lacedomonians Hauen, which they call Gathia : where there is a fafe Port, about thirty Furlongs from the Citty. Then leaving it on the right hand, he planted his Gampe necre to Blea: which is (if we consider it well) the greatest and best Countrey of the Spartains: The which he abandoned to the Souldiers, who put it to fire and fword, Hee also spoiled the Acrises and Lengues, and the whole Countrey of

The Port of Cythia:

The Caftle of

Licurgiat.

The Messeniens having received Letters from Philip, were no lesse diligent then the other Allies, who levied men prefently within their Townes, and fent the most able vato the King, to the number of two thousand Foote and two hundred Horse. But the length of the way was the cause they came not to Teger before the Kings departure. And therefore doubting in the beginning what they should doe, fearing likewise that it would seeme, they had willingly made this delay for the fulpition they had of them in the beginning, they resolved to enter the Spartains Countrey, to the end they might joyne speedily with the King. Being come vnto the Calle of Diames, which is feated neere vinto the Mountaines of the Argines and Lacedemonians, and had fet themselves downe foolibly and without consideration: for they did not fortific themselves neither with Ditches nor Pallisadoes, neither did they choose a convenient place: But relying on the good-will of the Inhabitants, they lodged fimply neere vnto the Walls. Licurgus advertised of their comming, takes the Mercenaries, and part of the Lacedemonians, and goes directly to the Enemy. Where arriving at the breake of day, he marcheth in Bettaile against the Messens: who The Mellanien perceitting him, abandoned all, and fled by heapes into this Caftle. furprized by Liverem recovered the greatest part of their Hories and Baggage, but

he tooke not a man : he onely flew eight Horfe men. The Meffeniens after this defeate returned by the Argines Countrey. Lycurgus proud of this good fortune, being returned to sparta, vieth all speed to leuie men, and to prepare all things necessary for the Warre, labouring that Philip might not returne by the Spartains Countrey without a Battaile or danger. The King parts with his Army from Elia, spoiling all as he passeth, and brought all backe on the fourth day to Amyele. Lieur Philip parce from Eliaspois gus having resolued with his Friends and Captaines to give Battaile to ling allas hea the Macedonians, goes out of the Citty, and recouers the places about palleth, A Menelate with about two thousand Foote, commanding them of the Citty to be watchfull, and when they should see a signe, they should speedily make sallies by divers places, taking their way towards Eurota,

which is a River necre vnto the Citty. Thefe were the actions of Lieur. gus and the Lacedemonians at that time.

Lib. 5.

But to the end that what wee fay, may not seeme obscure by the ignorance of places, wee must declare the nature and scituation: The which we will indeauour to doe throughout our whole worke, alwaics ioynin gplaces knowne to the voknowne : For the difference of Countryes doe many times deceiue in Warre, as well by Sea as Land. Our desire is, that all men should know not onely the things, but how they were done. And therefore the description of places is necessary in all things, but especially in Warre: neither may we blame the vie of Fens, Seas, and Ilands for fignes: and sometimes of Temples, Mountaines, Townes, and certaine Countries : nor finally the difference of circumstances: For these are things common to all men. It is also the meanes to advertise the Reader of things vaknowne, as we have sayd. The scituation of places whereof we speake is this. Although that Lacedemon feemes to stand in a plaine, yet it hath here and there rough and hilly places : Neere vnto which towards the East, passeth this River which e they call Erois, the which for the most part of the yeere is not to be arois. waded thorough, by reason of its great depth. The Mountaines wherein Menetais stands, are on the other side of the River towards the Citty which looke towards the Winters East: the which are rough and difficult and wonderfull high: And bend ouer the Plaine which lies betwixe the River and the Citty, by the which it takes its course along the soote of the Mountaines. The King was of necessity to passe that way, having the Citty on the left hand, and the Lacedemontaris ready and in Armes: And on the right hand the River, and those which were in the Moung taines with Licarem.

Matters standing in this estate, the Lacedemonians bethought themfelues of a ftratagem, by the which in breaking of a Damme, they should drowne all the Plaine betwixt the Citty and the foot of the Mountains, to as neither Horse nor Foote should Be able to passe. By this meanes they law the King should bee forced to lead his Army by the foote of the Mountaines : the which he could not doe without great danger : for that he hould be forced to extend his Army in length, and not vnited and close, and to march a flow pate. Philip feeing this, affembles his Friends, and was of opinion, that he must first chase away Livergue

The flight of the Lacidemo-Bians.

236

from the places which hee held. Wherefore he takes in his company the Mercenaries, the Targeteers, and the Sclauonians, and began to march directly towards the Mountaines to palle the River. Lienrque understanding of the Kings resolution, put his men in Bartaile, and perfwades them to doe their duties in fighting, and withall hee makes a figne to them of the Citty, as he had promised. Which done, the Souldiers presently fally forth, putting the Horse men on the right wing. When Philip came neere vnto Licurgus, he fent the Mercenaries to give the first charge, of whom the Lacedemenians had the better at the first, by reason of the aduantage of the place and the manner of their Armes. A But when as he had fent the Targeteers with the Selanonians to fuccour the Mercenaries, there was so great an alteration, as the Mercenaries seemed to have the victory in their hands : And the Lacedemonians amazedat the fury of them that were well armed, fled presently, as despairing of their fafety. There died about a hundred men : and some few more taken : the rest recouered the Citty.

Lieurgus taking his way by inaccessible woods, arrived the night following at the Citty. When as Philip had put a sufficient strength of Sclauonians into the Mountaines, he returned with them that were lightly armed, and the Targeteers to his Army. At the fame time Arate bringing back the Army from Amycle, was not far from the City: with whom the King (paffing the River) joyned, and appointed them that were well armed to make head against the Horse-men at the foot of the Mountaine, When as the Lacedemonian Horse-men had charged the Macedonians, and the targeteers had fought valiantly, and withal the King had performed his duty well, they were in the end repuls'd fhamefully to the gates of the City. Afterwards the King past Eurota safely, and was forced to fettle his Campe in the night, at his comming forth of the freights, in a place which was very strong by nature. Finally, the King had an humour to ouer-run, the Countrey neere to Lacedemen. In the beginning of the faid streights upon the approaches from Teges by the firme Land to Lasedemen, there is a place about two Furlongs distant from the Cit ty, vader the which the River bath its course : the which imbracets the Citty and the fide of the Riner, with a steepe and inaccessible Moun taine. The foote of this Mountaine is a flimy and watery Plaine. well for the entry as the going forth of an Army; fo as who foeuer plant his Campe there, in seazing upon the Hill, seemes to campe safely, and to be in a fure place, in regard of the Towne which is opposite, hauit under its power the entry and iffue of the streights. Philip having fated his Campe there, he causeth the Baggage to march the next day, p and drawes his Army into the Plaine, inview of the Towne: Where after he had stayed sometime, hee wheeles about like a Bowe, and takes his way towards Teges. And when hee came into the Countrey where that famous Battaile was, fought betwixt Antigonus and Cleomihe planted his Campe there.

Three dayes after when the places were well viewed, and the Sacrifices performed in two Mountaines, whereof the one is called Olympe, and the other Ena, he went on his way, and came to Teges, where

he stayed some time to divide the spoile: Then suddainly hee returned to Corinsbe with his Army. Thither came Embassadours from Rhodes Embassadours and Chies to the King, to mediate a peace betwirt him and the Eteli- Embattadours from Rhodesto ens. To whom the King giuing a gracious reception, he told them that he Chies. had long, and at that present was ready to imbrace a peace, if the Etoliens held it fir, and that they should goe vnto them, and consider of the meanes therof. From thence he went to Leche, and prepared himselfe to imbarke, desiring to decide some pressing affaires at Phocis.

At the same time Leonce, Megalee, and Prolomy thinking yet to terrifie the King, and by that meanes to repaire their errours, calls the Targeteers, and those whom the Macedonians terme, the Kings Troupe: whom they informe that they are dayly in great danger withour any recompence, or any share in the spoile, according to the ancient custome approued by all men. By meanes whereof they perswade these young men to assaile and spoile the Lodgings of the Kings principall Minions, and that falling vpon the Kings owne Lodging, they should ouerthrow the Gates and couering. The which when they had done, there grew a great mutiny in the Towne. Philip hearing the A muticy at the region of the state of the s noise, makes haste to returne from the Port : And drawing the Mace- andhis men, donians together, he pacifieth them partly with words, and blaming them for the things which they had done. And when as the fury increased, and that some were of opinion to chase out of the Towne those that had beene the cause of the mutiny, others saying that this fury of the Commons ought to bee pacified without any greater punishment, the King diffembled his conceite for the present : And being as it were perswaded by them, hee returned to the Hauen, after hee had given them many admonitions, knowing well the heads of this villany: But hee thought good to deferre it to a more convenient time? Leonce and his Faction despairing, for that none of their enterprizes succeeded, Leonce and his retired to Appelles, and caused him to come from Caleis, giving him to Faction retired vuderstand that they could not doe any thing without him, for that to Appelles, the King croft them in all things. Appelles had carried himselfe in Calis with greater liberty then was fit: for he gaue them to understand that the King was young, vnder his Guard and without any power, terming himselse Lord, and sole Gouernour of all things. Wherefore all the Princes of Macedomy and Theffaly adrest themselves to him in all affaires. Within a short time likewise all the Citties of Greece had forgotten the King in their elections, honours, and offices: Onely Appelles mannaged all affaires. The King being long before advertised thereof, was much discontented and incensed: whereunto Arate spurd him on continually, D although he diffembled his conceite fo well, as no man could discouer it. Appelles ignorant of the Kings resolution, and thinking to obtaine any thing when he should present himselfe vnto him, came from Calcis to Corinthe. When he came neere the Towne, Leonce, Ptolomy, and Me. galee Chiefe of the Targeteers, and other Souldiers that were best armed, gaue him a great reception, perswading the youth to goe and meete him: He came then to the Kings lodging in pompe, being attended on by the Captaines and Souldiers. When as he fought (as he was wont) to

L10.5.

enter fuddainly, a certaine Viher told him, that he must have patience for that the King was busie for the present. Appelles wondring at this new manner of proceeding, remained penfine for a time, after which he departed discontented, and without judgement : all the rest likewise abandoned him, so as hee returned alone to his lodging, having no other Company but his owne Family. O how suddainly are men aduanced to great honours, and in as short time reduced to greater mileries : especially such as frequent Princes Courts. They are like vnto Lots, which they viually give in publique Councells. For as those which a little before were were given in Copper, are suddainly turned A into Gold, according to the will of those that dispose of them : So they which follow the Courts of Princes, are according to the Kings will and pleasure, happy one day, and miserable the next. When Megalice knew that he had fought the affiftance of Appelles in vaine, he trembled for feare, and intended to flye. After that day Appelles was called to Banquets and other honours that were done : but he neuer entred into the priny Councell, nor affifted at the ordinary resolutions which were taken for affaires.

The flight of Megalee.

The taking of

Leance.

The milery of

Soone after the King returned to Phocis, leading Appelles with him: Whereas having speedily effected his will, he returned againe to Elatia. During this, Megalee flies to Athens, leaving Leonce caution for him for twelve thousand Crownes. And when as the Chiefe of the Atheniens would not receive him, he returned to Thebes. The King being parted from the Countrey which lies about Circe, hee fayled to the Port of Sicgonia with the Targeteers and his Guard. From whence comming fuddainly to the Towne, he preferred the lodging of Arate before the other Princes, making his continuall abode with him, commanding Appelles to sayle to Corinthe. When as newes came in the meane time of the flight of Megalee, hee fent Tantion with the Targeteers whom Leonee had under his charge to Triphalia, as if hee had beene forced thereunto by some great affaires. After whose departure, hee causeth Leonce to be apprehended. The Targeteers advertised hereof, fent an Embaffie to the King to intreate him that if Lesnee had beene taken for any other thing then for the caution, that the judgement might not be given before their returne : Otherwise they should thinke themselves contemned, and in disgrace with the King. The King prickt forward by the importunity of the Souldiers, he put Leante to death fooner then he had refolued.

During the which, the Embaffadours of Rhodes and Chies returned from Etolia, having agreed voon a Monethstruce : and faying that the Esoliens were ready to treate a peace with the Knig, appointing more D ouer a day when he flould meete with them neere vino Rhie: Being confident that they would doe whatfoeuer he pleased to have a peace. The The King accepting the truce, fent Letters to the Allies, willing them to fend Embassadours to Passes, to conferre with him on the conditions of the peace. Then hee parts from Leche, and arrives two dayes after at Passes. At the same time they bring vnto him Letters from Phocie, which Megalee himselse had written voto the Esoliens :

by the which he folicits them to maintaine the Warre couragiously, for that the King could not long continue it for want of victuals and other munition. Moreouer, they contained many scandalous and opprobrious speeches against the King. The which being read, the King conceining that Appelles had beene the cause and the beginning of these Appelles taken practifes, causeth him to be taken and brought to Corinthe, with his Priloner. Sonne and Concubine : And hee fent Alexander to Thebes, giving him charge to bring Megalee, to the end his caution might be dischar- Megalee kills ged. But when as Alexander thought to execute his charge, Mega-himielic. le preuensed him, and slew himselfe. In a manner at the same time, Appelles, his Sonne, and his Concubine were put to death, recei- The death of uing the worthy punishment of their wicked lines, and namely for Appeller and his Sonne.

The History of POLYBIVS.

Although the Etoliens defired peace, being discontented with the long Warre, and seeing their affaires to succeed otherwise then they expected: for that conceiving they had to deale with a Child (confidering that the King had neither age nor experience) they found him by his deeds to bee a man excellent in Councell and Execution, and themselues to bee Children, as well in their particular as publique af-R faires: Yet advertised of the mutiny of the Targeteers, and of the death of Appelles, from whom they expected some great alteration in the Kings Court, they came not to Rhie at the day appointed. Philip holding this a good occasion to entertaine the Warre, solicites the Embassadours of the Allies which were there assembled, nor vnto peace (for the which they had beene called) but to Warre. Then parting from thence with his Fleete, hee came to Corinthe, and fentall the Committee. Macedonians to winter in their houses. Parting from Corinihe, hee failed by the Euripe to Demetriade: there hee put Piolomy to death, (who onely remained of the Conspiracy of Appelles and Etonce) by the

At the same time Hannibal had past the Alpes, and was in Italy, and had planted his Campe neere to the River of Poe, not farre from that of the Romans. Antiochus after hee had conquered many places in Syrria, had brought backe his Army to winter. Lieurgus King of Syria, had brought backe his Army to winter. Litting to Aing of the Lacedemonians fearing the Magistrates, had fled into Etolia: for Licurges into the Magistrates hearing a false report, that hee would attempt some Etolia, revolte, came in the Night to his house with a Troupe of Youth: whereof being formerly advertised, he fled with his fervants. When as Philip in the depth of Winter had retired into Masedony, and that D Eperage Chiefe of the Acheins was made a fcorne to the Youth of the Towar, and to the Mercenaries, and was not obeyed, nor made any proparation for the defence of the Countrey, Pyrrbee (whom the Esdiens had fent to the Elienfes for their Captaine, accompanied with thirteene hundred Etoliens, and a thousand Foote, as well Soul,

diers as Burgessenof the Elienfes,, and with two hundred Horse, being in all about theerhouland men) aduertifed thereof, spoiled not onely the Countries of the Dimenfes and Pharenfes, but also of Patres: Finally, he pitched his Campencere voto the Mountaine Panachaique. The Mountain

Ff 2

Which Panachaigne,

c judgement of the Macedonians.

which lookes towards Patres, and wasted all the neighbour Region. The Townes thus vexed, being no was succour'd, they payed the Taxe and charge vnwillingly: The Souldiers would not be drawne to fuccour them, for that their pay was delayed. By this mutuall trouble the Acheins affaires were in bad cafe : And the Mercenaries retired by little and little: the which happened by the negligence of the Commander. And when the affaires of Acheia stood in this estate, and that the time of the Election was come, Eperate left the gouernment, and the Acheins Ola grate made Chirle of in the Spring made choise of old Arate. Thus past the Affaires in Europe.

the Acheins.

The Authours

An order re-

quired in all

things.

240

But seeing that in the distinction of times, and the order of actions, we have found a convenient place for this Subiect, let vs passe to the Warres of Asia under the same Olympiade: Relating first (as we have promised in the beginning of our worke) the Warre of Syria, which was betwixt Antiochus and Ptolomy. And for that I know well that this Warre was not ended at such time as I lest to treate of the Actions of Greese, and being resolued to follow this perfection and distribution, to the end the Readers may not be deceined in the true knowledge of euery time: I hope to leaue a sufficient instruction for those which defire to know it, in setting downe at what time in this present Olympiade, and of the deeds of the Grecians, the beginning and ending of other actions happened: Moreouer, wee esteeme nothing better nor more honourable in this Olympiade, then not to confound things, to the end the discourse of the History may be plaine and easie: And that distinguishing matters by order as much as may be possible, vntill that comming to other Olympiades, wee may yeeld to enery yeere its actions according to order. And for that we have not resolved to write them all, nor the actions of all places, and that wee have vindertaken with greater affection to write Histories then our predecessours haue done; it is fitting wee should be carefull to expresse them in order, and that the generall worke of the History may with its parts be plaine and apparent. Wherefore we will now write the Reignes of Antiochus and Prolomy, reducing things from farre, and purfuing our discourse from a beginning which may bee notorious, and which quares with that

which wee haue to fay. For these arcients which have sayd, that the beginning is a moiety of the whole, they have vadoubtedly raught vs , that in all things wee should vie great diligence, that the beginnings may be well ordered. And although some thinke they have vied a high Stile, yet in my opinion they doe not feeme to speake with truth. Without doubt you may boldly fay, that the beginning is not onely a moiery D of the whole, but hath also a regard to the end. Tell mee, how canst thou make a good beginning, if thou hast not first comprehended in thy vnderstanding the end of thy Enterprize : And if thou knowest not in what part, to what purpose, and the cause why thou wilt make it ? For how can a History haue order, if at the beginning or entrance thou doeft not deliner plainely, from whence, and how, or wherefore thou art come vnto the relation which thou doest

presently make of actions ? Wherefore they which will have things heard and understood fully, thinke that the beginnings doe not onely ferue for the one halfe, but also for the end: wherein they imploy themselues with great care and industry: the which I will carefully indeauour to doc. Although that I am certaine that many of the ancient Historiographers haue bin confident to haue done the like, when as they pretended to write all generally, and to have written a longer History then their predecessours : of whom I will forbeare to speake much, or to name them : Among the which I excule Ephorus, the first and onely man which hath attempted to write a generall History. But I will vse no longer discourse, nor name any of the rest: But I will say that some Historiographers of our time, comprehending the Warre betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, in three or foure small Pages, brag publiquely that they have written all. It is certaine that for as much as there hath beene many and great exploits performed in Spaine, Affricke, Sicily and Isaly, and that the Warre of Hannibal hath beene the greatest and longest, except that of Sicily. We must also understand, that the excellency of this warre hath beene the cause that wee have all cast our eyes vpon it : and the rather for that wee were in doubt of the end. B This is a Warre which enery man (be hee neuer fodull and fimple) knowes. Yet some of those which have handled the History, writing onely superficially the actions of some times, yet they imagine they have comprehended the deeds of the Grecians and Barbarians. Whereof the cause is, for that it is an easie thing to promise many great things by mouth, but it is not easie to bring a great enterprize to an end. And therefore this other is common, and (as a man may fay) in the hands of all men, fo as they have courage: But the last is rare, and few men attaine vnto it. Finally, the arrogancy of some, which glorifie themselues too much, and commend their Writings, hath caused mee to make this digression. But now I returne votto my enterprize.

The History of POLYBIVS.

When Ptolomy, furnamed Philopater, had seized vpon the Empire of Egyps, after the death of his Father, and had made away his Brother Pessany King with his adherents, (thinking there was no more cause of seare in his Family, for the afore faid crime:) and that for strangers, Fortune had in good time affured all things, confidering the death of Antigonus and Selencius: to whose Realmes Antiochus and Philip had succeeded, who were scarce eighteene yeeres old) he abandoned himselfe to pleas fures, whose example the whole Countrey followed. For this cause his D owne people made no esteeme of him. And not onely his subjects, but alfo the reft which mannaged the affaires both within and without Egyps. The Lords of the lower Syrria, and of Cypres, have made Warre against the Kings of Syria, as well by Sea as Land. They also which hold the chiefe Cities, places, and Ports which are along the Sca-coafts, from Pamphilia vnto Hellespont, and the Country of Lysimachia, confined with the Principalities of Asia and the Hands. And as for Thracia and Macedony, the Princes of Enos and Maronia, and of Townes that were more remote, had alwayes an eye ouer them. Wherefore imploying

The enterprize vpon Ptelomy.

242

their forces, to assaile forreine Princes, farre from their Realmes, they were not troubled for the Empire of Egypt. Their chiefe care then was for the Warres of forreine Countries. In regard of this King of whom wee speake, there were many in a short time, who for his infamous loues, and ordinary excesse in drinking, had an eye voon him and his Realme. Amongst the which Cleomenes of Lacedemon was the first. He made no alteration whilest that the other King lined, who was furnamed Benefactor: as if he were perswaded, that during his life

he should want no meanes to reconquer his Realme. But when asafter his death, the affaires required his presence, An. A tigonus being also dead : And that the Acheins with the Macedonians made Warre against the Lacedemonians, which they maintaine according vnto that which hee had aduited them in the beginning, being allied to the Ecoliens: Then hee was forced to thinke of his departure from alexandria. Wherefore hee first solicited the King to send them backe with an Army and sufficient munition. And when as the King would not give eare vnto it, he intreated him at the least to suffer him to depart with his family, for the time was now come, when as great opportunities were offred to recouer his Fathers Realme. The King neither confidering the present, nor fore-seeing the future, for the R causes about specified, like an ouer-weening man, and without judgement, neuer made any esteeme of Cleamenes. But Sosibius (who chiefely gouerned all the affaires of the Kingdome at that prefent) holding a Councell with his Friends, was not of aduice to fuffer Cleamenes to goe with an Army at Sea, and munition, disdaining forreine affaires, and holding this charge loft, confidering the death of Antigonus : fearing likewise that this death being so fresh, the way might be made easie to ftirre vp some Warre : And there being no man found to refist Cleanenes, he would soone make himselfe Lord of all the Citties in Greece. Finally, they feared he would become their Enemy, confidering the prefent: in regard of the Kings manner of life, which was well knowne vnto C them. With this disaduantage, that Sofibian faw the Provinces of the Realme to lie one farre from another, and to have great opportunities of An Armyneere revolte. For there was neere vnto Sames a good number of Veffels, and great Troupes of Souldiers neere vnto Ephefan. Wherefore he did not hold it fit to fend backe Cleomenes with an Army for the afore-fayd reafons. But when they confidered that it would not be profitable for their Common-wealth, to ler goe lo great a personage, who afterwards might proue their open Enemy, there was no preuention but to retaine him by force. The which notwithstanding the rest disliked, conceiuing that there would be great danger to keepe the Lyon and Sheepe in one fold. Soft D

bins was of the same opinion for that or the like cause. At such time as they resolved to take Mega and Beronice, and that they feared to bring their enterprize to a good end, in regard of the fiercenefic of Berenice, they were forced to drawe together all thole which followed the Court, and to make them great promiles if they preusiled. Then Sofibius knowing that Cleomenes wanted the Kings succours to recouer his fathers Realme, and that he had found him by experience

to be wife and politicke in great affaires, he discouered his whole secrets vnto him, propounding vnto him great hopes. Cleomenes feeing him pensiue, and fearing the strangers and Mercenaries, perswaded him not to care: promiting him that the Souldiers should not trouble him, and that moreouer they should give him great assistance to bring his enterprize to an end. And when as the other stood in admiration, doest thou not see sayd Cleomenes, that there are about three thousand men of Morea, and a thousand Candyots, all which will bring vs. where we please? Hauing these, whom else doest thou feare? What? The A Companions of the Warre of Syrris and Caris: And when as Sofibim liked of his words, hee entred more boldly into the Action. And afterwards confidering of the Kings foolery and negligence, hee often called to minde this Speech, and had alwayes before his eyes the Courage of Cleomenes, and the affection the Souldiers bare him. Wherefore confidering this, at the same time hee gaue the King and his other familiars to vnderstand, that hee must seaze vpon him, and keepe him close and private. For the working and effecting whereof, hee vsed this meanes.

There was one Nicagorus a Messenien, a friend to the father of Ar-B chidamus, King of the Lacedemonians, betwixt whom there had formerly beene some friendship. But at such time as Archidamu was chafed from Sparta for feare of Cleomeres, and fled to Messena, hee not onely gaue him a good reception into his House with his friends at his first comming, but hee alwayes lived with him afterwards during his flight, fo as there grew a great and ftrict familiarity betwixt them. When as after these things Cleomenes made shewe of some hope of reconciliation with Archidamus, Nicagorus beganne to treate of the Conditions of peace. VVhen the accord had beene made, and that Nieagorus had taken the faith of Cleomenes , Archidamus returned to C Sparta, affuring bimselfe of the conventions of Nicagorus, whom Cleamenes meeting spon the way flew, fuffering Nicagorns and his company to passe away. In regard of Nicagorus, he carried the counter slayne by eles rance of a very thankfull man, for that he had faued his life : But hee mines. was vexed in his Soule, and incensed for the deede, for that hee feemed to have given the occasion. This Nicagorni had failed vnto Alexandria some little time before

with Horses: whereas going out of the ship, hee met with Cleamenes, Panshee, and Hippite, walking voon the Grande : whom Cleomenes. perceiuing, faluted curteoufly, demaunding what bulinelle had brought. him thirther : To whom he answered, that he had brought Horses. 1 D had sather fayd Cleomenes, thou hadft brought Concubines and Bawdes, for these are the things wherein the King at this day takes his chiefe des light. Then Nicogores held his peace smiling. VVhen as within fere dayes after he discoursed by chance with sollbin by reason of the Hosfis, he clated into him that which Cleomenes had arrogantly spoken of the King. And seeing Sossius to heare him willingly, he acquain leth cleomenes. ted him with the cause of the pleene he bare him. VVhen as Sofikia is knew him to be wonderfully intenfed against Cleomengs, hee did

Ff4

Megn. Berenitt. him great curtesies for the present, and promised him great fauours

hereafter: Finally hee wrought fo, that imbarquing he left Letters

Lib. 5.

concerning Cleomenes, which a feruant of his brought after his departure, as fent from him. The which Nicagors performing, the feruant vied speed to go vnto the King, affuring him that Nicagorus had ginen him the Letters to carry to sofibius. The Tenour whereof was. That if Cleomenes were not soone dispatcht with an Army at Sea and munition, he would raise some troubles within the Realme. Selibius imbracing this occasion, gaue the King and his Councell to vnder-Cleomenestaken fland, that this must not be heard with a deafe care, and that he must A purin Guard. Seaze vpon Cleomenes and give him a Guard. The which being put in execution, they gave him a spacious House, where hee lived with Guards, differing therein from other Prisoners, for that hee had a lar-

ger Prison. Cleamenes confidering this, and having little hope for the future, refolued to hazard all, and yet without hope to effect any thing, and being in extreame despaire, but desiring to make an honourable Death. and not to fuffer any thing that might feeme vnfitting for the greatnesse of his Courage. I immagine likewise that hee had an humour, and had propounded to himselfe that, which commonly great Spirits doe R

in these Tearmes:

That in dishonour I doe not basely fall, Conrage my beart, let's branely wenture all.

prize of Clea-

244

When as hee had observed the Voyage which the King made to the The beld enters Towne of Canope, hee caused it to be bruited among his Guards, that hee should bee soone set at liberty. Wherefore he made a Banquet to his people, and fent offering and Garlands of Flowers to the Guards. And moreover store of Wine. Whilest they made good cheere, and C. were all drunke, hee goes out of the House with his Friends and Sermants, their Swords in their hands in the open day, the which the Guard neuer perceived. And when as marching in this manner, they met with Ptolomy in the Market place, they ouer-threw him from his by chomenes. Chariot and flew him : Whereat all those that did accompany him were amazed at the greatnesse of the fact. Finally they beganne to cry Liberty vnto the people. But when as no man stirred, considering the greamesse of the Crime, they turned head and assailed the Forttesse, as if the Gate had beene ouer throwne by the Treason of the Souldiers. and that they should presently take it. But for that the Guards (fore-D seeing the danger,) had Rampred up the Gate : in the end they slew themselves being frustrated of their hope, and dyed an honourable Death, worthy of a Spartaine Courage. Behold the end of Cleamemes a man of great Eloquence in speaking, and of great Resolution in Warre: Who it feemes wanted nothing that did fauour of a King but

After Cleamenes, Theodote borne in Etolia, and Gouernour of base Syrvia , soone after resolved to have intelligence with Antiochim, and

to deliuer him the Townes of his gouernment: For that hee partly contemned the King for his negligence and idlenesse, and partly the Courtiers, growing distrussfull, for that a little before hee had propounded a good aduice vnto the King, aswell for other things as to Thiodeic, resist Antigonus, seeking to make Warre against Syrrix : Wherein hee was not onely distassfull, but they caused him to come to Alexandria, where he was in danger of his life. Antiochus accepting this offer gladly, the matter came to effect. But to the end we may withall declare this Race, feeking our the Empire of Antiochius, let vs A make our entry summarily from those times, to come vnto the Warre whereof we meane to Treate.

You must vinderstand that Antiochus the younger was Sonne vinto Seleusus surnamed Callinice. Who after the death of his Father, when Antiochus Son the Realme fell to seleucus his elder Brother, lived in the beginning to Seleucus. privately in his House, in the high Countrey of the Realme: But his Brother being slaine in Treason (as wee haue sayd) after hee had past Mount Tauris with an Army, he tooke the Empire and Raigned, giuing the government of all the Province, which lyes on this fide Tauris, to Acheus and Molon: And to his brother Alexander, the high Countries of his Realme . So as Molon should have Media, and his brother Persida. These contemning the King for his Age (for he was scarce fifteene yeares old) and hoping to draw Acheus to their Conspiracy, fearing moreouer the cruelty and Treachery of Hermes, who then had the Gouernment of the whole Realme, resolued to abandon the King, and to change the Estate of the Provinces which they helde. Hermes was borne in Caria, to whom Seleucus the Kings brother had given the government of the Realme, relying in him from the time they past Mount Tauris. Wherefore being advanced to this supreame Authority, he enuied all those which had any power in Court being out-C ragious and cruell by Nature, condemning innocents at his pleasure ? and fauouring wicked men and Lyers.

Finally, he was cruell and rough in his judgements. But among of ther things he watcht an opportunity to kill Epigene, who was Lieutenant Generall of Seleucus his Army : For that he found him a man of great Eloquence and great execution, having favour and Authority in the Army. And although he plotted this in his minde continually, yel hee kept it secret, seeking some occasion to effect his enterprize. Finally when as the Councell was affembled to conferre voor neclens Rebellion, and thanthe King had commaunded every man to deliver his opinion, and that Epigene beginning first had favd, that this bufineste D was not to be held of small importance, and that it was necessary the King should approach the Country, holding himselfe ready when time thould require; and that by this meanes Molon would give over his enterprize, the King being neere with a great Army cor if heedid perfift in that which bee had begunne, the people would deliuer all the Traytors into the Kings hands ... Then Heimes enraged, fayd vnto hims The Speech Epigene hauing long concealed thy Treafon, thy diffeyalty hath in the of Hemes as end beene diffeonered in this Councell. I show in the difference of the gainst Epigene, end beene discoursed in this Councell: Labouring to deliner the Kings

person

246

person into the hands of Traytors. Having spoken thus, and in some fort shewed his slander, hee lest Epigene. Finally shewing a counte. nance rather of importune indignation, then of any manifest hatred. hee perfifted in his opinion not to leade an Army against Molon, fearing the danger: For that the Souldiers were not invied to Warre, and that they should vie all diligence to make Warre against Ptolomy, holding that fure by reason of the Kings negligence and idlenesse. By this meanes when hee had stopt the mouthes of all that were in the Assembly for feare, he fent Xenon, Theodore, and Hermioly With an Army against Molon: Giving King Antiochus to vnderstand, that hee should A presently undertake the Warre of Syrria: Thinking by this meanes. that if the King were roundly befet with Warre, hee should neuer be punished for the offences which hee had formerly committed: Neither should hee loose his Authority for the necessity and continuall dangers wherein the King should be daily.

Wherefore in the end hee brought a counterfeite Letter, as sent from Acheus to the King. The Tenour whereof was, that Ptolomy had folicited him to enter into Warre, to get the Principallity, and that hee would furnish him with money and munition, if he would take the Crowne vpon him, and that it was apparent to all the World that hee R pretended to be a King: The which in trueth hee seemed to be, but he did not yet enioy the name of a King, nor weare a Crowne, for the enuy which Fortune procured him. Antiochus giuing credite to these Letters, resolued to make a descent into Syrria : But whilest hee stayed in Seleucie, and was carefull to bring his enterprize vnto a good end; Diegnet Chiefe of the Army at Sea, arrived from Cappadocia. which is necre vato the Enxine Sca, bringing with him Laodicea, the Daughter of Methridates, who was promifed to Antiochus. This is that Methridates, who bragg'd that hee was descended from one of the seauen Wise men of Persia. She was received with royall pompe, c and Antiochus married her presently : From thence he went to Antiochus, leaving the Queene Regent of the Realme: and applied himselfe wholv to rayle his Army.

ries Landisea.

Molengoes to Reld with an Army.

At that time Molon feeing the people ready to doe what hee pleafed, aswell for the hope of the gains which hee propounded vnto them, as forthat their Commaunders were tertified by the Kings falle and counterfeite Letters: Hauing also his brother Alexander for a Companion in this Warre : After that hee had gotten all the neighbour Townes by the corruption of their Gouernours, hee goes to field with a great Army, and plants himfelfencere vnto the Campe of the Kings Lieu-n tenants. At whose comming Xenon, and Theodote being terrified, they retired to the next Townes. Molos beeing Lord of all the plaine of Appelonia, and running where he pleased the whole Province brought him great flore of Victuals and munition. Hee was before terrible in segard of his great power: Neyther had he any will to loofe the occafon, for that that all the Kings Races for Horses were in Media, with infinite Rore of Wheate and Cattle. In regard of the force height, and Wealth of that Region, wee cannot speake sufficient. Media lyes

about the midst of a Asia: It excels in greatnesse and height all the other Regions about it. It is very powerfull in people, being discoue- The Scientistical red towards the East, by the Desart Countries, which lye betwixt Persida and Parasia. It ioynes and commands the Ports of the Caspien Sea : So doth it in the Mountaines called Tapyreins, which are not farre from the Hyreanien Sca. But as for the Southerne Regions, it lookes to Messopotamia, and Appolonia, ioyning vnto Persida, which lyes before Mount Sagre, which hath a paffage of a hundred Furlongs long: The which having many inclosures, is divided by Vallies and A certaine Plaines, with the Cosees, Corbrenes, Carchins, with divers other Barbarous Nations inhabite, being excellent in matters of War. Finally it ioynes to the Satrapiens upon the West, who differ not much from those which inhabite Fontus Euxinus. And as for the part towards the North, it hath the Elimees, Ariaraces, then the Caddufiens and Mantianes. Finally, it is scituated about the Countries which neere vnto the Blacke Sea ioyne to Pontus. It is separated from Nussa by a multitude of Mountaines upon the West : and yet there is a playne well furnished with Townes and Burroughes.

When as Molon was Lord of this Region, having a kinde of a B Realme, and was terrible euen before this Rebellion, in regard of the great power of the Countrey, he shewed himselfe then more intollerable towards the Asiens: For that at his arrivall the Kings Lieutenants had abandoned their Campe, and that matters did not fucceede in the beginning according to their hopes. Wherefore in passing Treris, Ma. lon indeauoured to besiege Seleucia. But when as Zeunis had stopt the Passage, by staying all the Boates, hee retyred: The Army being at

Ciesiphon, hee made provision of all things necessary to passe the winter. The King aduertised of Molons Army, and of the flight of his Lieutenants, resolued to lead his Army against him, leaving Ptolomy. C But Hermes remembring his enterprize, fent Xenocie an Arhaian, with an Army against Molon, saying that Lieutenants must fight with Rebels, and the King with Kings in person. Keeping the King thus in awe by reason of his Age, hee went to Apamia : where hee drew together an

Army, and from thence marcht fuddainly to Laedicea. From whence the King parting with all his Troupes, and having past a Desart, hee came into a place which the Inhabitants of the Countrey called Marsia, Libraria feated betwirt the two Promontories of Liban and Antiliban, which

restrayne it, and in the narrowest streight is miry and moorish: where also grow the Arromaticall Canes.

Moreouer there ioynes to the one fide of the fayd streights a Towne, The Towne of D which they call Broches, and on the other that of Gerre: Betwist the Broches. which there is a rough and difficult way. The King marching for some dayes by these streights, came in the end to Gerre: Whereas when he faw that Theodote of Etolia had taken it, and Broches, and that hee had fortified all that part of the streights, which were neere vnto the Fens, with Ditches, and Pallisadoes, and men for the defence thereof, hee laboured at the first to affayle them. But when it seemed he lost more then hee got, by reason of the disaduantage of the place, and that

Theodote made a shew to be of Ptolomies party, hee gaue ouer the enterprize. And when he had newes of the retreate of Xenoese, and of the attempt of Molon, he resolued to part from thence, and to give order for his owne affaires.

Xenocte being (as wee have fayd) fent Generall against Molon, hee . had a greater power then was immagined, and vsed his friends with great arrogancy, and his enemies with too much cruelty. When hee tooke his way to Seleucia with his Army, calling vnto him Diogene Gouernour of the Countrey of Sugan, and Pythias of the red Sea, hee marcht against the enemies, and planted his Campe neere vnto theirs. A the River of Tygris being betwire them. During the which there were many came swimming from Molons Campe, aduertising him that the greatest part of his Army would yeild voto him, if he past the River. for that they hated him, and loued and affected the King. Xenoete perswaded by their words, prepares himselfe to passe Tyeris; and making shew that hee would make his passage at a certaine place, where as the Water makes an Iland, hee made no shewe of any preparation. Whereupon whilest that Molon made no account of his enterprize, hee prepared Boates speedily, and taking the best of his Horse-men, and the Chiefe of all the Foot-men of his Army, he left Zeuxis and Pythi- R as for the Guard of the Campe; and past his Army safely in the night by Boate fourescore furlongs beneath Melens Campe: During the which he seated his Campe in a safe place, which was invironed by the River for the greatest part, and the rest assured by Fens and Moores adjovning.

When as Molon was advertised hereof, hee sent his Horse-men before to hinder their passage, or to deseate them that were past. Who approaching neere to Xenete, they annoyed themselves more (for that they knew not the places) then they did the enemy : For entring into those Moorish Fens, they could doe no service, and many perished. Xenoese hoping that if hee approached neere vnto Molon, hee should draw many of his men vnto him, marcht a flow pace a long the river fide, fetting downeneere vnto the enemy. At what time Molon leauing his Baggage in the Campe, retired by night, doing it eyther by policy or for some distrust hee had of his men: and takes his way towards Media. Xenoete thinking the enemy had beene fled, terrified with his comming, and ill affured of his Souldiers, gaines first the enemies Campe, and cals vnto him all his Horse-men, and the rest which he had left with Zennis. Then calling them all together, hee perswades them to be of good hope for the future, considering the flight p

and despaire of Molon.

This propose ended, hee commaunded them to go to their Repast, and to be ready in morning to purfue their enemies: But all the fouldiers hearts puffed vp with the present successe, and stuffed with all forts of Booty, betooke themselves wholy to gormundizing and drunkennes, and in the same fort of floathfulnesse and negligence, that by custome begets fuch things, passed the night. Now as Molon had gayned an advantagious place, and that he had refreshed his men also, he advan-

ced against the enemies, and finding them ouer come and seazed on by Acepe and Wine, he affaulted their Campe with extreame fury, euen

Xensere aftonisht with so great and vnlookt for a businesse, could by no meanes awake his people for their drunkennesse, but they were killed by the enemies resisting by small Companies; and so the greatest part were defeated within the Campe drowned in sleepe, the rest throwing themselves into the River, striving to passe it by swimming: but the most of them perished for all that in the end. It was a pittifull thing to xenoetehis Ar-A see men so affrighted, for all without any regard or consideration throw- my defeated ing themselues into the mercy of the Waves, and to passe therein, and and spoyled. drive afore them the Carriages and Baggage, as if they thought by the ayde of the Water, they could gaine or faue their Campe, but it came to passe that in one selfe same time, Sumpter horses, Armes, and dead

bodies were borne by the River, as if also a Vanquisher, a thing both fearefull to relate, and also horrible to behold. After that Molon had thus suddainly gayned the Campe of the cuemies, and had passed the River without danger, because there was none to hinder his passage, and that Zeuxis had taken flight, as it were, B before the enemies approached, hee tooke also the Fort which was there on the River. After this good fortune, hee came into Seleutia with his Army: the which hee tooke suddainly, in respect that those who were with Zenxis were aftenished at his comming, bauing abandoned the Towne with Diomedon Gouernour of Seleucia: And after hating ranne ouer all the Province, hee brought under his obedience all the Townes of the high Country without finding reliftance: and from thence having Conquered the Empire of all the Countrey of Babylon, and all the Countrey about the Red Sea, hee arrived vnto Sufa, taking the Towne vpon his first arrivall, and after he had given many affaults C to the Fortresse because Diegene was there retyred, and that hee could not force it, he desisted from his enterprize and rayled the siege, hee returned into Seleucia with his Army : and there, after he had Garrison'd his men of Warre for some time, and had encouraged them vnto the Warres, hee with a great heart undertooke to lead them out of the Countrey, and to Conquer in a small time all the Prouince that is from Tygris vnto the Towne of Europe and Mesopotamia, cuen vnto

Antioch having (as wee have heretofore fayd) these newes, were in fantaste to leave the Warre in Syrria, and to prouide for this other Countrey with an extreame diligence: they Assembled therefore those D of their Counsell, and as they had commaunded that every one should freely give his advice touching the Warre of Molon, and that Epigens should be made sit, saying that long sithence things should have beene confidered and looks vinto, because the enemies should not have their courages fo great to vadertake such things, because of their good succeffe i To whom neuertheleffe they ought now to give order with all their endeauour and Rudy, for some speedy course to preuent all future

The Retreate

248

Then Hermes incensed againe, began to vie proud and iniurious speeches without reason : Hee invented false slanders against Epigene, beseeching the King not to leave the Warre of Syrria so inconsiderately. Finally he grew into such a rage, as hee offended many and discontented Antiochus. They could hardly pracifie his fury, although the King vsed what meanes hee could to reconcile them. In the end when the aduice of Epigene seemed the best voto the assistants, it was resolued in Councell that the Army should march against Molon, and that there they should make the Warre. Hermes seeming presently to have altered his advice, sayd that all the A

med his duty to make prouision of all necessary things for the managing of Warre. When the Troupes were affembled at Apamia, and that there was a munity and a great discord growne amongst the common Souldies : Hermes finding the King amazed and much troubled, hee affured him to pacifie the rage and discontent of the Souldiers, and to divide and sharethe Corne quietly among them, if hee would promise him neuer to carry Epigene with him in any exploits of Warre: For that they could not performe any thing of importance in an Army, being at so much difference and so incensed one against another. And B although the King disliked this, and was very much discontented at his motion, for that hee knew by experience that Epigene was a man of Councell, and active in Affaires of Warre, yet to prevent the present, he fent him suddainly away: doubting that being circumuented by the promises of Hermes, hee should not be master of himselfe. Which beeing done, all the rest of the Kings Councell grew into great feare.

World must observe that which the Councell had decreed, and perfor-

The Troupes also receiving what Corne they defired, changed their affection, and followed Hermes, except the Cyrrastres: Who beeing fixe thousand men, mutined and abandoned the Kings seruice: Who afterwards did him many affronts in his Warre ar seuerall times. Yet C in the end they were defeated by a certaine Captaine of the Kings party, and the greatest part of them slaine : the rest yeilded afterwards vn-

to the King.

Hermes having made the Kings friends his owne by feare, and the Souldiers by his bounty, hee marcht with him and his Army. Hee layed a plot agianst Epigene, with the helpe and consent of Alexis, who at that time was Captaine of Apamia; and writing letters, as if they had bin sent from Melen to Epigene, hee corrupted one of Alexis servants with great promises : who went to Epigene, to thrust these Letters se-Letters from Molon; and when hee affirmed no, the other was confident that he would finde fome. Wherefore entring into the House to feare.

credy among his other Writings, Which when he had done, Alexis D came suddainly to Epigene, demanding of him, if he had received any fearch, he found the Letters, and taking this occasion flew him. These things happening thus, the King thought that hee was inftly saine. And although the rest of the Court and of his friends were much grieued ar this suddaine disaster, yet they dissembled their sorrow for

When

When as Antiochus was come vnto Euphrates, he marcht with his army verto Amiochia, and stayed at Michdionia about the midst of December, defiring to passe the roughnesse of the Winter there : where staying about forty dayes, hee went vnto Liba, where hee called a Councell. And when as they consulted of the way which they should hold to find Molon, and from whence and how they might recouer Victuals, (for at that time hee made his abode in Babylon) Hermes was of opinion that they should keepe their way vppon this side the River of Tygris, and along the Bankes; doubting and not a little fearing the Rivers of Luque and Capre. Zeuxis was of another opinion; but hee durst not A speake nor declare his minde plainely, remembring still the death of

The History of POLYBIVS.

Lib. 5.

But when as the ignorance of Hermes seemed apparent to all the affistants, hee with some difficulty deliuered his aduice, that they must passe Tyeris, aswell for many other difficulties which are on this side, as for that they must of necessity, after they had past certaine places in marching fixe daies iourney by a Defart Country, came vnto a Region which they call Diorex, where the paffage was not fafe, for that the enemy had seized thereon: And that moreouer the returne would be dangerous, especially for want of victuals. If the King likewise did passe Tygris, all the people of Appelonia, transported with ioy would come B vnto him, who at this day obeyed Molon, not for any affection, but through necessity and feare: And withall they should have abundance of victuals, by reason of the fertility of the Countrey; and the passage of Media would be shut vp for Molon, so as of necessity he should be forced to come and fight: Or if hee fled, his Troupes would foone yeild vnto the King. When the aduice of Zeuxis had beene allowed in Councell, they presently past the whole Army with the baggage in three places. And marching from thence vnto Dure, they raifed the fiege, (for one of Molons Captaines had some sew dayes before besieged it) and afterwards continuing on their way, and having past the C Mountaines which they of the Countrey call Orie, in eight daies they came into Apolonia.

At the same time Molon having newes of the Kings comming, and not holding himselfe assured of the Susians and Babilonians, beeing lately made subject vnto him and by surprize, fearing moreover that the passage of Media was stopt, hee afterwards resolved to passe by the River Tygris speedily with his whole Army, making haste to gaine the Woodes which bend towards the playnes of Apolonia, for that he had great confidence in his Slingers, whom they call Cyrtles. When n hee approached neere these places, from the which the King parting with his Army from Apelonia was not farre, it happened that the forerunners of eyther fide, lightly armed, met vppon a Hill, where they skirmished. But vpon the approach of both Armies, they began to retire, and the two Campes lodged within forty furlongs one of another.

When night came, Molon confidering that a battaile by day with the King would bee dangerous for him, not relying much vppon his men,

The practife of Molon against Epigene.

250

A mutiny in

Antiochus his Campe.

he resolued to assaile Antiochus at mid-night. Wherefore hee made choise of the ablest men of his whole Army, and takes his way by waknowne places, resoluing to charge the enemy from the higher part : But being aduertised vppon the way, that ten of his Souldiers bad stollen away in the night, and retired vnto Antiochus, hee gaue ouer his enterprize. So as taking another way, hee returned to the Campe at the breake of day, the which was the chiefe cause of great trouble in his Army : For they awaking with this suddaine and shore returne of their Companions, they were so terrified and amazed, as they were in a manner ready to flie and abandon their Campe. Molon A

when the trueth was knowne and well perceived, pacified this terrour and amazement what hee could, in so short a space, although it in some part increased still.

his Army in Battaile.

252

The King being ready to fight, drawes his Army to fielde at the breake of day, and on the right Wing hee sets the Launces, vnder the Commaund of ardis, a man of great experience in the Warre. To whom hee gaue for a supply the Candyots his Allies, and after them the Gaules and Rhigosages: who were followed by the Souldiers of Greece, and finally by a great battalion of Foote-men. In regard of the left Wing, he gaue it to the Allies, which were all on horse-backe. Hee likewise set the Elephants in Front betwixt the two Wings, beeing ten B in number. In regard of the fupplies of Horse and Foote distributed on eyther. Wing, hee gives them charge to wheele about, and to compasse in the enemy, as soone as the Battaile should beginne to charge.

After all this he: encourageth the Souldiers, telling them in few words what was necessary for the present: And he gines to Hermes and Zeuxis the leading of the left Wing, and takes the right vnto himselfe. On the other fide Molon drawes his Army to Field with great difficulty; and puts it but ill in Battaile, by reason of the disorder which had happened in the night. Yet hee divided his Horse-men in two wings, c thinking the enemy had done the like, placing the Targetteers and the Ganles with others that were of most apt courage, great experience and best Armed in the middest of the Horse-men: putting the Archers and Slingers uppon the two Wings, without the Troupe of Horse men, and in Front were placed all the Carriages and Bill-men. He gaue the leading of the left Wing vnto his brother Neolaw, and him

selfe takes the right. This done, the two Armies marcht: Molons right Wing was loyall and faithfull vnto him, charging Zeuxis with great Courage and fury. But when as the left Wing drew somewhat neere vnto the King, it re- D tired to the enemy. This happening, Molons Troupes fainted suddainely: And the Kings Army grew more from and couragious. But when as Molon faw and well perceived himselfe thus betrayed, and inuironed by the enemy, thinking and immagining of the Torments which hee must indure, if hee fell aliue into their hands, hee slew himselfe. The like the rest did which had beene Traytors vnto the King, who recouering their Houses by flight, slew themselues.

When as Neolaus had escaped from the Battaile, and was retired into Alexander Brother to Molon in Perfis, hee flew the mother of Mos lon and his Children : After whose death he flew himfelfe, perswading Alexander to doe the like. When as the King had spoiled the enemies Campe; hee commaunded that the body of Molon should be Molon Griscia hariged upon a Croffe, in the most eminent place of Media, the fed. which was suddainly performed by them which had the Charge : who after they had carried it to Callonite, crucified it neere vnto the Towne of Zagre. In subtile igalitati 400.137

When he had given great admionitions to Molons Army, and pardoned them, he fent men to Conduct them into Media, and to give ordet for the affaires of that Province. As for himlelfe, he retired to Seleucia. Hermes continuing still in his resolution; condemned the Seleucenses in fixe hundred thousand Crownes for that they had repolted, banishing the Diganes : and put many to death in Prison by the Sword. But the King pacifying his rage, intreated the Burgesses curreously, and drew from them for a punishment of their revolte, onely fourescore and ten thousand Crownes. These things thus pacified, hee made Diogene his Lieutenant Generall in Media, and Apolodorus in the Province of Sules; and fent the Chancellour Tychon Lieutenant of his Army, into the feuerall Countries of the Red Sea, there to lye in Garrison vpon any suddaine occasion which should happen. This was the end of Molons reuolte, and of the Warre which followed.

The King glorious of this good fortune, and defirous to terrific the Barbarous Princes his Neighbours, to the end they should not presume hereafter to succour his Rebels with men and Victuals, marches against them with his Army : And first against ArtabaZenes, who was more Antiochusges powerfull then any of the other Princes, and neerer to his Citties. At against Arta. the lame time Hermes feared to enter into the high Country for the eminent danger, and defired (as he had from the beginning) to lead the C Army against Ptolomy. But when as certaine newes came of the

birth of the Kings sonne, hee found this Voyage profitable for him, Antiochus hath it Antiochus should chance to be slaine by the Barbariains : For that asonne, being left Tutour vnto the some, hee should bee Lord of the whole Realme. All being thus resolued, they past Mount Zagre, and ouerranne the Prouince of Artabazanes, which ioynes to Media, being feperated from it by a Mountaine, and on some parts comes to the Pontique Sea on that fide of the Countrey which is about Phases: ioyning alfo to the Hyrcanien Sea. Moreouer it abounds in all things necessary for the Warre. It hapned that the Persians kept this Principality, when D in the time of King Alexander, they made no account or esteeme of it.

Artabazenes being amazed at the Kings comming, and broken with Artabazanes Age, thought good to yeilde vnto Fortune, and to agree with the makes anac. King, vpon fuch conditions as he pleased. When the accord was made, cord with Anti-Apolophanes the Physitian, whom the King loued much, seeing Hermes abuse his Authority too arrogantly, was very carefull for the King, and in great feare for those which were about him.

 Gg_3

Where.

The death of Molen.

The order of

Appliphanes adulce to An tioches.

254

Wherefore after he had expected the opportunity of time, he comes to Antiochus, and intreates him to preuent the presumption and impudency of Hermes, and not to fuffer it any longer, leaft hee fall into his brothers inconvenience : for it was not farre off. Finally, that he should speedily prouide for his safety, and for that of his friends. Antiachus liked well of his Counsell, for that he bated and feated Hermes. The King thanked him, for that hee had not feared to speake vnto him of things which concerned his fafety. Apolophones also seeing that hee had not beene deceived in the opinion which hee had conceived of the King, grew afterwards more bold and hardy. For the rest, Antiochus A Counselled him to be aduised for his owne good, and his friends; not onely by words, but also by effect: And as he sayd, he was ready to do all they aduited to that end : He made shew that the King had a great disease in his eyes, and must indure the paine some daies: yntill that time he had gotten leasure to make ready their enterprize. They vied alfo power to go and aduise with their friends touching this Affaire, vnder the shaddow of visitation : During which time, they made ready the most apt for the execution, and were willingly obeyed for the hate they bare to Hermes, and were ready to execute the Massacre. The Physitians likewise put themselues forward, that it was behoouefull that Antiochus should goe take the Ayre in the morning to refresh B himselfe.

Hermes came to the King in the meane time, as hath beene fayd, to-Bether with the Allies which were participant of the enterprize, the rest remayned in the Campe, as if they knew nothing of the Voyage. The others drawing then Antigonus out of the Campe, they led him into some by place, where at his onely figne they killed Hermes. Behold now how he dyed, of whom alwayes the punishment was neuer sufficient for his wickednesse. The King returned to his Lodging, deliuered from a great distresse and feare, with a prayse reaching to the Heauens by all the Prouince, of his Counsell and of his workes, especially c when they heard newes of the death of Hermes. In the fame time, the Women of Apamia killed his Wife, and the Children, his. After that Antischus was arrived in his lodging, hee fent his Army to winter in the Garrisons, and an Embassadour to Achem, and first complayning of that, that he had taken the Crowne, and likewise durst accept the name of King: And that on the other fide, hee durft openly declare himselfe to hold the party of Ptolomy. Now we must vnderstand, that in the time the King led the Warre to Assabazenes, Acheus thinking that hee should dye in the Country there, or if he dyed not, that hee should without any hindrance draw the Warre into Syrria, before n his returne. Seeing and well perceiving the longnesse of the way, and the Conquering of the Kingdome, suddainly by the ayde of Cyrrastes, that not long fince had abandoned the King, and parted from Lydia with a great Army.

And as he was arrived in Landicea, which is in Phrigia; he seazed on the Crowne, taking also the ambition to be called King, and to write to the Townes to doe so, being earnestly solicited by a Fugitiue, called

Sympes. And as he then continued his voyage, and was not farre from Licaonia, the Men of Warre began to mutiny against him, being forry that they led an Army against the first King : Wherefore Achem feeing their fancies, turned him from the way he had begun, as if hee would make them vinderstand, that he drew not in the beginning to syre ria; but turned his way to Pissaique, pillaging all the Countrey, and distributing to the Men of War a maruallous booty ; fo he gained them, and returned to his house: The King then well aduertised of all these things, fent (as we have fayd) an Embassadour to Achem, making A ready in the meane while all that feemed to bee necessary, to bring the Warre upon Ptolomy. And after that all the Army was neere to Apamia, in the beginning of the Spring, he called his Friends to Councell, requiring of enery one their aduice what they thought fit to be done for Apolophants ile the Warre. When as many had counselled him divers things concer- wice to date. ning the places and preparation, and to make an Army by Sea, Ape-ochus. lophanes (of whom wee have spoken) being borne in Seleucia, stood vp and ouerthrew all the Opinions which had beene formerly given, faving, that it was a folly to drawe the Warre into base Syrria, and to fuffer Prolomy to hold Seleucia, for that it was the fourse and cause of B their Principality: That besides the disgrace hee should doe vnto his Reigne, (confidering that the force of the Kings of Egypt had alwaies kept it) it had moreourt great commodities for the mannaging of the Warre. For whilest the Enemies shall hold is, it would be very preindiciall to all his Enterprizes. For there must be no lesse care vied to defend himselfe from this City, then to affaile the Enemy. And if hee held it, he should not onely be able to preserve his owne with fatety, but also to vndertake some good action both by Sea and Land, for the great opportunity of the place.

The whole Assembly allowed of Apolophanes aduice, and resolved C to take the Citty first, for then Seleucia was held by the Kings of E. gypt, from the time that Piolomy reigned, who was furnamed the Bene- Piolomy the factor. Hee conquerted it at such time, that for the ruine of Beronice, Benefactor. and the rage he had conceined in his heart, hee made a descent into bafe Syrria with an Army. Antiochus after Apolophanes aduice was approued, hee commanded Diegene Generall of the Army at Sea, to fayle speedily to Seleucia. And in the meane time parting from Apamis with his Army, he lodgeth within fine Furlongs of Hippodrome. Hee likewise sends away Theodore Hermioly with a sufficient Army for Syrria, to the end he might gaine the streights, and prouide for the af-

faires of that Province.

This is the scituation of Seleucia, and the places about it; that as the The scituation Citty is feated vpon the Sea- shoare, betwike Cilicia and Phenicia, fo ot selucia. it hath under it a wonderful great Mountaine, which they call Coryphee, whose side towards the West, is washed with the Sea, which is betwire Cipres and Phenicia, and the other which lookes to the East, ioynes to the Regions of the Antiochiens and Seleucenfes. Seleucia scituated on the South, and seperated by a deepe and inacdessible Valley, which extends to the Sea, being enuironed with great Rockes and Caues: And

on that fide which lookes to the Sea, it hath steps and Suburbs inclosed

L1b. 5.

Antiochus corrupts the Captaines of Seleucja.

256

with walls. The Citty also is fortified with a good wall, and beautified with Temples, and faire buildings. It hath but one approach towards the fea, the which is difficult, and made by hand: for they must ascend vnto it by Ladders. The river of Oreme enters into the Sea neere votto ir taking its fourfe and beginning at Liber and Antiliber, and paffeth by Antiochia: whereas running continually, it carries away by its swift course all the filth of the people. Finally, it enters into the Seameere vnto Selencia. Antiechus in the beginning sent to the Gouernours of the Citty, offering them money with great hopes, if without fighting they would A deliuer it ynto him. But when he could not winne them, he corrupts some of the inferiour Captaines: with whom having agreed, he puts his men in Battaile, as if he meant to affaile the Towne with his Army at Sea and at Land on that fide which lookes towards Epirus. Dividing then his Army in three, after that hee had inflamed the hearts of the Souldiers, promifing them great rewards, hee appointed Zenxis with his Company to bee at the Gate which goes to Antiochia, and he gaue to Hermogenes, the places by which they goe to Diofeoria; and gives charge to Arda and Diogene to affaile the Suburbs and Arlenall : for it Seleucia affaul- had beene so agreed with the Traytors, that as soone as the Suburbs R were taken, they should deliner him the Citty. When as the King had given the figne for an affault, they all did their indeauours. But among the rest they which were with Ardis and Diogene, carried themselves valiantly as For they could not affault nor scale the other places. But in regard of the Arienaliand Suburbs, they might affault and scale

Wherefore whilest that the Army at Sea fell vpon the Arsenall, and Ardis Troupes vpon the Suburbs, scaling the Walls, and that they of the Towne could not succour them, for that they were environed on all sides by the Enemy stit fell our that the Suburbe was suddainly taken. Which done, the petty Captaines corrupted by the King, ran to Leonce, who at that time was Gouernour of the Citty, perswading him to fend to Aminches before the City were forced. And although that Leonce were ignorant of the Treason, he sent presently to Antio. chus, (being troubled with the amazement of his people) to veeld them the Citty vpon condition to have the lives of all the Inhabitants faued. The King accepting the condition, promifed to faue the liues of all Free-men, which were about fixe thousand: But when hee was entred, he not onely pardoned the Burgesses, but also called home the banished men of Selencia, and restored vnto them the government p of their publique affaires, and all their goods, and put a good Garrifon into the Hauen and Port.

Whilest Antiochno stayed at Selencia, hee received Letters from Theodote, by the which he folicited him to goe speedily into base Syrris. The King was long in suspence what councell he should take, and was pensive and troubled with the course he should take in this action. you must vnderstand, that Theodote borne in Etolia, had done great serwices for the Realme of Pielemy, (whereof wee haue formerly made mention)

mention) and many times put his life in danger. At fuch time as Antiochus made Warre against Molon, hee tooke in person (disdaining the King, and distrusting his Courtiers) Prolemais and Tyrus by Paneteole, and fuddainly called in Antiochus. The King having taken Acheus to heart, and laying afide all other affaires, he returnes with his Army the fame way he came. When he was come to a place which the Countrey people call Marfia, hee camped neere the ftreights which are about Gerre, which is not farre from the Fens, lying in the midft of that Countrey. There being advertised that Nicholas Lieutenant Generall A to Ptolomy, held Ptolomais besieged, in the which Theodose was, hee left those that were best armed, and gaue charge to besiege the Towne The Towne of of Broches, lying vpon the Penns, making hafte to goe and raile the Broches belie-

Nicholas aduertised by his Spies of the Kings comming, retired, and fent Lagore of Candy, and Dorimene of Etolia, to gaine the streights which are necre vnto heryes: Where the King planted his Campe, after that he had fought with them, and put them to flight. And when hee had drawne together the rest of his Army in the same place, he makes an Oration to his Souldiers, and marcheth away with great courage. B There Theodore and Paneteole met with him with their Friends, to whom he gaue a good and gracious reception, and he tooke Tyrus and Tyrus and Pto-Ptolemais with all their preparation of Warre. There were in these temaistaken. Townes forty (hips, whereof twenty were for the Warre, well armed and lurnished with all things necessary, all which were Quinqueremes or Quadriremes: the rest were Triremes, Biremes, and of one banke. All which hee gaue to Diegene, Captaine of the Sea-army. When as newes came vnto him of the fectet flight of Ptolomy to Caire, and that his whole Army affembled together at Damiette, and that they fought to cut off the waters from him, hee gaue ouer his enterprize to assaile C. Damiette: and ouer-tunning the Countrey, hee laboured to winne the

Townes partly by force, partly by loue. Whereof some being desti-

tute of Garrisons, and fearing the Kings power, yeelded suddainly to

the Enemy : Others relying vpon their strength or their scituation,

maintained his affaults. As for Ptolomy being so apparently betraide, hee did not indeauour by reason of his weaknesse, to give that speedy order to his affaires that was fitting, so little accompt he had made of that which concernes the preparations of Warre. Wherefore Agasbocles and Sofibius (who at that time gouerned all the affaires of the Kingdome) bethought themfelues (as much as possibly they might) of that which was most neces-D fary. They resolued to prepare for the Warre, sending in the meane The policy of time an Embassie to intreate Antrochus, by way of dissembling, to de- agathoclerand bate Prolomy's right: who as not daring to make Warre, and having ad. Sofibius. uertised and perswaded his Friends, was retired into base Syrria. When as Agathecles and Sosibius had thus resolued, and given order according to their power, they speedily sent Embassadours to Antiochus, and likewise to the Rhodiens, Conftantinopolitains, Cizicins, and Esoliens, to perswade them to send Embassies to Antiochus to mediate a peace.

When

An Army rais fed by Pro'omy.

Captaines.

When as these had sent to both the Kings, they gave them great meanes to provide in the meane time things necessary for the Warre, for Pto. tomy receiuing the Embassadours gratiously, with those of Antiochus. in the meane time he drew together the Mercenary Souldiers to Alex. andria, which lay dispersed in other Townes, and sent others to leuie men without the Prouince, making prouision of victuals. Finally, he was carefull day and night to prepare, for the Warre. For the which he sent continually men to Alexandria, to give order there should not be any thing wanting that was necessary. Hee had also given charge to Echecrase of Thesaly, and to Phexide of Mil, to make provision of A Armes, and to choose men, and to muster them: The like he did to Enrilochia Magnes, and to Socrates of Beecia: with whom also was Cno. pias Alorite. For hee held them for men of judgement in such affaires: For that he esteemed them of great experience in the Warre, having ferued long under Demetriss and Antigonia.

These drew many souldiers together, prouiding wisely, and like honest men for all things. First they deliuered Armes to the Companionsaccording to their fashion and age, distributing to every one those which hee could best mannage, and disliking those which they had formerly vscd. Then they instructed them in particular for the future, and trai- n ned them continually, not by words onely, but accustoming them to Combats made for pleasure. After that they drew them together, and by remonstrances and perswasions pur courage into them for the War to come. Wherein Andromachus Aspondin and Polycrates the Argine, who were lately come from Arges, were very powerfull. These were men accustomed to the Warre, and much esteemed by reason of their Countrey, and the excellency of their lines: especially Polycrates, for the antiquity of his race, and the glory of his Father Musicas. These inftructing the Bands publiquely and in private, gave courage to the Soul-The distribution diers for the future War. Moreover, every one had his particular charge in the Army according to their experience. Envilochus Magnes had the command of three thousand men, which the Kings call the furious Troupe. Secrates of Beesla, was Chiefe of two thousand armed with Targets. Phoxide the Achaian, and Ptolomy of Thrases, and with them Andromachus Aspondin, led the great Battaillion, and the Mercenaries: So as Adromachus and Ptolomy were Captaines of the great Battaillion, and Phoxide of the Mercenaries. The Phalange or great Battaillion contained about five and twenty thousand men. The Mercenaries were eight thousand. Polycrates had trained and instructed the Gentlemen of the Kingshouse, being seuen hundred Horse, ouer whom hee was n Captaine, and likewise of those which were come for Lybia, and had beene leuied in the Prouince. All which made the number of three

> thousand men. In regard of the Grecian Cauallery, and those which were in pay, Echecrates of Thessaly, a man of service, instructed them carefully, to the number of two thousand: being as diligent as any other to have a care of the Souldiers. Cnopy had the command of all the Candiers, being threethousand in number: Among the which there was a thousand Souldiers

The History of POLYBIVS. Lib. 5.

Souldiers newly leuied, of which he gaue the charge to Philon of Gno-Ge. There were moreouer three thousand Affricans, armed after the the Macedonian manner, ouer whom Ammonin Barcee was Captaine. There were also about two thousand Egyptians under the command of Solibius Finally, foure thousand Thraces and Gaules, which had long ferned in the Warre : and two thousand newly lenied, whereof Denis of Thrace had the charge. This was Prolomes Army at that fame time.

When as Antiochus had befieged the Towne of Dure, and faw that hee could not preuaile, as well for its fortification, as for the defence of A Nicholas: in the beginning of Winter hee concluded a truce with Ptolomes Embassadour, and promised him willingly and freely, to goe out of the Province, and to doc him all the pleasure hee could, although he had another intent : for hee made haste to leade his Army to winter in Seleucia; for that Acheus made shew to bee of his side, although in truth he held Ptolomes party. After the truce concluded. Antiochus fent presently an Embassadour, giuing him charge to ad- An Embassie uertise him speedily of Ptolomes intention; and that hee should come sent from Antivnto him to Seleucia. Then leaving sufficient Garrison in necessary och to Proleplaces, and the charge of all to Theodore, hee led his Army to Se-R leucia: from whence he sent them to winter in Garrisons, and from that time hee began to neglect all care in exercifing his Souldiers. thinking hee should have no more occasion of fighting: For that hee held many places in base Syrria and Phenicea, hoping that the rest would be soone reduced to his obedience : considering that Piolome durst not come to fight. His Embassadours thought no lesse, for that Sofibius had given them faire and courteons words at Caire: And not a ny one of those which had beene fent to Antiochia, knew the preparation of Warre which was made in Alexandria: fo as Sosibius dismisfing the Embassadours, was continually earefull of the Warre. It is true, that Antiochiu vsed great care to make his just quarrell knowne to the Embassadours, when they should enter into discourse.

Finally; being come to Seleucia, and falling into primate speech of the peace, according vnto that which sofiblie had given them in charge, the King did not hold the ourrage which he had done by open Warre, Ressons of the in feazing vpon the places of bale Syrria to bee vniuft or vnreasonable : warrepropounand that he had done nothing but by a just title. For he fayd, that An dod by Autiorigenus with one eye, and Seleucus, who first had conquered those places, were the true and lawfull Lords. Wherefore the Realme of bale Syrria belonged vnto him, as it were by right of inheritance, and not to D Ptolomy: For that Ptolomy had fought against Antigonia not for his owne right, but to conquer those Countries for Selencus. Moreover, he propounded the mutuall accord betwixt the Kings, for at fuch time as Antigonus was defeated, when as Cassander, Lyfimachus and Selencus would divide the Realme betwirt them, they adjudged all Syrria to Selencus. This was all that Antiochus alledged. Contrariwife Prolomes Embassa. The answer of This was all that Ansiocoms alleaged. Contrarionic rooms Linearia-dours laboured to produce their reasons, making this present outrage far bassadours to greater then it had bin : laying that the accord had bin broken as wel by Antiochus.

259

the treason of Theodote, as by the descent which Antiochus had made with an Army into Syrria. Moreover, they pretended Ptolomes posses. fion, faying, that he had made Warre with Seleness against Antigones. to the end he might conquer all the Empire of Asia for Selencus, and make Syrria and Phenicea his owne. These difficulties with divers others, were many times debated betwirt them : but they could not conclude any thing, although matters were folicited by their common Friends: for that the party of Acheus bred a great controuersie and debate betwixt them : For that Ptolomy fought to com. prehend him in the accord, and Antiochus would not heare him a

spoken of : holding it a strange thing, that Ptolomy should presume to make mention of those who through Treason abandoned their King.

Finally, the Embassadours departed without any effect.

A leuie of Ar. ches and Ptob-

260

In the Spring Antiochus vieth all diligence to leuie men, with an mies by Antio- intentto affaile Syrria both by Sea and Land, and to make subject all the other Countries of that Province. But Prolomy did no lesse to reenforce the Army of Nichelas: fo as hee fent him ftore of victuals out of the Countries neere vnto Galle, furnishing him moreover with Souldiers both by Sea and Land, with other things necessary. meanes whereof Nicholas refuming courage, went boldly to Field with the helpe of Perigene, Commander of the Army at Sea, being fent by Prolemy with thirry thips of Warre, and about foure hundred Merchants Vessels. This Nicholas was borne in Etolia, as able and refolute a Souldier as any that ferued Ptolomy: who after he had former. ly gotten with a part of his Army, the streights which lie neere vnto Pla. tane, and marching with the rest to Perphirrien, he shur vp the pasfage of the Province from the King with the helpe of the Sca-army. Embassadours from the Area Ansiochus being come to Marache, and Embassadours arriving from the Arcadians, to conferre of the conditions of their Alliance, he not dians to Antioonely received them courteously, but freed the discord which had beene long betwint them, in reconciling the Arcadians which dwelte in the Iland, with those that lived in Epirus. This done hee contesto Berite, entring into the Pronince by a place which the Countrey-men call, the Face of God: in passing her tooke the Towne of Botre, setting fire upon Triere and Calame. From thence he fent Nicarehe and Thesdote before, giving them charge to gaine the fireights which are neere vnto the River of Dyce : And with the rest of his Army he plants himselse neere vnto the River of Damure, from whence Diegene Chiefe of the Army at Sea, was not fatte.

Then agains he takes those that were lightly armed, whom hee had fent before with Nicarche and Theodese, and goes to discouer the D streights which Nicholas had formerly taken : so as after hee had well viewed the places, hee returned to his Campe. Where the next day hee left those that were best armed, under the charge of Nicarche, and marched with the rest against the Enemy. And for that Mount Liban doth much restraine those places towards the Sea shoare, the way must of necessity be narrow, difficult, and almost inaccessible: leaving a streight and short passage towards the Sea. Whereas Nichelas having

then built his Fort, hee did hope he should be well able to repulse Antiochus: For that he had put him felfe into it with a good number of Souldiers: and had also fortified it with Engines and other defences.

The History of POLYBIVS.

The King divided his Army into three Troupes, whereof hee gaue Antischushis the leading of the one to Theodore, giving him charge to fall vpon the Army divided into three. Enemies which desended the way of the Mountaine. Hee gaue ano. ther to Menedemus, whom hee commanded to strive to get up the Mountaine : And the third he placed on the Sea-shoare, vnder the lea-

ding of Diecles. Hee put himselfe among the Baggage to see all, and A to succour where neede should require. At the same time Diogenes and Perigene began to fight at Sea, approaching as neere to Land as possibly they could: fo as they might fee the Combats by Land and Sea with one view. The Trumpets founding to the charge, the fight was long & Combarac equallat Sea : fo as the Victory inclined to neither fide : for that the Sea and Land. two Armies were equall in number of men and preparation of Warre, In regard of the fight at Land, Nicholas had the better in the beginning.

for that hee had the advantage of the place. But when as they which were with Theodose, came vpon them from the top of the Mountaine, and charged them with great fury, Nicholas and his men fled shamefully. There were two thousand slaine in the chase : the rest saued themselves B in Sydon. And although that Perigene in shew had good hope of the fight at Sea, yet feeing the defeate of the Army at Land, he retired. An-

tiochus drew his men together, and went and planted his Campe neare voto Syden : yet hee did not hold it fit to attempt the taking thereof at that time, as well for the abundance of munition and victuals that were init, as for the multitude of men, as well Inhabitants, as fuch as were retired into it after the Battaile. Wherefore he dislodged, and went to Philotere, fending word to Diegenet, Chiefe of the Army at Sea, to fayle to Tyre. You must vnderstand, that Philotere is seated neare vnto a Fenne,

into the which the River which they call Iordan, passeth: then takes its C course by the Countrey of that Towne which is called Seithes. After the suddaine taking of these two Townes, he enters into great hope for the future, for that their Fields were sufficient to furnish his Army with all kind of victuals, and other munitions for the war. There he placed fuf-

ficient Garrisons, and passing the Mountaines, he came to the Towne of Atabyre, scituated vpon the Mountaine of Mastodia, which hath fifteene Furlongs in ascent. There laying an Ambush neare the Towne, he began to draw the Inhabitants forth to fight, who following his men who fee-

med to retire, were in a manner all flaine, they turning head: And for that the Ambush charged them in the Reare, he pursued the rest, and tooke D them and their Towne. At the same time Ceree being one of Ptolomes Commander, left it. By the meanes whereof Antioches gained many other Captaines. For soone after Hippolochus of Thessaly came to yeeld

himselte to him with three hundred horse. And when he had put a Gar- Diuera Towars rifon into Assabyre, he proceeded in his journey, purfuing his enterprize, takenby dasiand in passing the Country, tooke Pelle, Came, & Gepre. In the meanetime ochus.

the people of of Arabia agreeing together, followed his party. Autiochia growing into greater hope, & drawing victuals from them, went farther

into the Country: and presently tooke Gallete with the Garrison of the

262

Abillatins, of whom Nicie a Kiniman and Allie to Nemne, was Commander. And although that Gadare, which at that time feemed impregnable for its scituation, held out, yet hee tooke it suddainly in befieging it, and fetting vp his Engines. And having newes afterwards that a good number of Enemies were drawne together into Rabasamaf-Sane a Towne of Arabia, and spoyled all the Arabians Countrey which held his party, he went suddainly thither with his Atmy, and planted his Campe neere vnto the Mountaines among the which the Towne is

scituated. And when vpon a view he had discouered that it was not to A be forced but in two places, he fet vp his Engines, and other things necessary to force a Towne, whereof he gaue the charge to Nicarchus and Theodote : and in the meane time attends his other affaires.

These men carefull of the Battery, striued with emulation who should first overthrow the Wall, whereupon a great part fell sooner then they could imagine. This done, they fought continually day and night, friuing to lose no time. And although the Siege continued long, yet they could not preuaile, in regard of the multitude of men which defended it : vntill that a Prisoner shewed them a little River, where the belieged fetch their water, the which they stope vp with Pallisadoes, & frones, and such like things. Then being out of hope of water, they yeelded to the Enemies. By this meanesthe King having it in his hands, he gaue it in guard to Nicarchus with a sufficient strength : and he sent Hipyeelded to Anpolichus and Cerae (who as we have fayd, had abandoned Ptolomy) in. to the Countrey of Samaria, with fine thousand Foote : giving them charge to continue there for the defence thereof, and to preserve all the people which were vnder his obedience. From thence he parts with his whole Army, and comes to Prolomais to passe the Winter there.

fer belieged.

ziochus.

When the Pedneliffenses had beene the same Summer besieged by the Selgenfes, and were in great danger; they fent to demand succours from Acheus. When he had heard them willingly, and promifed to dee C it, they endured the Siege with great courage, growing more resolute. by the hope of fuccours. Finally, Acheus fent Garfyere with fixe thoufand Foot, and fine hundred Horfe: giving him charge to vie all diligence to fuccour the Pednels fenfes. The Selgenfes aduertifed by the Spies of his comming, recourred the streights which are about a place which they call, Eschelle, with the greatest part of their Army, and stop vp all the pasfages. Garfjere entring by force into Myliade, and planting his Campe neare voto a Towne called Candois, he vied this ftratagem, seeing that he could not passe, for that the Selgenses kept all the passages. He began to raise his Campe, and to retire, making shew that it was impossible D for him to succour the Pednetiffenses: for that the streights of the Country were held by the Enemy.

The Selgenses thinking they had beene gone, as men despairing to be able to succour them, retired, some to the Campe, the rest returned to the Citty to recouer Victuals. But Garfjere comes fuddainiy backe to the streights, whereas finding them abandoned, he set men to guard them vader the command of Captaine Phayle: and from thence hee

comes with his forces to Perge, whereas staying some time, hee sent Embassadours to Pamphilia, and the other Townes, to acquaint them with the infolency of the Selgenfes, and to folicite them to enter into league with Achens, and to fuccour the Pednetiffenses. The Selgenses at the same time sent a Captaine with an Army, hoping to chase Phayle from the ftreights. But for that matters succeeded otherwise then they expected, and lost many of their men in fighting, they gave ouer their Enterprize : yet for all this they did not raise their Siege, but were more attentiue then before, to fet vp their Engines.

In the meane time the Ettenenses which inhabite the Mountaines aboue Syde, scat eight thousand men armed to Garsgere : and the pendiens foure thousand. The Sydetes made no shew to send any succours : for that they were Friends to Antischus, and hated the Afpendia ens. Garfgere came to ednelife, accompanied with the Troupes of the Allies, thinking at his comming to raise the Siege. But when he faw that the Selgenfes were nothing amazed, he fet himselfe downe neere vnto them. The Pedneliffenfes were fo opprest with want of Victuals, as they could no longer endure the hunger, wherefore Garfyere Reing it necessary to vse diligence, prepared two thousand men, every one la-

den with a Mine of Wheat, and fent them by night to the Towne. The A Mine is a B Selgenses aductifed hereof, charged them presently, and flew the great our Bushels, test part of them, and tooke all the Wheate. Wherewith they grew so weighing an glorious, as they not onely besieged the Towne, but they attempted the hundred and Enemies Campe. It is the custome of the Selgenses to bee alwaies bold an pounds. and audatious. Wherefore in leaving (ufficient forces in their Campe, they suddainly assailed the Enemy in divers place. And when the Alarum grew hot, so as the Campe was forced in some places, Garsgere 2mazed at this great and suddaine accident, and having no great hope, hee caused the Horse-men to goe forth by a certaine place which was not guarded : whom the Selgenses (thinking they had fled for feare of C being defeated) did not pursue, nor made any accompt of them. These Horse-men turning a little about, charged the Enemy suddainly in the Reare, fighting with great fury. Then Garfjeres Foot-men, who feemed to wauer, turned head, being re-united, and fell vpon the Enemy." By this meanes the Selgenses being thus enuironed, in the end fled. The Pednelissenses taking courage hereat, made a fally, and beate them out of Garygere athe Campe which had the guard. In the chase Garsyere made a great gainst the Sel. flaughter: for there were aboue ten thousand men flaine: of those which senses. remained, the Allies retired to their houses, and the Selgenses to their

Countrey, taking their way by the Mountaines. The next day Garffere parts with his Army, and makes hafte to paffe the Mountaines, and to approach the Towne, before that the Selgenfes (being amazed with this fresh flight) should prouide for any thing. Who being full of heavinesse and seare, as well for the little hope they had of fuccours from their Allies, confidering the loffe they had made with them, & amazed with this fresh misfortune, were in great doubt of safe- Logbase lene ty, either for themselues or their Countrey. Wherefore they assembled Embassadour

the Counsell, to resolue to send one of their Cittizens called Logbase, by the selection

The policy of Garfyere.

in Embassie: who had had great Friendship and familiarity with Antiochus, which died in Thrace: And moreover he had bred vp Laedicea the wife of Acheus, and his owne Daughter, whom they had given him in her infancy to instruct. They fent him therefore as their Embassadour, thinking him sufficient for that businesse. But being come to Garfyere, he write to Acheus, that he promised to deliuer him the Towne.

A truce made with the Selgenfes.

my is dange-

was so farre from doing that which hee had in charge, and which the duty of a good Cittizen required, that contrariwise he solicited him to Garfiere giuing a willing eare vpon hope of taking it, sent men to Acheus to solicite him, and to let him understand how matters had past. A Finally hee makes a truce with the Selgenses, delaying still to make an absolute accord with him, vnder colour that he would consider better thereon, to the end that in the meane time hee might expect Acheus, and give Logbase opportunity to finish the Enterprize. But whilest they in the meane time conferred together, the Souldiers by a kind of tion with an E- familiarity, went freely into the Towne to fetch Victuals, which is many times the cause of a great Deseate. So as in my opinion there is not any Creature amongst all the rest, more simple then man, or that hath leffe sense and judgement : whom notwithstanding the greatest part of the Worldhold for the wifest. But how many Armies ? How R many Forts? How many and what Citties haue fallen into the Enemies hands thereby? And although these be things which daily happen, and that all the world fees, yet wee shew our selues (I know not how) new and Apprentizes. . This happens, for that wee doe not confider the fortunes which have happened to our Ancestors in former times : and that we busie our selues with toile and charge, to make prouision of Corne, Siluer, Fortifications, and Armes. Moreouer, wee make no esteeme of that which is of great profit in great dangers, but discaine it, although it be in our power to learne it in the time of peace, by the Hiftories and Commentaries of former actions, and as it were to practife them. But to the end we may returne to the discourse from whence we C parted, Acheus came at the day appointed. The Selgenfes going to meet him, had great hope and confidence in his bounty.

In the meane time Logbase having drawne into his house a good number of those which came into the Citty for Victuals, hee began to perswade the Cittizens, not to lose any time: and that considering the good-will which Acheus bare them, they should thinke of their affaires, and that in affembling the people, they should consider of the conditions of peace. These things being propounded, they presently affembled, to conferre of their present affaires, calling those which were deputed for the guard of the Citty. Logbafe making a figne vnto D the Enemy, as he had promised; suddainly armes all those which were in his house, doing the like himselfe with his Children, to vndergoe the danger. On the other side Asbeus came to the Towne with halfe the army. Garfjere marcht with the rest to Cesbedia. This is a Temple of Inpiter, so well scituated aboue the Towne, as it seemes like a Fort.

When as by chance some one saw the Enemy approach, hee ran suddainly to acquaint the Affembly, whereupon there was so great

haramazement among the peole, as leaving the Company, some ran sociefbedia, others to the places where they were fet in Guard, and the Commons ran to the house of Logbase: where discovering the trea Children shin. fond of fury got to the house top, others forced the Gate, and flow Logbafe, his Children and all the partners of the Conspiracy. This done they proclamed liberty to al Bondmen by the found of the Trumner, and encouraged one another to fuccour and defend the Citty, runningro all places necessary. When Garfgere faw Cefbedia seazed on by the Burgesses, he changed his resolution, and Acheus seeking to force the Gates, the Selectifes made a fally, killing featien hundred of his men. and repuls'd the reft from the Towne. This done, Achens and Garffere returned to their Campe with shame and difgrace. The Selgenses afterwards feating the sedition of the Towne, and the presence of the Enemy, they fem their most ancient Cittizens to demand a peace. Who Apeace concluded betwice being come to Acheus, they agreed vpon these conditions : that Acheus Acheus and the and the Selgenfer should live in peace, and that they should pay vnto him Selgenfer. presently two hundred and forty thousand Crownes. That they should restore the Prisoners of the Pednelissenses, and that at a certaine time prefixt, they should pay moreouernine score thousand. Thus the Selgenless who by the Treason of Logbase were in danger of their Country and B Liberties) defended themselues valiantly and with great courage : and meither loft their Liberties, nor that honour which they derived from the Lacedemonians.

The History of POLYBIVS.

When as Acheus had reduced under his obedience the Meliades, and the greatest part of Pampbilia, and had brought his Army to Sardis, hee made Warre against Attalus. All the Inhabitants on this side Taurie. feared him wonderfully. At the fame time when he made War against the Selgenfes. Attalns accompanied with the Egofages, Galates, ouer-ran Estia, and the neighbour Townes, who for feare had yeelded to Aches Whereof the greatest part submitted themselues willingly under his C obedience the rest were forced. Cyme, Smirne, and Phoces, were the first that yeolded voto him. Afterwards the Egenfes and Lemnises feaeing a Siege, yeelded in like manner. There came likewise Embassadours from Theia and Colophon, submitting themselves and their Townes vnto him. Which being received according to the ancient accord, and hostagestaken, he made great accompt of the Smirniens, for that they had kept their faith best. Afterwards continuing his course, he past the River of Lyce, and went first to the Mysiens, and then to the Carses, whom he terrified: The like he did to the Guards of the double walls, and tooke them and their Garrisons, for that Themistocles (whom Acheus had left D there for Gouernour) deliuered them vnto him. And parting presently, ruining the Countrey of Apia, he past the Mountaine of Pelecas, and planted himselfe neere vnto a great River: where the Moone falling into an Eclipse, and the Galates discontented with the tediouspes of the way, having a traine of women and children in their Wagons, observing the Eclipse, protested that they would passe no farther. And although that King Assalus drew no service from them, yet fearing that if he left them, as it were in disdaine, they would retire to Acheus, and that thereby hee Hh 3

should purchase an ill fame, as if throughing ratitude he had abandorad those who with great affection had followed him into Afa he intraced them to endure a little toile of the way, and that he would foone Drine them to a good place, where they should tell: And withall hee would doe for them whatfocuer they should defire according to his power. and as reason should require. Attalantherefore gave Hellesport to the digefages for their abode : and after he had intreated the Lampfacenes, the Alexandrians, and Ilienfes courtcoully, for that they had kept their faith, he went to Pergamo with his Army. Tog at the a da out , interport of

The Army of Ptolomy.

266

The Army of

In the beginning of the Spring; when Antiochan and Protomy haid a made their preparations for the Warre, they made hafte to draw their Armies to Field. Prolomy parts from Alexandria with about three score and ten thousand Foote, and fruethousand Horse, with three score and thirscene Elephants. Antiochus hauing newes of their domning. hea fuddainly drawes his mentogether. His Army confifted of fine thous fand Dains, Carmaniens, and Ciliciens lightly armodivinder the leading of Bittace a Macedonian : and of twenty thouland memafter the Macadanian manner, whereof the greatest part were Anginastides, who were levied throughout the Realme, under the command of Theodote of Etolia, who committed the Treason. The number of the great Bath taillion was about twenty thousand, of whom Nicarchas and Theede. I te furnamed Hemiolia, had the leading. Moreover there were two those fand Agreens and Persians, Archers and Slingers : with whom were a thousand Thraciaps, ouer whom Menedemus Alabandene was Captaine. Morcover, five thouland Medians Ciffiens Cadoffens and Carmaine: which Accius the Sonne of Alpalian of Media had under his charge. In regard of the Arabians, and their neighbours, they were vnder

the command of Zabdibel, to the number often thousand men or more. On the other fide Hippulochus of Theffaly, had the leading of fine thoufand Grecians Mercenaries : and Enrilochus of fifteene hundred Gandsats, Zelyfgorgyne had a thoufand Candyots newly leuied; to the which a were joyned five hundred Lydians with Shings. Lyfiniashus the Gaule, had a thousand Carduces. Finally, the whole Cauallery amounted to fixe thousand Horse, of which Antipater the Kings Nephew, had the charge of foure thousand, and Themison of the reft. By this meanes Antiochus his Army confifted offthree score and two thousand Foote, fixe thousand Horse, and a hundred and two Elephants. Ptolomy tiking his way by Damietta hee made that Towne subject vnto him at his entrance: From whence after a plentifull distribution of Come among the Souldiers, heeparted, and palleth Cassia and Bathra comming by the defert Countries. Being come to Gaza, and having at n sembled his Army, he marche slowly in the Countrey : planting himfelic on the fift day, within fifty Furlongs of Raphia, which is a Towne scituated behind Rhimococure, and first of those of Syrria which looks

At the same time Antiochus armed with his Army, and paffing that Towne by night, he planted his Army within tenfurlongs of his Enemy. In the beginning they kept themselves distant so far one from another.

But forme ferridaies after, Antioches deliving to ger forme plate of acuantage, and to guadomage to his man, her todget mere who the enemy, identification for the furtongs between the two Campes. So as going to forreignafid to Wheen There were many encounters: on the other fide, fometings the Poote and pand fometimes the Hoffe men skirmished betwint the was Compes ; trying the Forume of Wife Warre. At the fametime Theodore the wed the great elbrage of a true Etelenis Loobeing by longingprience adminted With the Kings man tempt of Thee per of living, hee entred artho breake of day into the themies Camp, dore. A and could not be discourred by his Counterance; for that it was the garke at a Meither did her differ moth from them in his Apparrell, The that they wand dindre fashions of habits! Having formerly objectives the place where the Kings Fent was planted, for that they had fought often necrovsko aber Gampa; her mentotherny to it a Wifen hee had paft vaknowing, and was come fecterly so the Tent, in the which the King did vitally care and dainke of Where calling his lookes carefully a bour, him, he faw him doce for he was twoged in a place retired beliffed is fo as hee wounded swo calat were lodged there, and killing andrew the the Kings Philirion, her retired without danger to his Campe, bling? Kings hydrian B ing his enterprize to an end by his hardy dourage : But deceived in His flaine. forcefights of or that hee had not well obsessed the place where as Pfo. bmy did vitially lyeures drive '.m. clesuister agents ode when the dings had communed in Campe fine daies together, one before the other, they resolved in the end to give Battaile. Probing

beginning to draw his Army out of his Fore, Antioches Suddainely did the like . And they planted their two chiefe Battaffons in Front one against the other, armed after the Macedonian mannet. I Behold the order which errively held for the two Wings : Polyerares was in the Theorder of right Wirigs Wirh the Horfe-men that were ynder his charge: Betwirt in Battaile. C the which and the great Barralion, were the candjots placed neere vit to the Hoffe men. or After which was the Rings battalion, and fulfequently thole that were armed with Targets, whereof Secrator had the Commaund y And finally the Lybian avined after the Macedonial manner. Vppon the right Wing was Hebedrates of Theffaly, having with him his Troupe of Plories Afree which were appointed the Gar lates and Thrassans; and then Phonids with the Mercenaries of Greed being followed by the great Battalion of the Egyptidus. Hee Had alfo placed forty Elophants on the left Wing, with the which Prolomy work

before the right Wing; neere vnto the horfe-men that were firet antiocher on the other fide, placed on the right Wing (with the which Dhee was resolued to fight in Battaile against Prolomy) threescore Ele-The order of phants : Of which his companion Philip had the Charge. After these Antiochus his hee orders two thousand Horse vnder the leading of Antipater, and Battaile fets the Candysts in Front, neere unto the Horse men : Then hee appoints the Mercenaries of Greece, and after them were fine thousand men, who armed after the Macedonian manner, had Bynice for their Captaine. As for the left Wing , Het placed two thousand horses in

at affi to

Front , vnder the Commaund of Tomifon Neere vnto which hee fers

the Cardaces and Lydien Horfe men, and after them three Thoufand men lightly armed , under the charge of Menedemus : in whole Reare were the Ciffiens AMediens . and garmeriend or And afterthem the A. rabians were loyned to the great Bastallon Finally; hee fets before the left Wing the rest of the Elaphantol gining them for their Guide one Myifee a Houshold feruants the King di txiving position

The two Armies being thus in bastaile, she Kings beganne to encourage their Troupes, being scoonpanied with their Capraines and friends, commending the value of the Souldiers both in generall and particular: And having great hope of their Banalions, they propoun-A ded great benefits which would redowne by the Victory. Frolomy had with him his fifter Arfinee, with Andromachin and Sofibine, who encouraged the Souldiers : And Theodote and Micarchus were with An. siehu, for that of either fide they were the Commaunders of the two great Battalions. They were both of one humour to make Speeches vnto their men and vet neither of them had done any thing worthy of fame or praise to be propounded, for than they were newly come vnto their Principallities. Wherefore they laboured to encourage their Troupes, in reducing to their memory the glory and proweffe of their Ancestors: And propounding moreover a hope of themselves for the future, they intreated and folicited the Captaines to fight, and to vidergoe the danger resolutely and with courage. These were the speeches or such like, which they vsed in person, orthy their in-

A Battailebe. twist Ptolomy

The Combate of the Elephants.

268

This done, the two Kings marcht one against the other, a flow pace. tolowy was in the left Wing, and Antiochus in the right with his royal Battalion. Then the Trumpets founded to Battaile, whereof the first and Antischus. Charge was made by the Elephants. Few of Prolomes held good against those of the Enemy, whose Souldiers fought valliantly, casting of Darts, Pertwifans, and plummets of lead, wounding one another. But the Elephants made aftronger Warre ; beating their Heads furi. oully together : For fuch is the manner of their fight, affailing one another with their teeth, and standing firme they repulse one another with great Violence: But if they once turne their fides they wound with their Teeth, as Bule do with their Homes. .. But the greatest part The Elephants of Ptolomes feared the Combate: the which doth vivally happen to of Lybia tears the Elephants of Lybia: For they cannot indure the fent, nor heare the them of India. crye of thole of India. So as fearing (as it seemes) their greatnesse and force, they flye them, as it happened at that time, for that flying fuddainly they brake the rankes of their owne men, and made a great n flaughter in Ptolomes great Battallion,

The which Antiochus perceiuing, hee presently chargeth Polycrates Horse-men with the Elephants. The Grecians about his great Battallion fell vpon Prolomes Targetteers. Wherefore when the Elephants had broken them, his left Wing beganne to turne head. When Echeerates Commaunder of the right Wing, (expecting still the Combate of the fayd Wings) faw the Dust rife in the Ayre, and that his Elephants durst not charge the Enemies, he sends to Phoxide Captaine of

the Merbenaries to charge those which he had in Front? The which he did tillewife, marching a flow pace with the Horfe men and the Elephanes! There the Combate was long and furious : yet Echecrates being freed from the danger of the Elephants; and making a great flaughter of the Horse men , and withall Phoxide preffing the drabisms and Meder. In the end Antiochus his left wing was put to flight. By this meanes Anciochus right wing vanquished, and the left fled. The two great Battalions food firme and vittoucht, being in doubt of the end. And when as Prolomy in the meane time had recovered his great A Troupe by his speedy running, and was in the middest of them, hee amazed his Enemies, and gaue great courage vnto his owne Captaines and Souldiers.

In the meane time King Antiochia being young and of small experience in the Warre, feeling himfelfe Victorious of the one fide, thought the like of the reft, and purfued the Chafe of the Enemy with great eagernaffen But when as one of his old Souldiers cald him backe, and shewed him the Dust which a great Froupe had raise in his Fort , hee then knew what it meant : and furning head he laboured to recouer his Campe. But when hee found that all his Army was in Rout, then peolomes Victor wanting good Counfell he fled to Raphia, initriagining that it was not iy gainst his fault hee had not obtained a glorious and Triumphant Victory, and Antiocount that the basenesse and floath of his men had beene the cause of his defeate. Prolomy having the Victory by the meanes of his chiefe Battalion i and having lost many of his Horse-men and Souldiers of the right Wing, her returned to his Campe, and refresht his Army. The next day; he caused his men to be sought out among the Dead, and buried. A state of the state of

From thence (after they had stript the Enemies that were slaine) hee marcht with his Army to Raphin: And although that Antiochus (gathering together his men that fled) had a defire to keepe his Campe, and to leaue the Towne, yet he was forced to goe to Raphie: For that the greatest part of his Souldiers were retired thither. The next day earely in the morning, the parts with that finall Army, which he had remaining after so great a defeare, and went to Gaza: Where planting his Campe, he sent men to demaund the dead bodies, and to interre them. Antiochus lost aboue ten Thousand foote, and three hundred Horse. There were about foure thousand foote-men taken aliue. In regard of the Elephants, there were three flaine vpon the fielde, and two wounded which dyed afterwards: most of the rest were taken. This was the ende of that famous bartaile, where as two powerfull D and mighty Kings fought for the Empire of Syrria, neere votes Raphia.

When as Antiochus had buried the dead, hee returned into his Countrey with his Army. As for Ptolomy, hee presently recoursed Raphia, with the other Citties, so as the people contended who should preuent his neighbour, in veilding first vnto the King. In such enems euery man ftriues to apply himselse vnto the time. It is true, that the people of that Countrey are borne and inclined to imbrace the fauour

Embaffadours to Ptelemy.

An Accord

made betwint

Ptolomy and

Antizebus.

279

the present time. But for asmuch as the people had a special denotion to the Kings of Alexandria, what they then did was held infland reasonable. The people of base Syria have alwaies affected this royall House. And therefore they honoured Ptolomy, with Flowers, Sa. crifices, Altars, and fuch like things. When as datiochus was come to the Citty, which is called by his owne name, he prefently fent his autischut fende Nephew Antipater with Theodose Hermiely in Embafficto Prolomy, to demaund a peace of him : For without doubt hee feared his forces. neither did hee much relievpon his owne fouldiers, confidering the loffe which hee had lately made. Hee likewise doubted that Aches & might mooue Warre against him . considering the opportunity of the time and occasion.

As for Pselemy, hee thought not of all this: But beeing loyfull of fo great a Fortune, which hee expected not, holding himselse happy to enjoy all Syrria, hee refused not the conditions of peace. So as being lull'd affeepe with this base kinde of life, which hee had alwaics vsed, his heart was much inclined thereunto. When the Embassa. dours presented themselues vnto him, he granted them a peace for a yeare, after that hee vied some proud speeches against Antiochus. To whom he fent Sofibius with them to confirme the Accord. And after 1 hee had flayed about some three moneths in Syrria and Phonicea, and had given order for the Citties, leaving the charge of all those places to Andromachus Aspendius, he returned with his fifter and Friends to Alexandria. On the other fide Amiochus (after hee had confirmed the Accord with Solibian, and pacified all things to his liking) beganne to make preparation for Warre against Achens, according to his first Re. folution and determination. This was the estate of Asia at that same At the same time the Rhediens taking their occasion from an Earth.

An Earthquake quake, which a little before had befalle them, in the which the great of Collolling, with a great part of the Pipes and Arlenals were ruined, they carried themselves so discreetly and wisely, as this ruine did not seeme prejudicially nto them, but very profitable. Ignorance and fimplicity differs so much from Prudence and Industry, not only in a private life, but also in publique Affaires, that ease and plenty seeme to procure losse and prejudice to the one, and adverfities excuse the faults and errours of the other. The Rhodiens made these things great and ruinous, and labouring to fent Embassadeurs to all places, they did so mooue the Citties and likewife Kings, as they not onely drew great gifts from them, but they had them in such fort, as they which gaue them held n themselues beholding vnto them.

Prefentemade to the Rhodiens by manyCities.

Hieron and Gelondid not onely give them five and forty Thousand Crownes, to repaire the place ordayned for all Exercises (one part to be payed prefently and the rest soone after:) but they also gauethem Caldrons of filuer, with their Treuers, and pots for water. Moreouer fixethousand Crownes to performe the Sacrifices: And others fixe thousand to relieue the Burgesses: So as the whole present amounted threescore thousand Crownes. Moreouer all that fail'd to Abodes

were free from Tribute. They gaue them likewife fifty Slings or Warlike Engines: Finally they advanced Images in the most eminent places of Rhodes, as if they were beholding unto them; where the people of Rhodes were Crowned with that of Sarragosse. Prolomy promised them nine score thousand Crownes: A million of Arrabes of Wheate, sent othe Rive which is a measure of Media: Timber to make fixe Quinqueremes, and dies. ten Triremes, and about forty thousand Fathomes of Rope, and three thousand Masts and Sailes, and to repaire the Collessen nine score thoufand Crownes, a hundred Architects, three hundred and fifty worke-A men, and for their Victuals seauen Thousand and sourc hundred Crownes by the yeare. Twelue thousand Artabes of Wheate, for those which should make the Combats in their Games and Sacrifices: And twenty Thousand Arrabes for the vicualling of ten Triremes. Of which things he delivered the greatest part of them presently, with the third part of the money.

Morcouer Antigonus gaue them Timber from eight vitto fifteene Fa- Thegittof Ale thome, with five thousand plankes about twelve footelong, and two tigonutothe hundred three score and ten thousand weight of Iron, foure score and Rhodiens. ten thousand pound weight of Rossine, and a thousand bushels of pitch: And withall hee promised them three score thousand Crownes ouerplus. Chrysea (who was a woman) gaue them a hundred Thousand chrysea gifs. Bushels of Wheate, with two hundred three score and ten Thousand pound weight of Lead. Seleucus father to Intiochus, fent them ten Seleucus bis Quinqueremes Armed and furnished, and that they which fail'd to prefoat. Rhodes should be free: Hee gaue them likewise two hundred Bushels of Corne with Timber and Pirch, and ten thousand Fathomes of Cord made with haire, and fixe hundred thousand Crownes. Profia and Mithridates did the like : So did all the Princes of Asia, as Lysannius, Olympiquus, Lymnius and others. Finally wee cannot number the C Townes which gaue prefents to the Rhodieus, euery one according to their power. And if any man will obserue the time and the beginning, when as this Citty was first Inhabited, he will wonder much, that in so short a time it is so much augmented both in private and Publique. But when we consider the Commodity of the place, and the great fee licity which doth grow from Forreiners, and their plentifull revenew; there is no more any cause of admiration: Being certaine that this getting of Wealth is made with reason and judgement. We have thought it fit to relate these things.

First, for the love of the Rhediens, to the end that their industry and care for the Affaires of their Common-wealth might bee knowne D to all the World, for intruth they are worthy of commendation and loue. Secondly, for the auarice of our Kings at this day, and the wretchednesse of people and Townes: Who when they have given two or three thousand Crownes, immagine they have made a great stately Present, and looke for such thankes and honours as were given to the Ancient Kings of Greece: Or let the Townes remember the great bounty of the ancient presents, least they loose those great honours in making such petty gifts, and let them striue to preserve their dig-

nity: To the end that the people and inhabitants of Greece may differ from other men.

When in the beginning of Summer, Agete being then Chiefeof the Etoliens, and the time of Epirates Gouernement over the Acheins being expired, (in my opinion this is the pallage, where we last turn'd from the Warre of the Allies) Lyenrgus the Lacedemonian returned from Etolia: For the Magistrates called him home as soone as they found the accusation, for the which he was banished to be false. He was then fent to Pyrrhie the Etolian, who at that time was Captaine of the Eliences, against the Messeniens. Arase found the trained men of A Acheia ill disciplined, and the Townes carelesse of the duties of War: For that Epirate, who before him had the Gouernment, had as wee haue fayd) carried himselfe idly and carelesty in all things. But when he had acquainted the Acheins therewith, and received their order, he applied himselfe wholy to the preparation of the Warre. Their Deter the Warre, cree was, that they should not leuy lesse then eight thousand Aduenturers, and five hundred Horse: They should also make three thoufand Foote Acheins, and three hundred Horfe: Among the which the Megalopolitains should march, armed with Targets of Copper, to the number of fine hundred foote and fifty Horse, and as many Argines, a It was also ordered that they should prepare three Shippes in the Gulfe of Arges, and as many necrevato Patres and Dyme. Arate was then carefull to leuv men, and to make ready the Army. Lyenrgus and Pyrhie after they had appointed a day for their departure, tooke their way to Messene : Whereof the Chiefe of the Acheins being aduertised, hee came to Megalopolis with the Aduenturers, and some of those of the Election, to succour the Messens.

Calamcitaken in Treaton by LYCHTEUS.

272

Lycurges cal-

Lycurgus on the other fide entring the Meseniens Countrey, tooke the Towne of Calames by Treason: And from thence going on his course, hee made hast to ioyne with the Etoliens. When as Pyorbien came to Elis ill accompanied, to affaile the Messens, he turned head presently, being repull'd by the Cypariffeins. Wherfore Lycurgus tooke his way to Spares, having done nothing worthy of memory, for that hee could not ioyne with Parrhie, neyther was hee strong enough to mannage the Warre alone. Arate feeing the Enemies frustrated of their hope, and thereby fore-seeing the future, hee commaunded Taurin to prepare fifty Horse, and fine hundred foote, and that the Messenens should fend as many, meaning with this force to defend the Meets lopelisains Tegeates, and Argines, from the incursions of their Encmies : For that those Countries lye more in danger of the Lacedementans during the Warre, ioyning vpon the Spartains Countrey. Finally, he resolued to Guard Acheia, with the Acheins and Mercenaries, from the danger of the Elgenses and Etoliens. This done, hee pacified the Discord, which was growne among the Megalopolitains, according vnto that which the Acheins had ordered.

For you must vnderstand that the Megalopelitains, beeing a little before chased out of their owne Countrey by Cleomenes, had neede of many things which were wanting: And although they ftill maintained

their authority, yet they had neither victuals nor necessary expences, ei-ther for the publique or private: So as all was full of mutiny, rage, and mong the Mee malice. The which doth vsuall fall out in Common-weales, and among galopolitains. prinate persons, when as victuals faile. First they were in debate among themselues concerning the walls of the City, some being of opinion that that they should not make the inclosure greater, then their power would then beare, and keepe it with fo fmell a number of men, confidering it had bin the cause of their former danger, for that it was greater and more spacious then the power of the Inhabitants was able to defend. Moreo-A uer, they were of aduice that fuch as had Lands, should contribute the third part, to the end they might people the City: Others faid, that they must not give a lesse circuite to the City, nor contribute the third part of their possession: But their chiefest contention was concerning the Laws written by Prisanides, an excellent man among the Peripasetiques, whom Antigonus had given them for a Law-giver. The City being in these combustions, Arate pacified them, and quencht the quarrels which were influmed among the Megalopolitains, as well publique as private. Finally they have graven the Articles agreed vpon on a Pillar feated in the Omarie, at the Altar of Vesta. After the reconciliation of the Megalopolitains, B Arate parting from thence, retired presently to an Assembly of the A. cheins, leaving the Adventurers with Selcuem of Phare.

The Elienses incensed against Pirrhie, as if he had not discharged his duty, they called Enripides from Etolia to be their Captaine. Who confidering that the Acheins held their Diet, tooke fixe hundred Horfe, and two thousand Foote, and went suddainly to Field, where he spoiled the whole Countrey vnto Egia: And when he had taken a great booty, he made hafte to returne to Leonce. Lyce hearing this, went to meete them, and encountred them suddainly . when they came to fight, hee flew toure hundred, and tooke two hundred Prisoners: Among the Lyce defeates C which were found Phissas, Ansanor, Glearem, Enanorides, Aristogites, Euripides. Nicasippus, and Aspasius, men of note : and withall he had all their Armes and Baggage.

At the same time the Captaine of the Sea-army for the Acheins came to Molieria, and parting thence suddainly, he turned his way to Calcea: ebalcea spoild where when as the Townes-men came out against him, he tooke two by the Acheinst Gallies armed and surplished with all things necessary with many other Gallies armed, and furnished with all things necessary, with many other smaller vessels. Moreouer, he tooke great spoiles both by Sea and Land, and drew victuals from thence, with other munition : wherewith hee made the Souldiers more hardy and resolute for the future. On the other side the Cities were in better hope, for that they were not forced D to furnish victuals for the Souldiers. In the meane time Scerdilaide holding himselfe wrong'd by the King, for that he had not given him his full pay, as he had articulated with Philip, sent fifteene Vessels under a counterfeite shew of carrying Merchandizes, the which at their first arriuall to Leucade, were kindely entertained, as Friends in regard of the League with the King. And when they could doe no worfe, they tooke Agatin and Cassander of Corinthe, who as Friends were entred into the Again and same Port with foure ships: Being thus taken with their Vessels, they sent Cassander taken

them by Scerdilaide

them presently to Scerdilaide. This done, they weighed Anchor from

Leucade, bending their course towards Males, spoiling all the Merchants.

In the beginning of Summer, when the Souldiers of Takrienwere negli.

Lib. 5.

gent in the guard of the faid Cities, Arase having with him the choise of the Army, came into the Country of Argosto get victuals. On the other fide Enripides going to Field with a good number of Etoliens, wasted the Country of the Tritenses. Lycem and Demedechus particular Captaines of the Acheins, aduertised of the descent of the Etoliens, drew together the Dimenfes, Patrenfes, and Pharenfes, with the Aduenturers, and ouer-ran the Country of the Etoliens. Being come to a place which they A call Phinis, they fent their Foot-men that were lightly armed, with their Horse-men to ouer-run the Champaigne Country, and log'd their men that were best armed in Ambush thereabouts. When the Elienses came to charge them without order to fuccour their people, paffing the Ambuth, Lyceus Company fell vpon them : whose fury they being vnable to the Elenfes by refift, fled, to as there were about two hundred flaine, and foure score ta-

ken Prisoners with all the Booty. Lyceus.

At the same time the Commander of the Acheins Sea-army, having failed often to Calidon and Naupatte, spoiled the whole Countrey, and chased the Enemy twice. He also tooke Cleeniee of Nanpatte, who for B that he was a friend to the Acheins, had no harme : but within few daies after was freed without ransome. At the same time Agete Chiefe of the Etoliens, affembled a Troupe of them, putting the Country of the Acarnanians to fire and fword, and spoiled the Country of Epirus. This done, he returnes home, giving leave to the Souldiers to retire to their houses, Afterwards the Acarnanians made a descent into the Country of Strate; where being repuls'd by the Enemy, they made a shamefull retreate, yet without any losse; for that the Stratenfes durst not pursue them, fearing an Ambush. At the same time there was a Treason practifed in the Country of the Phanotenfes after this manner. Alexander Gouernour of Phosis for Philip, laide a plot for the Etoliens by a certaine man called lason, to whom he had given the gouernment of the Phanotenses. He was fent to Agete Chiefe of the Eteliens, promifing to deliuer the Fortreffe of Phanotenfes vnto him : whereupon they agree and fweare together. When the day appointed was come, Agete comes in the Night with

the Exoliens: when he had laid his Troupe in Ambush, he made choise of a hundred men, whom he sent to the Fort. Iafon having Alexander ready with him, with a sufficient number of Souldies, receives the companions by a gravageme into the Fortresse, according to the accord: whom Alexander charged D with his Company, and tooke all the Stoliens. But when day was come, Agete affured of the fact, carried backe his Army into his Country, hauing worthily deserved this deceipt, for that he had many times practised the like. At the same time Philip tooke Bylazon, which is a great Towne in Peonia, and in a good scituation for the entry from Dardania

into Macedony.

By this meanes he freed them from all feare of the Dardanians, who could not make any incursions into Macedony, the entry being stope

by the taking of the faid Towne: whereas placing a good Garrison, he fent Chrylagonus with great speed into high Macedony, to make a new leuie of men. As for himselfe he tooke some men and went into Beocia, and Amphaxate, and came to Edefa: where expecting Chrylogonus with the Macedonians, he parted prefently after with the whole Army, and came to Larifa on the fixt day: And pursuing his course from thence all night, he arrived at Melitea, the which he indeauoured to take by Scalade, and if the Ladders had not beene something too short, without do bt he had prevailed in his Enterprize: wherein the Commanders are chiefely to A be blamed. For when some of them make haste rashly and inconsiderate.

ly to take Townes, without any fore-fight or confideration of the walls, vallies and such like, by the which they attempt the taking by an affault, The indifferent who will not blame them: And although they have duely confidered of on of Comanall things yet who will not taxe them to give the charge to the first man they meet to prepare ladders, & fuch like instruments, as a thing of small consequence. Finally, in such actions they must doe that which is necesfary, or else fall into danger. For the losse doth often follow the despaire, and in many kinds: First the ablest men are in danger of the attempt, especially upon the retreate, when they begin to disdaine them. Whereof there are many examples. And you shall find in such attempts many fru-

B strated some defeated others to have bin in extreame danger : And they they which have faued themselves, have bin subject for the future to diftrust and hatred: and some have served for an example, to all others to be vigilant, giving not only to fuch as were present at the danger, but also to them that heare of it, some kind of admonishment to be careful of themfelues. Wherefore they must never make vie of such advice rashly: In regard of the meanes to vie it wel, it is secure if they follow reason.

We must now returne to our discourse, and speake thereon hereaster, when occasion shall be offred, and that it is not possible to faile in such enterprizes. Philip preuented in his enterprizes, plants his Campe neare C vnto the Riner of Empe, and fent his men to Larilla, and other Townes. whom he had leuied in the winter for the Siege: For all his defigne was to take Thebes. It is a Towne scituated neare to the Sea, and about 300. The schuation Furlongs from Lariffa. It confines fitly with Magnefia and Thefsaly: To of Thebes, the one side called Demetriade: And to Thessaly on that part where the Phar faliens and Pherenfes dwell. This City doth much annoy the Pharfaliens and Demetriens: For that the Etoliens held it at that time: The like they did to them of Lariffa: for the Etoliens made many incursions into the Country which the Inhabitants call Namirice. Wherefore Philip considering that such things ought not to be neglected, and left behind, D he fought all meanes to take it. Wherefore he provided a hundred flings and fine and twenty great Crobbowes, and approached the City of Thebes with his Army, the which he divided into three Troups, and befieged it on three fides: whereof he placed the one neere vnto Scopia, the Thebes belieged other at Helsotropia, and the third neare vnto the Mountaine which by Philip. lookes into the City: Fortifying the spaces in the Field with Ditches and double Pallisadoes. Moreover he built Towers of wood in every

Then

The Etoliens

Bylazon taken,

274

space of two Acres of ground with fufficient guards.

Lib. 5.

Then he drawes together all the preparation for the War, and begins to plant his Engins of Battery against the Fort. Yet the three first dayes he could not make his approaches to set up his Engines, so great was the courage and resolution of those which sought upon the walls. But after that by the combat, and by the multitude of Darts, part of the Burgestes were slain, and others wounded, and that the besieged ceased for a time, the Macedonians began to mine: where working continually, although the ground were bad, they approached vato the wall on the minth day.

From that time they were continually imployed in battering the Citty: fo as the Slings and great Crof-bowes neuer cealed day nor night: A And within three daies they made a breach of foure score Fathomes in the wall. And when the supporters made vnto the wall, were not able to beare the burthen, they fell, and brought the wall downe with them, before the Macedonians had fee them on fire. This being done, when as their courages encreased, and that they made shew to enter, and begin an assault, the Thebins being amazed, veelded themselues and their Citty. When as Philip had by this meanes affired the Countries of Magnefia and Theffaly, he tooke the best of the Etoliens goods, and thrust the ancient Inhabitants out of the towne, re-peopling it with Macedonians, and changing its name of Thebes, he called it Philiopolis. Whilest that Philip stayed in this City, there came Embassadours from Chios, Rhodes, Gon. B flantinople, and from King Prolomy. Whom when he had answered, as he had formerly done, (that he had beene alwaies willing to hearken to a peace) he sent them away, giving them charge to understand the will of the Etoliens. For his part he made no reckoning of peace, being refolued to continue his attempts. Wherefore being aduertifed, that the Veffels of Scerdilaide spoildall the Coast of Males, and that hee intreated the Merchants as Enemies, and that moreover he had taken (breaking the accord) some ships at Leucade, he armes twelue Vessels covered, and eight open, and failes by the Euripus, having likewise thirty Merchants Vesfels, hoping to take the Sclauentans: neither did he neglect the Etolien War, for that he was not yet aduertifed of the actions which had past in Isaly. For at such time as Philip held Thebes besieged, the Romans had beene vanquished by Hannibal in Tuscany: But the newes were not yet come into Greece.

When Philip had taken the Sclausnian Vessels, and for this cause had sailed into Cenchrea, he caused the ships that were coursed to run along the Coasts of Malea towards Egia and Patres, and stayes the rest of the Vessels in the Port of Leobe. Then he makes haste to goe to the Nemens Came, and arrived at Arges. Being at the sight, he had letters from Macedony to advertise him that the Romans had bin vanquished by Hannibal D with a wonderfull descate, and that they were masters of their Campe. He presently shews it only to Demetrize, charging him to keepe it secret. Who taking his occasion thereby, began to intreate the King that in dispatching the Etolien War speedily, he would attend that of the Sclausnians for that al Greece then obeyed hims. The which they would do hereafter: For that the Acheins affected him, and the Etoliens seared his forces, considering the losses they had made during this War: and that as

for Italy, the voyage which he should make, would be a beginning to conquer the Monarchy, the which did more justly belong to him then to any other, and that moreouer the opportunity was great for the prefent, considering the great deseate of the Romans which Hanusbash had made. Demetrius vsing these meanes, perswaded the King, who was but young, and of a high spirit, and too desirous of rule.

The History of POLYBIVS.

Afterwards Philip called his Councell, and began to adule touching a peace with the Etoliens. To the which Arase would willingly baue affisted : the King presently sent Cleomice from Naupatte to the Etoliens, A not expecting the Embassadours, to propound publiquely the Conditions of a Peace: For he found Arate after the taking of Thebes, attending the Diet of the Acheins. In the meane time he tooke thips at Corinthe, with the Bands of Foot-men, and came to Egia, and from thence to Lafsion, whereafter he had taken a Tower in the Peripes, hee made shew to enter into the Elienfes Countrey : to the end they should not thinke that he much affected a peace. And when as Cleomise had returned twice or thrice, and that the Etoliens intreated the King to goe vnto them, he willingly yeelded thereunto. Then fending Letters speedily to all the Townes of the Allies, the great fire of the Warre being now quencht, he aduertised them to send Embassadours to compound and B make a peace with the Etoliens. And in the interim he transports his Army, and planted his Campeneare unto Panormus, which is a Port of Morea right against Naupatte, expecting the Embassadours of the Allies. Whilest they assembled, he went to Zacynthe, and pacified the differences of that Iland, then suddainly he returned to the same place. When the Embassadours were met, he sent Arate and Taurion with some others to the Etoliens, who being comevnto them (for they were affembled at Newpatte) they had some conference : where understanding the defire they had of peace, they returned speedily to Philip, and advertised him thereof. The Etoliens desiring it wonderfully, fent an Embassie with C them vato the King, intreating him to come vato them with his Army, to the end their differences might be the better and sooner decided. Philip wone by their intreaties, failed with his forces to a place twenty furlongs from Naupacte. There landing with his men, after he had fortified his Campe and ships with Ditches and Pallisadoes, hee stayed the comming of the Etoliens. Who came vnto the King without Armes: And making a stand two Furlongs stom his Campe, they presently sens men to conferre of the differences which they had at that time. The King sent first vnto them all those which were there present for the allied Cities, giving them charge to conclude a peace with them, vpon con- A peacebedition, that hereafter euery man should keepe that which he presently twist Philip held. And when they had to concluded, they afterwards fent many Mef- and the Middlens

fages for the particular actions of either fide. Of which things we have willingly omitted the greatest part, for that there is nothing seemes worthy of memory yet I have thought good to relate in few words the remonstrances which Agelaus of Naupaste made to the King & the Allies.

When he was allowed to freake, and there is no the King & the Allies.

When he was allowed to speake, and that all men were attentine to The Speech of heare him: It is needfull (saith he) the Grecians should have no Warre Agelaus.

Τi

amon

Thebesyacided to Philip.

Embaliadours cometo Philip.

L10. 5.

among themselues, and they should give thankes vnto the Gods, if all with one accord (like vnto those which passe the Rivers Holding hands) may be able to repulse the attempts of the Barbarians, and defend them. felues and their Citties and if this cannot be continually entertained, yet at the least they should at this day apply themselves vnto it, for that Greece was neuer in great danger : faying that he confidered the great Armies, and the great Warse which would foone follow: making no doubt, that if the Carthaginians did vanquish the Romans in Italy, or the Romans them, neither the one nor the other would content themselves with the Empire of Sicily or Italy : But the Victors would pre- A fently extend themselues farther then were fit, and would passe towards

the East. Wherefore they must all prouide for it, and especially Philip. The which he can no otherwise doe, but in quenching this presen: War, and cease to torment the Citties of Greece : And that contrariwis he have a care of all, as of one Body, and study for the safety thereof in generall as his owne, and subject vnto him. Doing which all the Grecians will loue him, and fight with him like good men in his future Waires: And finally the Barbarians fearing the levalty of the Grecians towards him, will not attempt any thing against his Empire. The which if hee had R a desire to enlarge, he must artempt against the Westerne Countries, and confider in what effates the affaires of Italy now fland, and that moreouer the time was come, when he might eafily hope for the Empire of all the world. To eff & the which he should be the lesse troubled, for that the Romans had beene defeated by Hannibal at the Lake of Peroufa. Finally, he perswades the King to exchange the Warre and Discords of Greece into Peace and Concord, and that he should friue with all his power to keepe himfelte at liberty for the tuture, that he might be able to make Peace and Warre when he pleased. Moreover, he sayd, that if he suffred this Cloud which they saw arising towards the West, of a cruell and mortali Warre once to approach neere the Countries of C Greece, he feared much that these Quarrels and Contentions which were amongst them, would be found so farre out of their power, as they would not be able to pray vnto the Gods to have meanes to make War or Peace at their pleasure.

When as Agelaus had ended his Speech, he inflamed the hearts of the Allies to peace, and especially Philip: for that moued by the words of Demetrius, he had fixt his minde voon it. Wherefore they all with one accord made a peace with the Etoliens. The which being confirmed, they retired all into their Countries. These things were done in the third yeare of the hundred and fortieth Olympiade: I meane that Bat-D taile which the Romans gaue in Tustany, with the warre of Antiochus in Syrria, and the peace made betwixt the Etoliens, Philip and the Acheins. Behold the time wherein the Warres of Greece, Italy, and Afia were first intermixt. For after that day neither Philip, nor the other Princes of Greece attempted any thing either for Warre or Peace, but had their eyes wholly fixed upon Italy. Soone after the Ilands of Asia did the like, and all they which were either Enemies vnto

Philip, orany way opposite vnto Assalus, retyred not to Antiochus; nor vino Prolomy, norte the Southerne or Easterne parts, but all vinto the West. Some solicited the Carthaginians, other did the like to the Romans by continual Embassies. The Romans likewise fearing the power and courage of Phillip, fent Embaffadours into Greece. And as we have according to our first resolution; plainly set down, as I conceive, when and how, and for what caples the Affaires of Greece are intermixt with the Italians and Lybians, as it were in one body; we must now purfue the Actions of Greece, vntil we come to the time when as the Romans A were vanquished and defeated neere voto Cannes by the Carthaginians: For there wee have left the actions of Italy, and have written in this Booke and the precedent, the proceeding of the fame time in Greece

The Warre being ended, when the Acheins had made choice of Ty-Tymoxines moxines for their head and Gouernour, refuming their ancient kind of Chiefe of the living, they gaue order by little and little for their Common-wealth : Acheins. The like did the other Cities of Morea: So as they laboured their lands and restored their Games and Sacrifices to the Gods: All which things were in a manner forgotten by reason of the continuall warre. It is der-B taine that as they of Morea among all other men are inclined to a milde and curreous kind of life, the which in precedent times they did not enioy: Being as Euripides faith, alwaies tormented by their neighbours, and without reft. Yet it seemeth reasonable for, for all they which tend to a Principallity, and haue their liberty in recommendation, haue continual quarrels amongst them, they tending to a superintendency. The Athenians freed from the feare of the Macedonians, feemed to liuc in great Liberty: but following the basenesse of their Commaunders Enriclides and Micion, they payed Tribute in a manner to all Kings, and namely to Ptolomy, who soone after that time made Warre against the C Egyptians. For as hee had beene affisted in the Warre against Antio The Athenians

chus, they presently abandoned him . For that growne proud with the abandon pro-Battaile given neere vnto Raphia, they would no more obey the King, tomy. feeking only a Commaunder, as if they had been eable of themselues to mannage the Warre: the which was soone after done.

Antiochus during Winter had leuied a great Army; and the Summer Antiochus pase following past Mount Tauris: where making a League with King Assa. Antiocous pa lus, he renewed the Warre against Acheus. And although the Esoliens Tauris. found the peace good in the beginning, for that the Warre had taken a better end then they expected: Having chosen Agelaus of Naupaële for their Chiefe Commaunded, by whose meanes the peace had ensu-Ded: yet after some time they blamed him much, complaying that The Etollens by his meanes they had lost the great profits they had drawne from blame agelans Forreine parts: For that he had made a peace, not onely with some for making of Provinces, but generally with all Greece. But Agelaus bearing their the poace. blame with patience abated their fury: And so they were forced contrary to their nature to pacific their Choler.

Scerdilaide under colour of money due unto him, had spoild all those The Exploits of he met, and (as we have fayd) had taken shippes of Leucade, and had Secratistic.

Lib. 5.

rifled a Towne in Pelagonia, which they call Pifes, with divers other Citties of Daffarete, as Antipatria, Chrifcindton, and Gertonte : Hauing moreouer gained a good part of Macedony, aswell by perswaitons, as by force.

Philip after the peace concluded, having imbarqued himselfe and his Army to faile thither, and to encounter Scerdilaide, he tooke land being wholy bent to recouer the fayd Townes. Finally, when he had fully resolved to make Warre against Scerdilaide, holding it necessary to Conquer Sclanonia, 25 well for other Enterprizes, 25 chiefly for his passage into Italy. The which is an aduice, whereof Demetrius labou. red to make him susceptible, saying that he had seene Philip do so in a Dreame. He did not presse this for any loue he bare him, but for the hatred he had to the Romans: Thinking by this meanes to recouer the Country about Thares, from whence he had beene expell'd. Philip recoucred all the fayd Townes, approaching neere them with his Army : For in Dassarate, hee tooke Creene and Gerente, and neere vnto the Fennes of Lychnide, Enchelane, Cerece, Sation, and Boies : and Bantia in the Province of the Calisenius : and towards the Piffantius, and Orgysse. This done, he sent his Army to Winter. It was the same Winter when as Hannibal had spoiled the best Countries of Italy, and I past his Winter in Dannia, and the Romans making their Election, created Gains Terrentine, and Lucius Emilius Consuls.

Whilest that Philip spent the Winter, he drew together a hundred Vessels, (which neuer King of Macedony had done before him) thinking it necessary to make provision: Not so much for the Combate at Sea. (for that he did not hold himselfe equall in forces to answere the Ro. mans) as to passe his Army into Italy. Summer being come, and the Macedonians in-vred to the Oare, hee parts with his Army. At the same time likewise Antiochus past Mount Tauris. Philip then passing by the Euripus and Males, came vnto the Countries which are about Ge.C phalenia and Lencade. Where planting his Campe, he fortified it with Ditches and Pallisadoes, for hee feared much the Sea Army of the Romans. But when he was advertised by his Spies, that it was neere vnto Lylibeum, his Courage increased, and hee proceeded in his Enterprize, taking his course directly to Apolonia. When as hee was neere those Countries which are about the River of Loia, which pasfeth neere to Apolonia, he fell into the same feare which doth many times befall Armies at Land: For some of his Vessels which followed in the Reare, and had failed towards an Iland called Safon, lying at the mouth of the Ionian gulfe, came by night to Philip, telling him D that they had spoken with some of the Sycillian Sea, who advertised them, that they had left the Roman Quinqueremes about Rhegium, bending their course to Apolonia and Scerdilaide. Philip immagining that the Army was not faire off, was amazed: And weighing Anchor retired with great feare and disorder, hee came the next day to Cephalenia, sailing continually by night: Where affuring himselfe he stayed some time, making shew that his returne was for some pressing affaires in Morea. It

Philips enterprize agains

280

Demeerius his aduice to Philip

> Enterprizefor fcare.

It hapned that this was a false Allarum: For you must vinderstand that Scerdilaide advertised of the great multitude of Vessels, which Phihip had drawne together in Winter, and fearing his comming by Sea, had obtained succours from the Ramans by his Embassadours : So 25 Succours fine they fent him ten ships out of their Fleete which was at Lilybeam, the by the Romans which passing neere voto Rhegium were discouered. If the King had to Scordilaide. not beene amazed without reason, he might well have vanquisht them, and performed his Enterprize against Sclaupaia: And the rather for that the Romans had received a wonderfull losse neere vnto Cannes against A Hannibal, where they were in a manner quite ruined. But being then terrified without cause, he made a safe flight into Macedony, and remained infamous.

Arthe same time Prusias did an Act worthy of memory: For when as the Gaules whom Assalus had drawne que of Europe into Alia for the Warre of Acheus, had abandoned him for the causes about mentioned, they spoil'd all the Townes of Hellespent with too much anarice and cruelty. And when in the end they had befieged the Townes of the Elienses, then they of Alexandria neere vnto Troade, performed an Act worthy of memory : for fending Themiste against them with foure thousand men, they not onely raised the siege of the Elienses, but chast all the Gaules from Treade, as well cutting off their Victuals, as difappointing their dessignes. The Gaules having taken the Towns of Arifbe in the Country of the Abideniens, fought to surprize all their Neigh. bours. Against whom Prusias was fent with an Army, and gining prusai defeats them Battaile he defeated them, killing women and Children, without the Gaulet. any regard of Age or Sexe, and abandoned the spoile of their Campe to his Souldiers. By this meanes Hellesponte was freed from great feare. leaving for the future a good example to Barbarians, not to passe so casily out of Europe into Asia. These things were done at that time in C Greece and Afra.

Integard of Italy, many Townes yeilded to the Carthaginians, after the defeat of the Romans at the Battaile of Cannes. Finally, we will make an end here of the Histories of that time, seeing we have sufficie ently shewed in what Estate Afia and Greece were in the hundred and forrieth Olympiade. And haufug briefly related them in the following Booke, we will turne our Discourse to the Couernment of the Romanis

and the second of the second o

as we had resoluted in the beginning.

The end of the Fifth Booke of Polybius.

The



SIXT BOOKE OF the History of POLYBIVS.

Concerning the divers Formes of Gouernment.



He Declaration hath beene casie, by the which the Actions past are related, and the iudgement giuen of the future, touching the frequent increase of the Gresians Common-weales, and how agains they have many times felt a totall alteration. Wet may without any trouble deliuer things knowne, and eafily coniecture of the future by the precedent. In regard of the Romans, it is difficult to judge of the pre-

fent, for the variety of their Gouernment : Or to fore-tell the future, for the ignorance of the Actions, which (as proper to that Nation) n have beene in old time decided in publique and in private. VVherfore if any one will exactly know the divertities, he had need of an excellent judgement and confideration of Actions. It is true, that they which by inftruction would make vs know things, propound three kinds of Gouernment: Calling the first a Royalty, the second Aristocracia, and the third Democracia. Yet in my opinion wee may with reason doubt of these things, whither they propound them voto vs soly, or better then the other : For it seemes they are ignorant of eyther. It

is apparent that, that Gouernement should be held the best, which is composed of all the afore-sayd properties; whereof wee have made proofe not only by reasons, but also in effect : For that Lycurgus hath first established the Lacedemonians Common-wealth in that manner. Neither must we thinke that these Gouernments are alone : For wee have seene some Monarchiall and Tyrrannous, who although they disfer much from a Royall, yet they feeme to have fomething common with them : the which our Monarches imagine, vsurping with all their power the name of King: Moreouer the Olygarchicall Common-A weales, which have beene in great number, seeme to have some correspondency with the Aristocraticall; although they differ much. The like we must judge of a Democracy. And to prooue it true, it will be

apparent hereby.

Lib. 6.

We must not hold a Monarchy for a Raigne: but onely that which is A true Mo. voluntary, and gouerned more by a Common confert then by feare narchy. and violence. Neither must we hold every Olygarchy for Aristocracy but that only which according to the Election is manuaged by the Atrue Arifton wisest and best men, neither must that be allowed for a Democracy, where as all the Commons have power to do what they wil and pleafer but where as the auncient custome and vse is to honour the Gods, to do B good vnto their Parents, to reverence old men, and to obey the Lawes. Then they will call a Common-weale Democraticall, when as the A Democracy, Commons shall accept of that which many allow of. Wherefore we must say that there are sixe kinds of Gouernments: We have already spoken of three Common to all the World: The other three are neere Sixe kinds of vnto them, that is to fay a Monarchy, Olygarchy, and Ochlocracy, Governments. The first whereof is a Monarchy, rising naturally without any establishment. From whence doth grow a Royall Gouernment, by order Gouernment and good direction. But when the Royall changeth into its neighbour of one alone vices, as into Tyranny, then by the abollishing thereof an Aristocracy by teare. C takes its being the which naturally changeth into Olygarchia. And when the Commons reuenge with fury the Gouernours injustice, then growes a Democracia. For the outrages and iniquities whereof, in

time it prooues an Ochlocracia. A man may vnderstand that these things plainly which I have sayd, Ochloracia is are true, if he knowes the beginning and the change of enery Gouern- a Gouernment ment according to the course of Nature. For whosoeuer shall consist of the mutiny der either of them a part, and how they grow, may also judge of their of the people. increase, force, and alteration; and when and how the one ends in the other. I have beene of opinion that this kinde of Disputation and Ex-D position agreed well with the Roman Gouernment: For that by a certaine course of Nature, it hath taken from the beginning its institution and increase. Peraduenture these alterations and changes of Gouernement from the one to the other, are more exactly handled by Plato, and some other Phylosophers. But for that they are disputed by them in many and divers manners, it happens that few men understand them. Wherefore wee will indeauour to comprehend them, and fet them downe by certaine Articles, fo as (according to our opinion) they may

282

The beginning of gouerne. ments.

Monarchy.

A Royalty .

284

be of consequence for the profite of the History, and all mens understanding. And if there be found for the present some defect in regard of the generall and Universall declaration, the reasons which shalbe hercaster deliuered in perticular, will repaire it. What Principles then shall I affigne for gouernment? From whence shall I say they take their first growth and being: When mortallity fell vpon mankind by inundation of Waters, or by peftifferous Calamities, or by barrennesse of the Land, or by other such like causes (as we have vnderstood hath beene, and in reason may often be hereafter) all Institutions and Artes were then loft: And when againe the multitude of men hath by A fuccession of time taken increase, as it were from some remainder of seede; and that in regard of the weaknesse of their Natures they gathered together, euen as of Custome (as it is reasonable) other creatures doe according to their kinds, it is then necessary that he obtaine the Principallity and Empire which is of greatest force of body, and of most understanding. The which wee see happen in other kindes of bruite Brasts, (which we must hold for a most certaine worke of nature) among the which wee fee the strongest and of most spirit march before, as Buls, Stags, Cockes, and fuch like. It is therefore likely that a principallity is of that kind, and that the

course of mens lives is so governed, affembling together after the man. B ner of Beafts, and following those which are the most strong and po-Principality or werfull, to whom force is the end of their Principallity, which wee may with reason call Monarchy. But when as with Time there grows from these Assemblies a Company and Custome, then a Royalty takes her Birth: And then Men beginne to thinke of Honesty and Justice and of their contraries: Such is the manner of the beginning and fountaine of the fayd Gouernments. As all men haue a defire of a mutuall and naturall Coniunction, and that from thence proceedes the generation of Children, it is manifest that when any one of those which hath beene bredand brought vp, doth not acknowledge nor yeild the like? to those which haue bred them, but contrariwise presume to do them outrage in word or deede, then they which are present are offended: as knowing their care, trouble, and paines which have ingendred them, and with what diligence they have bred vp their Children. For as Mankinde is more excellent then all other Creatures, to whom is given understanding and Reason, it is not fit to passe ouer the said disorder, after the manner of other Creatures: And that contrariwise the affistants ought to observe and reprehend such an Action; foreseeing the suture, and making their account that the like may happen vnto them-

Moreover, if at any time hee which hath received comfort and aide from any one in his Aduerfity, doth not acknowledge his Benefactor, but seekes to prejudice him in any fort, it is manifest that they which shall see it will be grieued and discontented : So as their Neighbour shall mooue them to pitty, thinking of themselues as of their Neighbour. Wherefore then doth rife a certaine thought of Vertue, and a consideration of the duty which every man must observe, which is the

beginning and end of Iustice. In like manner if any one amongst the rest takes reuenge vppon the most furious Beasts, withstanding their force, it is reasonable that such a one, should purchase among the people an acknowledgment of affection and Commaund: And he that should doe the contrary should both wrong his honour and good reputation. Whence againe the confideration of infamy and honesty, and of their difference takes it birth : Whereof the one merrits (as commodious and profitable) to be loued and followed, and the other to bee shunn'd and avoided. When as any one having the principallity and the grea-A test power, vieth the afore-fayd things by the aduice of many, and that hee seemed to impart them to the Subjects, according voto enery mans merite: Then fearing no more any violence, and having a good opinion of him, they submit themselues voluntary vnto his obedience, and defend his Gouernment: And if hee proopes in all respects worthy of honour, with one accord they take revenge and fight against those which are Enemies to his power.

By this meanes by little and little, he makes himselfe King of a Moparch, when as reason succeedes in the Empire, insteed of rage and force. This is the first Contemplation for men, according vnto nature of Honesty and Iustice, and of their contraries; it is the true begin-B ning and fountaine of a Royalty. They doe not onely maintaine their Principallity and gouernment, but many times leaue it to their posterity, hoping that their Children bred vp vnder fuch men will be of the fame will and disposition. But if it happens at any time that the posterity of former Kings displeaseth them, then they make an Election of Princes and Kings, without any respect of corporall forces, ayming onely at the differences of judgement and reason, making tryall of the dinersity of both by the workes themselves.

Wherefore leaving the ancient custome, they which have once seazed vpon the Growne, and haue gotten this power, they fortifie certaine C places with walls, and possesse the Countrey as well for the safety, as to supply their Subicets necessities abundantly. Whilest that Kings were carefull of these things, they were free from flaunder and enuy : For that they differed not much from others in their Apparrell or Diet, obferuing a course of life conformable to others, with a conversation and familiarity common to many. But when as they (who by fuccession and a prerogative of race, are come vnto the government) have already the preparations which serue for fafety, and those which are more then necessary for foode: then following their appetites, by reason of the great abundance of all things, they thinke it fitting for Princes to D bee more richly attired then their Subjects, and to be intreated more delicately with diversity of meates, and to converse without contradiction with other women then their owne. Hence springs enuy and feandall with hatred and implacable rage: Finally the royalty changeth into Tyranny.

The beginning of this ruine, and the conspiracy which is made against Tyranny. Princes, growes not from the wicked, but is practifed by the best and most resolute men, who cannot endure such outrages and infolen-

L1b. 6.

Aristocracia.

Olygarchia.

286

cies of Princes. And withall the Commons having found a head to make resistance, ioyne with him for the afore-said causes against their Prince: and then the former of a Royalty and a Monarchy is wholly ruined, so as by consequence an Aristocracia must take its beginning and sourse. Then the people as it were by a thankefull acknowledgment, ordaine these suppressors of Tyrants to be their Heads and Commanders, and they submit themselves vnto them. When as they have with good zeale imbraced the charge of this gouernment, they have nothing in fo great recommendation, as that which concernes the publique good: prouiding with great care and diligence for any thing that may A touch the peoples profit, as well private as publique. But when the Children enioy the same power from their Fathers, and have not ex. perience of aduerfities, nor of the equality and politique liberty, being withall bred up from their youth in the authority and prerogative of their Fathers, they change an Aristocracy into Olygarchia, some abandoning themselves to a vitious and insatiable desire of couctousnesse and getting: Others to drunkennesse, and by consequence to excesse in Banquets: fome to Adulteries, and forcing of Boyes: Finally, hauing done vnto the people that which wee have formerly spoken of, it is reafon they should conceiue the like ruine in the end that did befall the B

Beleeue me, if any one obserues the enuy and hatred which the Cittizens beare them, or dare say or doe any thing against the chiefe Commanders, he shall presently have all the people ready to give him aide and affistance in his Enterprize. And when they have murthered those, they dare not choose a new King, fearing the iniustice of the former, neither dare they trust their Common-weale in the government of many, the memory being yet so fresh of the basenesse of the precedent: fo as their onely hope resting in themselues, they retire, changing the Olygarchicall gouernment into a Democracia, and taking vpon them. C felues the care and charge of the Common-wealer It is true that in the meane time some of those have escaped, which had tasted of the preheminence and power: who taking delight and pleasure in the present estate of the Common-weale, make great esteeme of equality

But when as young men succeed, and that the Democracia is deliuered to posterity, (they striue in making little accompt of equality and liberty) to be greater then the rest : whereinto they chiefly fall which have great wealth. When as they affect command, and cannot attaine vnto it of themselues, they begin to dispose of their riches, and to D corrupt the Commons with that baite. A great number being corrup. ted by their bounty, by reason of a filly Couetousnesse of presents, then a Democracia is ruined and changed into violence, and a seditious estate of policy. For the Commons having beene accustomed to live by the goods of their Neighbours, make a mutiny, taking a resolute and audacious man to be their Head, who for his pouerty cannot in reason aspire to the honours of the Common-weale, and then they affemble together, and fall to murthers and ruines, and to spoile and

divide the Land amongst them, vntill their fury being pacified, they finde againe a new Lord and Monarch. Behold the revolution of Gouernments, and the prouidence of Nature, according vnto which the estate of the Common Wealth; changeth and re-changeth; and makes the fame returne. Which things if any one knowes not plainely, hee will be ignorant of the time in fore telling the future Effare of the Common. But he will erre often, for that a Gouernement increaleth and decreaseth where into it is so transferr'd, if without great iudgement he gives his advice. We will likewise come to the knowledge of the Institution, increase, and vigour, and likewise of the future change of things in the Roman Common-Wealth, according to this knowledge.

The History of LOLYBIVS.

And if it happen that any other Gouernment hath (as wee haue already fayd) from its beginning this Institution and increase, by the course of Nature it wilbe changed into its contrary : The which may be well observed by that which followes. Wee will deliver in few words the Nemothefia of Lyourgus, which shall not be impertinent to our Discourse. Wherefore when he had considered all decent things, and how they are necessarily perfect by a certaine Nature; he hath alfo observed how every forme of Government is variable, which is co B stablished simply according vnto a power, so as suddainly it degenerates into its neighbour Vice, and consequently by Nature. For as rust confumes Iron, and wormes Wood, being naturall vnto them, fo as although they can preserve themselves from all exteriour outrages. yet they are corrupted by thefe, as borne with them : So as according to Nature there is a certaine mallice growing and adhering vnto enery Commonwealth: Asto a Royalty there is a Monarchy: To an Ariftocracy an O-Chirocracia a Ivearchia and to a Democracia, a Chirocracia So as it was a Gouernment lygarchia; and to a Democracia, a Chirocracia: So as it must needes by the mating follow, that in succession of time all the fore-fay d change by the faid or the people.

C. Lycurgue having fore-seene these things, hath ordained a Commonwealth, which was neither simple, nor vnder the absolute power of one man: vniting all the Vertues and properties of the most commendable Gouernments, to the end that nothing in it should take a greater increase then was needfull; nor degenerate into the neerest vice : And that their forces by a mutuall restraint should not bend or decline to any part, nor any thing therein ruined: Finally, that the Common-weale should remaine of an equall weight for euer, according to reason and equallity, and that by this meanes Loyalty should be restrained from Arrogancy, by the feare of the people, for that a inst por-D tion of the Common-weale was allotted vnto them. And againe, the Commons durft not disdaine the Kings, for the respect of the most aged: Who being chosen by the Grauest, addicted themselues continually to equity: So as the weakest party was maintained in its Customes, and was strong and to be feared by the Succour and aide of the Senators. The Common weale being thus established, he hath preserved the liberty of the Lacedemonians longer then hath come to our knowledge. When he had fore-seeme the Fountaine and sourse of all of them a

Kk 2

Democracia.

and what did vivally happen, he established the fayd Common-wealth with out dangered

The Romans.

288

In regard of the Remans, they have done the like in the Institution of their Common wealth, not by one reason, but as choosing that which feemed best vnto them, being made wise by the event of things, by many Combats and alterations: And by this meanes they have attained vnto the same ende which Lycurgus prescribed : setling a better forme of a Common-wealth then wee have in Greece. Finally, hee that will judge of Writers with reason, doeth not judge of matters as they are omitted, but according to those which are mentioned. And if he finds any thing falle, he must conceine that omission hath beene by ignorance : but if all which they have spoken be true, let him then grant that what they have omitted, hath beene done for some cause, and not through ignorance.

. These three pares, (whereof wee haue formerly spoken,) rul'd in that Common wealth. They were all established and ordered so equally, and proportionably by them, as no man, no not the inhabitants themselues could euer say whether this Common-weale were Aristocraticall, Democraticall, or Monarchicall. The which hath nor hapned without reason: For if wee observe the power of the Consuls, it appeareth plainly to bee Monarchicall and Royall: and if that of the B Senarors, it seemes to bee Aristocraticall : But if wee duly consider the popular power which consists in many, it is apparently Democraticall. In like manner, no man can fay by what part the forme of the Common-Wealth was then guided and gouerned, except in some things.

The Office of the Confuls.

The Confuls being present at Rome, have the Gouernement of all the publique Affaires, before they draw the Army to fielde. To whom all the other Princes obey and are subject, (except the Tribunes of the people) appointing Lieutenants in the Senate, from whom they demaund aduice in preffing Affaires: moreouer they have the Charge and power to make Edics. Finally, they have the care of all that which concernes the publique Affaires, which the Commons are to decide. It is their duty to call the people together, and to pronounce their Edicts, and to judge of the plurality of Voices. Finally, they haue the power and Authority to prepare for Warre, and generally of all the Gouernement which is under the Heauens, to conclude, they have in a manner a most stately and Royall authority. It is lawfull for them to dispose of their Allies in what they shall thinke fitting for matters of Warre. To appoint and ordaine Captaines of Thoufands, to leuy an Army, and to choose the most able and sufficient. I It is also in their power to punish all their Subiects wherefoener they remaine: and to dispose of the publique Treasure as they shall think good, being to that end followed by the Questor: who presently obeyes their Commaundment : So as he which shall consider this part of the Common-weale, hee will say with reason that it is Monarchicall and most

Finally, if it happen that any of things which wee haue spoken, or

shall speake, shall change presently or hereafter, they may not in any fort derogate from our apinion. Nextafter, the Senate hath the ouer fight of the publique Treasure : For they may dispose of the Reuenewes and Expences. It is not in the power of the Queffors to im. Theday of ploy mony, no not in perticular Affaires, without their order, but for the Confuls. Finally, the greatest and heaviest expence, as that which many times the Questors are accustomed to imploy, at the returne of the Quinquinall, or space of fine yeares for the repairing of publique Buildings, the Senate decrees : And whatfocuer is allowed the Cen-A fors, depends thereon. Of all offences committed throughout traly which deserue a publique punishment, as Treason; Conspiracy, Poyfoning, and Murthers by lecret practifes, the punishment belongs vnto the Senate.

And moreover if any private person, or any Citty hath neede of thankes or blame, or of succours and affishants, the Senate hath the whole charge. Finally, if they bee to fend an Embassie into any part out of Haly to reconcile fome, or to admoniss them . be it to Commaund any thing, or to declare Warre, the Senate hath the power. In like manner when as Embassadours come to Rome, the Senate gives order for their entertainment, and what answere shalbe made. Finally, B the Commons have no hand in all that which wee have favd : So as whatfoener thou shalt fee done in the absence of the Confull, will seeme to bee an Aristocraticall gouernment : The which many Gresie ans and Kings imagine, for that in a manner all their affaires are vinder the Authority of the Senate, without any contradiction whatfoeuer, For this cause some one will demand with reason, what portion of the Common-weale remained to the people? Seeing that the Senate hath the Gouernment of things, which wee have delivered in perticular. and that it disposeth (which is much more) of the Reuenewes and publique expences e And that moreover the Confuls making Warre withcourthe Citty, have a Royall power over the preparations, and all other affaires which are in the Gampe. And yet there is a part referred for the people, the which is of greater effective? For they have the Theauthority authority of honours and punishments wherein is contained the po- of the people, wer and gouernment, and finally the generall life of men.

Beleeue me, there is nothing that concernes the Subjects, that can be ordered by reason, by such as haue now the knowledge of this difference, or having it doe abuse it. What reason were there that the Wicked should be equall in Hogour with the Good? The people therefore iudge and many times diversly, when as the iniuffice which they are D to punish is of great consequence, and namely in those which have had great and Honourable charges. They alone condemne to Beath: Wherein there are some actions past worthy of praise and memory: For viually they fuffer those that are accused of a Capitall or havnous crime, to retire in the fight of all the World, although there remaine an opinion in fome which confirmes the judgement and Sentence, by the which a free and Voluntary Banishment is taken quite away.

Kk 3

Fugitiues

290

Fugitiues are in fafety in the Townes of Naples, Preneste, Tinoly, retreat of such and in other Consederates. Finally, the people give Principalities to se are voluntes the most sufficient: which in a Common-wealth is a goodly reward of honesty. They have also Authority to confirme the Lawes : and Peace and Warre lies in their will: Iudging of the Succours, Reconcilliation, and Accords of their Allies. Finally, the people confirme these things in approouing or difannulling them : So as now fome may justly fay, that the greatest part of the Common-weale is in the peoples hands, and that it is Democraticall.

The mutual knitting together of three Common. weales.

We have delivered how the divers formes of Common-weales, are A divided among them: Wee must now shew how they may affist and giue comfort one vnto another. When the Confull hath received his power, and drawne an Army to Field, hee feemes a King, yet hee hath neede of the people and Senate, to bring his resolutions to an end. without the which hee cannot possibly finish his Affaires. It is certayne that hee hath neede to furnish and provide Victualls, pay, and munition for the Armies. But it is not possible to furnish him with Corne, Apparrell, nor pay, without the will of the Senate: So as the attempts of the Confulls are of necessity made fruitlesse, if the Senate dorh willingly faile him or hinder him.

By this meanes it is in the resolution of the Senate to make the En. B terprizes of the Commaunders effectuall or not. It is also in their power to fend another Commaunder when the yeare is past, or continue his Authority that doth enioy it. Moreover, the Senate may make his Exploits seeme great and admirable, and augment and increase his Actions, in like manner they may blemish and disgrace them. In regard of that which they call Triumphes, by the which a certaine visible shewe of their Actions is brought by the Consults to the view of the people, they dare not attempt them, as it is fitting, neyther (to fpeake plainly) bring them to an end, valeffe the Senate allow of them, and furnish the charge. The consent of the people is wonderfull necessary, be they never fo farre off, for it refts in them, (as wee have formerly fayd) 10 confirme or difannullall. Accords and Leagues. But behold another cale : For after their Gouernement is ended, they are forced to yeild and submit their actions, vote the judgement of the Common people wife as they ought not to bee carelelle of the loue and good liking of the Senate and vulgar fort.

Although the power of the Senate bevery great, yet they must of force have respect vnto the multitude of publique affaires, and drawe them to their ends and intentions : Neyther can they put generall and great doubts in Execution, nor punish crimes committed against the in Common-weale, if what the Court ordaynes bee not confirmed by the Common people. Matters which concerne the Senate it selte, are of the same condition. For if any one propounds a Law, by the which it doeth in any fort abridge the Authority and power of the Senate, or over-throwes their Prerogative and Honour, or purfues them in their lives, all these things are to bee done by the power of the pcople.

It is

11.30

It is likewise certaine that the Senate cannot execute any of their refolutions, nor hold a Councell, nor assemble themselves, if any one Tribune of the Commons opposeth. The Tribunes must alwaies doe according to the opinion of the people, and observe their will. In regard of these things the Senate searcs the people, and observes them: In like manner the people are bound vato the Senare, and forced to winne them : For as there are many Farmes which the Cenfors difpost of throughous all Italy , for the great multitude of publique repairations, and many places of Rivers, Pooles, Gardens, and Mines, and fi-A nally all other things of that nature, which are under the Roman Empires they are all mannaged by the people, hiring all the Rents and profits which grow thereby.

The History of POLYBIUS

Some take their Leases from the Cenfors, to whom others affociate themselues, others become sucrities for the Farmers : and some bring the Inventory of the goods into the Treasury. Of all which things the Senate hath the knowledge. For it rests in them to prolong the Terme, and to graunt some abatement, if there hath beene any losse: Finally, toremit the whole Debt, if there hath happened any impossibility. There are infinite cases wherein the Senate may helpe, or hurt, but those much, which hire the publique Rents, whereof the Senate hath the charge. They also name the ludges in most of their Conventions as well publique as private, as farre as the greatneffe of the cause shall tequire. Wherefore relying vpontheir wildome, and fearing the vneertainty of their aaffaires, they carefully observe the instances and oppofigions of the Senates advice. They doe not willingly oppose again the attempts of the Confuls : For that all in generall (wherefoeuer the Roman Empire doth extend) are under their Command, as well in priuate as in publique. As therefore the power of either of these is such, as they may mutually bring profit or prejudice, yet they are fo firly v-C nited against all crosses and disafters, as we cannot finde a better forme of a Common-wealth.

For when as any common terrour shall present it selfe, and that they are forced to succor one another, the forces of this Commenwealth are fo great, as there is not any thing wanting, neither doth any manfaile, in his Charge, but all tend joyatly to bring to a good end that which hath beene resolued : and that whatsocuer hath beene ordained, may not be delayed beyond the opportunity of time. Finally, all imploy themselves as well in publique as in private to finish the Enterprize. Wherefore they have this peculiar vnto them, that their force is vntefiltable, and they accomplish whatsoever they resolve. Againe, if D (freed from the publique feare of Strangers) they abandon themselves to prosperity and abundance of wealth, which they enjoy by meanes of their good fortunes, then vivally they grow infolent and proud, allured by flatteries, and given to delights and idlenesse. Then may they cafily see how the Common wealth studies to helpe it selfe : For where as any one of the parts will be Mistresse, and rule more then is fitting, it is manifest, that neither of them being newly creeted, according to our dicourle, the Enterprize of either of them may be murgally restrained

Kka

292

and hindred , fo as none of them can fly off, nor advance it selfe, ei. ther of them continue in their charge, as well by an opposition to their Enterprize, as through a present searc of punishment.



Parcell of the SixtBooke

touching the Order of the Roman Armies.



Henthe Remans have chosen the Confuls, thev R appoint the Tribunes of the Souldiers : that is to fay, fourteene of those which have followed the Warres flue yeares, and ten others which have continued ten yeares. Among the which there are foure on Horse-backe, and sixe on Poote: who must of necessity goe vatill they come to the Age of fixe and forty yeares : except such whose estate doth not amount to a-

boue seauen pounds sterling: For those they leave and reserve them for the Scan Bur if the affaires be vigent and preffing, the Poote-men are bound to serve twenty yeares. In regard of the Citty magistrate. no man can execute it before he hath ferued ten yeares.

and When the Confuls ordaine a leuie; they make Proclamation by the Etumper, on what day all the the Remains of sufficient age to beare Armes, to meete; the which they doe yearely. When the prefixed day is some, and that all the able men are come into the Citty, and affembled before the Capitele, the youngest Tribunes divide themselves into foure parts as the People and Confuls have ordained: For that they make the generall and first division of their Bands into foure Legions. Then the foure first chosen are appointed to the first Legion, the three p following to the second, the foure subsequent to the third, and the three last to the fourth. They ordaine the two first of the most ancient to the first Legion, the three next to them of the second, the two following to the third, and to the fourth the three last of the most ancient. When the divition of the Tribunes hath beene thus made. fo as all the Legions have their Captaines equally, they call lots voon every Race being let apart one from another, right against either Legion: And they call their Company, most commonly fallen by lot: our of which

which they choose foure Young men of like constitution. After which The manner of the Tribunes of the first Legion make the first choice : Then the second, the Tribunes the third, and the fourth last of all. And againe, voon the presen in the choise of ting of other foure, they of the second choose first, and so the rest in the Legions. order : They of the first begin the last. Then of the foure which are presented aftenthese, the Tribunes of the third Legion choose the first, and they of the second are the last. By this meanes making alwaiesthis election by portion, and as it were by a kind of circulation, it fals out that to enery Legion the men are equally divided?

A ... When they have chosen this number, Cthe which they doe to the end that enery Liegion may confift sometimes of foure thousand two hundred Foote, sometimes of fine thousand if the danger seemes great) and that the division is thus made, they were wont to muster their Horfmen after the Leginaries. At this day they are the first, by an election of the richest made by the Censor, of which they appoint three hundred to euery Legion. The leuie being thus made, euery Tribune drawes together his Legion, and in choofing one of the most sufficient, they take an Oath from him to obey his Captaines faithfully, and to execute their Commandments: Then the rest sweare particularly in passing, testifying by a signe, that they are ready to doe all things as their first man had done.

At the same instant the Consult advertiseth the Governours of Townes allied in Italy, from whom they thinke good to draw fuccours, acquainting them with the number of men, the day, and the place when they should meete which should be leuied. Who after they have made their leuie accordingly, they fend them having taken an Oath, and gluen them a Commander and a Treasurer. But when the Tribunes at Rome haue taken the Oath of the Souldiers, they fend them backe, appointing a day and a place to enery Legion when they ought to come C without Armes. When they are drawne together on the day appointed, they make choice of the youngest amongst them, and weakest Soulders in ea in their estates, to carry lauelings or Darts : Then slich as are more uny Legion. advanced in yeares, they carry Armes which they call forked Darts or Iauelings: And they which are strong of Body and more aged, are made principals : But the Triarij are chosen out of the most ancient. So many differences of Names and Ages are among the Romans, and likewise of Armes in enery Legion. They divide them in such fort, as the Triarij are the most ancient, to the number of fixe hundred : The principals twelue hundred, to whom the forked Iauelings are equall: The rest which are younger, are light Iauelings. If the Legion con-D filts of a great number, they divide it proportionably, except the Triarii, whose number is alwaics the same.

The youngest are bound to carry 2 Sword, a light laueling, and a Theforme of 2 Buckler. This Buckler is firme as well for its art, as for the greatneffe, Buckler, fufficient to defend the body. It is round, having three foote in Diameter. The Souldiers haue moreouer a light Head peece, whereon doth bang a Wolues skin, or some such thing, which serves for a covering and marke, to the end that every one may be knowne by his Captaine

The light laye-

294

being in fight, doing his duty or not. The light lauding is most commonly three footelong, of the bignesse of a mans finger, with an Iron head a good spanne long, and is so stender and sharpe, that upon the first cast it must of necessity bend, and so is made vnprofitable to cast againe : Otherwise they will serve the one as well as the other. Then they command those which are more aged, whom they call forked Iauclings to be armed.

The forme of a Target.,

The Spanish

Sword.

The Romans Armes are first a Target two foote and a halfe broad, and bending vpon the superficies, and soure soote in length . The greatest hath foure fingers more, and is made of two boards glued together with A Oxe-glew: And is couered with a Calues skinne, or that of a Goate, or some such like Beast. All the circumference hath a hoope of Iron, the better to beare off the blowes of a Sword, and that leaning it on the ground, it may not weare. In the midft there is a Boffe of Iron, which beares off all blowes, and the violence of Stones; of long Pertwifans. and of all manner of Darrs be they never fo violent. The Sword which they call Spanish, and hath two edges with a very sharpe point, hangs commodiously with the Target woon his thigh. It chargeth home for that it is strong and stiffe. Moreouer, they have two spits, a headpeece of Brasse, and greaues for the defence of their leggs, amongst & the which spits, some are great, others slender: The strongest which are long and round, have three inches in Diameter: Those which are fquare, have the fides equall: The flendrest are like vnto the leffer forked Darts, which they carry with the faid Armes: The staffe whereof doth nor much exceede the length of foure foote and a halfe : and they arme them with a head of Iron, equall in length to the staffe, the which they ioyne so close with so many ligarures and crosse-nailes, as they neuer diffolue vntill the Iron breake: although at the neather end it be a finger and a halfe thicke, where it ioynes vnto the staffe, so carefull they are in fetting them together.

Besides all these things, they are adorned with a Crowne of feathers, with three red or blacke feathers standing right vp almost a foote and a halfe, the which fet vpen the top of the head, together with his other Armes, make a man seeme twice as big, and by this meanes of a good-Iv appearance, and terrible to the Enemy. Others taking a peece of Braffe a fpan broad, which they lay voon their stomackes, which they terme the guard of their hearts, are compleatly armed. But they which are held to have aboue a hundred and fifty pounds sterling in their cstates, take for the defence of their body, with their other Armes, shirts of maile. The Principals have the same kind of Armes, and in like man- n ner the Triarij, but in flead of spits, they carry forked lauelings. They choose the heads of Bands our of all these sorts, except the voungest) The manner of to the number of cen, of the most ablest men : Besides the which they make another Election of ten others, whom they call heads of Ordo. nance. Among the which the first chosen is admitted to Councell. These againe choose as many Lieutenants, These things done . they divide with the Captaines every age into ten parts, except the light lauclings: appointing to enery Band two Captaines and two Lieutenants of those

Lib. 6. The History of POLYBIVS.

which have beene chosen. In regard of the light lauelings or Darts which remaine, they distribute them equally throughout all the Bands: which Bands they have called Orders, Troupes, and Enfignes: and their Captaines Centurions and Heads of Bands. These choose out of euery Troupe two strong and resolute men to carry the Ensignes. They make two Captaines to enery Troupe, and with reason: For as it is certaine what either of them can doe or fuffer, and that the actions of War have no excuse, they will never have the Troupe remaine without a Commander or Gouernour. If they be both present, the first chosen A leads the right wing of the Troupe, and the fecond those which are voon the left wing of the Enfigne. If one miscarries, he that is present gouernes all. Finally, they defire not fo much valour nor disdaine of Gouernment, death in their Commanders, as gouernment, conflancy, and good coun. Conflancy, and fell: and not to ingage themselves first in the fight, nor to begin it: But fell required in being vanquished and prest, they should stand firme, and rather dye a Captains. then to abandon their place. They have also divided their Canalleru into ten Troupes, drawing from euery one of them three Captaines: who likewise made choise of three Lieutenants, of which the first is Chiefe of the Troupe, and the rest hold the ranke of Dizeniers or Commanders of ten, and so they are called. The second holds the place B of the first in his absence.

The Armes of the Horse men are at this day very like to those of the Grecians: Formerly they had no Guyraffes, being in danger by reafon of their Linnen breeches, with the which they were more active to The Roman mount on Horsebacke lightly, but they found themselues in great dan- Cauallery are in fight, being in a manner relied. Moreover, their first light heing in a manner relied. Moreover, their first light light heing in a manner relied. ger in fight, being in a manner naked. Moreover, their forked Javelings Greeke manner were vnprofitable for two respects : For first they made them slender and fit to dart, fo as they could not take their aime, and many times they were broken before the point could flicke, for that they were continually shaken with the trotting of the Horses : and withall they were C of no vie but to thrust forward, being vnarmed at the other end. In truth they were of no feruice after they were broken. They had also Targets made of the hydes of Oxen, like vnto puft vp Gakes, which they viually make at Sacrifices: The which they could not well vie in fight, for that they were not firme, but swel'd with raine. By this meanes they grew unprofitable. Wherefore as the vie did not feeme good, they presently changed, imbracing the fashion of the Grecians Armes, in the which the thrust with a Iaueling is suddaine and certaine, neither is it without effect, for that it shakes not, but is firme. Moreguer, in turning the point behind, the vic is firme and violent: Their Tar-D ger is the like, for both in defending and affailing it, it is firme, ftrong, and profitable. The which when they had feene, they prefently fol- The docility of lowed it: for the Romans are as apr as any others to imbrace the best course of life. When the Tribunes have made their division, and the orders concerning Armes, they fend them backe to their houses. The day comming whereon they have fworne to come to the place appointed by the Confull, (for that every one doth affigne it apart vnto his Legion, considering that most commonly they ordaine to enery onea-

part, one for the allies, and two for the Legions, all they which have beene mustered, meete without exception : For that they admit no excuse, valesse it be in regard of the Augure or for health. But when the Allies are affembled with the Romans, the Captaines appointed by the Confull, whom they call Gouernours, to the number of twelue, haue the charge of their diuision. Who first choose to serue the Confuls loyally and faithfully, the most able and active of all the men, as well of Horse and Foot, which are come to their succours, they call extraordinaries. All the Troupe of fuccours is most commonly in regard of the Foot-men, equall to the Roman Legions.

The Horse-men are double in number, of which they take a third part for extraordinaries, and a fift of the Foote-men. Finally, they diuide the rest into two Battalions, calling the one the right Battalion, and the other the left. These things thus ordred, the Tribunes taking the Romans and the Allies, hold a Campe, having alwaies one forme in their fetting downe, which they vie at all times, and in all places. Wherefore I hold it fitting to the time, to indeauour as much as wee may to perswade the Readers to the contemplation of the order of the Army in marching, camping, and putting into Battaile. What man is so ill disposed to good and honest workes, which will not give a carefull eare R to these kind of actions? The which being once heard, he shall vnderstand a thing worthy of memory and knowledge. This is the manner of their camping: The Confuls Tent is planted in the easiest Quarter of the Campe, where he may fee and command. When they have fer downe a marke where they are to plantic, they measure out a square place round about it lo as all the fides may be a hundred foote from the marke, and the whole Plot about an Acre of ground.

The Legions are alwaies lodg'd in one aspect to this figure, and of that side which shall seeme most commodious for the water and forrage. As either of them hath fixe Tribunes, and that two of them doe alwaies follow one of the Confuls, it is apparent that either of them hath of necessity twelve Tribunes for the Werre. Whose Tents they feevo in a ftreight line, eight fathome and two foote diftant from that fide which they have chosen for the square, which may be a sufficient place to lodge their Horses, Sumpters, and Baggage. They are set vp turning their aspect without the square: the which wee must alwais hold, and terme it opposite to the whole Figure. The Tribunes Pauillions are equallipaces, and of that extent, as they containe as much ground as the Tents of the Roman Legions haue in breadth. And when they have measured out a space of a hundred foote without all the n Tents, and have made a direct line, confining this breadth to the like space of those of the Tribunes, they begin to make lodgings for the Legions after this manner.

When they have divided this line in two, they lodge the Horse-men of the two Legions opposite one to the other fifty foote distant, the separation being in the midst of the space. The Tents of the Horse-men and Foot-men are placed in like manner: For all the figure of the inclofure is made square. It lookes towards the spaces of the streets, and

hath one certaine length loyning to the way, being 100. foot long. The v fludy often to make the depth equall, except voto the Allies. But if their Army be greater, they adde both to the length and depth. And as the lodgings of the Horf-men answere to the middle of the Tribunes Tents, there is a certaine way made croffing the afore faid streight line, and the void place before the Tribunes. The passages are like vnto streets. For as of either fide the troupes are lodg'd all along, but after the Horf-men of the faid two Legions, they lodg'd the Triarij in the same forme, loyning A troups to every Enfigne, so as the figures touch one another, having their aspect to the other side contrary to the Horse-men, reducing the depth to halfe the length in enery forme: For that they are most commonly but halfe fo many in number as the other troupes. Wherefore as the number of men is often found vnequall, it happens that the parts are alwaies made equall in length, for that they differ in depth. Then they lodge the Principals 50. foot distant, and opposite to the Triarij: These being turned against the said spaces, the two streets are compleate, taking their beginning from the same streight line, with such approaches as the Horse-men have, that is to say, of 100, foot distance, which is before the Tribunes, and ending on the contrary fide. The which formerly we have B propounded to be opposite to all the forme of the Campe. After the Principals they lodge the forked Iauelings behind in an opposite aspect, the figures being joyned. And as by the first division all the parties have ten Ensignes, so the streets are alike and equall behind, as well in length as in separation, vpon the sides opposite to the Rampire and Pallisadoe; where turning the last Enfignes, they campe. Then after the forked lanelings leaving a space of eight fathome and two foot, against them they lodge the Horse-men of the Allies, taking their beginning at the same fireight line, & ending on the same side. The number of the Allies Footmen is equall to the Roman Legions, only excepted extraordinaries, but C the Horf-men are double in number, from whom a third part is drawne for extraordinaries. The Commanders of Bands take the first lodgings in every quarter : placing on every fide the fixt Band after the fift, they retire eight fathome and two foote, the like they doe with the Bands of Foor-men: fo as there is another paffage made through the Legions, and crosse the streets: the which is a way equally distant from the Tribunca Tents, which they call the fift, for that it is drawne after the fifty flue Bands. The place which remaines behinde the Tribunes Tents, and which of either fide ionnes to the Confuls Paullions, serues partly for the Market-place, and partly for the Questor and his munition. In regard Dof the two last Pauillions, of either side of the Tribunes, some choise Horse-men and other voluntaries following the Campe for the lone of the Confull are lodged there, towards the fides croffing the Rampiers, some looking towards the Questors munition, and some to the Marketplace, with an order bending towards the Tents of the extraordinaries. It often falls out that these men are not onely lodg'd neare the Confull, but they also doe their duties about him and the Questor; when the Army marcheth, and in their other affaires.

To these are loyned Foot men looking to the Rampire, who doe the like service: after which they leave a space of 16. Fathome and 4. foote

The manner the Romans camping,

296

broad, equally distant from the Tribunes Tents, besides the Marker place, the Preterium & the Queftory, extending throughout all the parts of the Rampire: At the vpper end whereof the extraordinary Horf-men of the Allies Campe, looking towards the Prætor and Questor. In the midft of their Pauillions, there is left a way to the Prætors place, of 8. fathome and a. foor, drawing to the further end of the Campe. After these are ledged the extraordinary Foote-men of the Allies, turning their backs to them, and looking towards the Rampire and the further end of the whole Campe. In regard of the void place remaining of either fide of A the croffing flanks, it is for strangers & new commers. Matters being thus disposed, the whole forme of the Campe remaines square with equall fides. As for particular figures as well of separation of freets, as of other ordinances, they are much like a Towne. They cast up the Rampire 33. fathome and 2. foot from the Tents: for that this voide space profiteth them much. For it is comodious for the clenling of the Campe, so as euery man goes forth into that place by the street which is nearest to him without croffing one another. There they also keepe their Cattell fafely in the night, & the booty which they have taken from the Enemy. And it is of great benefit, for if the Enemy affailes them by night, neither Fire nor Darts can touch them, or very little, and without any offence, confidering the great distance and the Tents about them. It is then easie for a man to judge how spacious this Campe is, whether they give it a multitude of Foot and Horse, or they make the Legion of source or five thoufand men, with the length, depth, and great number of quarters : adding thereunto the spaces of waies with all other things. If at any time the number of the Allies be great, whether that they followed the Campe from the beginning or came afterwards vpon some occasion, they fill vp the places which are about the Pretorium, with such as are new come,& they draw the market place and the Questory into one for the necessity of the time. Also if the number of those which are come to Field with the Army be great, they adde on either fide of the Roman Legions a freete towards the croffing Flanks. And if all the foure Legions & both the Confuls be inveed in one Campe, we must conceive that they are two Armies, equally camped and ioyned backe to back, the lodgings of their extraordinaries touching one another, the figure being somewhat long, and twice as spacious, with a circumference halfe as big againe. The Confuls being in one Campe they doe alwaies thus: But if they be fepsrated, they observe the first order. In regard of the Market place, the Pretorium and Questory, they place them in the midst of the two Are mies. But when they are encampt, the Tribunes affemble, taking a particular Oath of all men, be they free or bond, who sweare not to steale asy thing in the Campe, and if they finde any thing to bring it to them. Then they dispose of the Enfigues, and depute out of the two Legions two of the Principals and of the forked Jauelings, for the guard of the place which is before them. For thither the greatest part of the Romans repaire daily: and therefore they have the charge it should bee kept cleane. Euery Tribune chooses three out of the other two and twenty Enfignes which remaine. According to the faid division, there are so many Enlignes of Principals and forked lauclings in cuery Legion. There

are fixe Tribunes which gouerne in their turnes, and particularly three Enfignes, the which fet vp the Tent in the place appointed for him that hath the government, pauing the place which is about it. Moreover they haue charge to fortifie if it be needfull, for the guard of the Baggage. They also appoint two Watches, either of them consisting of foure men Theorder of whereof some are before the Tent, and others behind neare vnto the two Watches-Horses. As every Tribune hath three Ensignes, and aboue a hundred men in either of them, except the Triarij and light lauelings (which are not A bound to that feruice) the charge is found light: for that the Watch falls to enery Enfigne but the fourth day. Finally, as for these duties, the neceffary Command, with the honour and obedience is due vnto the Tribunes. The Enfignes of the Triarij are freed from the Tribunes charge, but they serue daily among the Troupes of Horse men, as they are lodged neare them and they have a care of the Horses, lest they should intangle and hurr themselves, and so be made vnserviceable: or being vntied fight together, whereby an Alarum might grow in the Campe! Moreouer, one out of every Enfigne keepes a guard daily before the Consult, whereby he is in safety from Treason, being the most honourable Magistrate. The Allies haue the charge of either side of the Ditch B and Pallisadoc, where every one of their Troupe is nearest, and the Romans of the other two, and enery Legion hath one. And as enery flanke is distributed by the Ensignes, the Captaines of the Bands are present at the particular guard, but in generall two of the Tribunes had the onerfight, who in like manner had the charge of the rest of the Legion. For For their division being made by two, they governe by their turnes two Moneths in fixe, and they (to whom the lot is fallen) haue the preheminence of all the affaires. The same manner of gouernment is observed among the Commanders of the Allies. The Horse-men and Captains of Bands, come at Sun-riling to the Tribunes Tents, and the Tribunes to C the Confull, to whom he gives order for preffing affaires: They likewife to the horse-men and Captains, who command the Troupe in time conuenient. As for the watch word by Night, they give it fafely thus : A man is chosen both of the Horse and Foot of the tenth Ensigne, which The Romans camps behind vpon the extremity of the freets, who is not bound to manneringiwatch, but comes only euery day at the Suns fetting to the Tribunes Pa. uing the worda uillion, and when he hath received the word, (which is written downe) he returnes, and being come unto his Ensigne, hee deliuers it with the word vnto the Commander of the next Enfigne in the presence of wirnesses. The like he doth vnto the next, and so consequently of all the rest D varill it come vato the first Ensignes which are lodged neare vato the Tribunes. They must bring backe this Paper to the Tribunes before night: and if all those which have bin delivered be returned, they know that the word bath bin giuen to all in generall, having past through them all. If there beany fault, the Tribune enquires presently of the cause, and knows by the inscription from what quarter the Paper came, and when the errour is discouered, they presently condemne him to a certaine Fine. Moreouer, they appoint their guards after this manner: An Enfigne watches about the Confuls Tent : the like doe the Deputies of every Enfigne about the Tribunes and the Troupes of Horse men. Thus

they of enery Band dispose of themselues, and the Consuls of the other guards. There are most commonly three guards, one about the Questor, and two tohers about the Lieutenants and Councellors. But the light lauelings remaine without the Campe, making a guard by day about the Pallisadoe, for it istheir charge: Of which there are ten appointed for

the guard of euery Gate.

Watch.

The Lieutenant of euery Enfigne brings in the Euening vato the Tribune those that are appointed for the first watch to either of which the Tribune giues little Talleys, having Characters: After the receipt wher-To whom the of they retire to the places affigued them. Concerning the furney of the watchbelongs. Watch, they trust Horse-men; for the chiese Captaine of the Band must giue order to one of his Lieutenants to carry this Commandment to euery Legion: That is to fay, to foure young men of his Band before dinner, that the charge belongs to them, to visite the Watchthe Night following. This being done, the like command must be given to the Captaine of the next Band, that it belongs to his charge to make the Round the day following. This being heard, the day following he doth the like to others, and so consequently of the rest: Finally, they which have bin chosen by the Lieutenants of the first Band, to whom the Watch is fallen, repaire vnto the Tribunes, and take in writing what portion, and how & many Watches they are to visite, which done, they remaine in the guard neare vnto the first Ensigne of the Triarij, of the which the Captaine of the Band hath the charge, to the end the Trumpet may found in fit time for the Watch. The time being come, he that hath the charge to make the Round, doth it to the first Watch. He not onely visiteth the places neare the Palliadoc and streets, but altogether going about the Ensignes and Troups: and if he finds the Watch of the first guard waking, he takes their Talley: But if he finds any one fleeping, or the place abandoned, he departs, taking witnesse of them that are neare. The like also they doe which afterwards goe the Round. The charge to cause him to found to The manner nifh luch as faile in the

the Watch, belongs to the Captains of Bands of the first Enfignes of the Triarij of euery Legion, who serue as visiters for the guard. Either of which in the morning brings the Paper to the Tribune, and if they have brought all they returne. If any one brings lesse then the number of the guards, they fearch by the Character where the fault was committed. This being knowne, they call the Captaine of the Band, who brings those whom they had appointed for the Watch. These debate it with the Visiter : And if the fault be in the Watch , the Visiter delivers it presently with the testimony of those that were neare: For he is bound to doe it : But if he hath err'd himselfe, the blame is laid vpon him, and they make his processe presently before the Tribune, in the presence of the affembly : if hee be condemn'd, they whip him. This is the punishment: The Tribune when he hath scarce toucht the condemna with the rod all the Souldiers of the Campe fall vpon them with rods and kill them for the most part, and if any escape, yet they are not preferued : for how were it possible, seeing that the returne into their Comtrey is forbidden, neither haue they Friends or Kinsmen that darere ceine them into their houses. Wherefore they which fall into this Calamity, perish totally. To the like punishmen are also subiect the Lieute-

nant and Captaine of the Band, if they have failed in their Command, the one as Vissiter, and the other as Captaine of the Band, who must flew himselfe in time convenient, wherefore as the punishment is severe and irremissible, the watch neuer commits any fault. The Souldiers must obey the Tribunes, and they the Consuls. It is true the Tribunes haue power to condemne in a Fine, to absolue and to whip. The Captaines have the like priviledge over the Allies. If any one bath stollen a. ny thing in the Campe, he is whipt : fo is a falfe witneffe, or any one that is apprehended abusing the flower of the youth. Moreover, if any one A harh binthrice reprehended for one and the fame crime, they punish him afterwards grieuoully as a depraued person. They hold these crimes infamous and base in a Souldier, as if any one hath bragg'd falsely to the Tribune of his proweffe to winne honour : Or if any appointed to the guard of a place, abandon it cowardly, or leaves any of his Armes for feare in fight. Wherefore some having apparent death before them in the place where they are fet, as being environed by a great Troupe, will neuer abandon the station where they have bin once appointed, fearing the punishment due to their offence. Some in the like dangers losing by chance their Bucklers and Swords, or some other Armes, thrust them-B selues among their Enemies, hoping to recouer that which they have lost by force : or enduring some vnfortunate accident, to slie a manifest infamy and reproach of their Companions. If these things happen to many, and that some Ensignes have by a generall consent abandoned their place, they held it not fit to whip them, nor to kill them all, but they have another expedient which is profitable and terrible : for after they have drawne the Army together, the Tribunes bring them into the mid 2 of it, accusing them with big words. Finally, he drawes forth by lot fine of eight, sometimes twenty, having regard vnto the Troupe, so as there be the tenth part of the delinquents, whom they whip as hath bin faid, with-C out any remiffion. Moreouer, he commands the rest to lodge without the Rampiers and Pallifadoes of the Campe, deliuering them Barley for Wheat. By the apparent danger and feare of the lot equally incident to them all, feeing the cuent is vncertaine, with the example of the Munition which they give them of Barley, concernes them all, and serues for a terrour and referaint from offences. Moreouer, they encourage young men to vndergoe danger: For when necessity requires it, and that any one of them hath performed an act of valour, the Confull affembles the Army, where they are presented which have done any memorable act: There he commends enery man in particular, laying open what they The manner of haue valiantly performed, or any other thing that hath bin worthy of recompencing that hath bin worthy of recompencing D memory, during the whole course of their lines: Finally, he gines a gan-valour. lish Dare to him that hath wounded the Enemy: To a Foot-man which hathouerthrownea Horfe-man and ftript him, a vessell of Gold: To a Horse-man the Furniture of a Horse. In former time they had none but the gaulish Dart : which are gists which they receive, which in skirmishes and such like actions have done valiantly and couragionsly, where without any necessity they enter voluntarily, and fight man to man in single Combate, not hee which in Battaile or the taking

taking of a Towne hath wounded or stript an Enemy. It is true they give

generall

2 Crowne of Gold to those which have first ascended the wall : The Confull in like manner makes shew of such as have defended and preserued any Cittizens or Allies, and makes them honourable by gift. Moreouer the Tribunes compell those which haue beene preserued, if they doe it not willingly, to crowne their preferuer, to whom they beare a reuerence and respect during their lines, as to their Fathers, to whom they yeeld the like duty. By these inticements they not onely encourage the affiftants to fight, and by their example to vndergoe danger: but likewise the Inhabitants which remaine in the City. For they which haue obtained these gifts, besides the glory and esteeme of the Souldiers, the fame flying to their family, they have folemae pomps made for them, being returned into their Countrey with great honour and dignity, for that they to whom the Captaines have done such honours, are onely worthy to be so magnified and estremed. They also set vp in the most appareat places of their Citty the spoiles, as markes and testimonies of their virtue. As they are thus curious and diligent in the Campe, for honours and punishment, it is reasonable and fitting the euents of War

roote and

302

a Minc two

The order of the Campe in marching.

should proue prosperous and honourable. The Foote-men haue by the day fourteene Dencers, the Captaines of tertainment of Bands two souse and foure, the Horse-men haue three souse and fixe, a B Foote-man hath monethly almost foure Bushels of Wheate, a Horseman hath by the moneth three Septiers and a Mine of Barley and a Septier of Wheate. As for the Allies, the Foote-men haue the same, the two Mines, and Horse-man hath eight Bushels of Wheate, and two Septiers and a Mine of Barley, which are things done in fanour to the Allies. The Queftor deducts a certaine portion of the Romans pay, for the Wheate, Apparrell, or Armes, if any of them have neede. They march in Battaile after this manner, when the first warning is given, they packe vp their Tents and Baggage. The which no man may take downe, or let vp, before thefe of the Tribunes and Confuls be ordred. At the fecond found of the Trumpet, they lay the Baggage vpon the Sumpters. But at the third the first must march, and all the Campe must moue: whereas sometimes the extraordinaries march first, being followed by the right wing of the Allies, with their Baggage in the Reare. After these march the first Roman Legion, with their stuffe after them. Then followes the second with their carriages, following the Army close.

It is true, the left wing of the Allies makes the Reareward when the Army marcheth. Sometimes the Horse men follow in the Reare, enery one to his Quarter : where they are vpon the wings of the Baggage, to affift them for their fafeties. But if there be any doubt of the Rearen ward, all march in one order, except the extraordinaties of the Allies who are brought to the front of the Reareward, and enery other day the fame Legion & wings make the point. Then agains they follow behind to the end that all may be partakers of Forrage and water, changing their order daily, to the end every one may be first in his turne. They descrue another kind of march in dangerous times, and in a plaine Champaigne. They make three Battalions in equall distance, confisting of

forked lauelings, Principals and Triarij's, putting before the Baggage of those Enlignes which march firft. After the first those that are fecond: and then doth march the Baggage of the third, and they order their Baggage and Enfignes by this proportion alternatively. Marching in this order, if there happens any great affaires, they cause the Enfignes to march thorough the Baggage, sometimes presenting their Targets, sometimes their lauelings to the Enemy. And in one instant and the fame march, the Souldiers put themselves in order of Battaile, vnlesse it be when as your forked lauelings fetch a compasse: For then the Bag-A gage with their attendants, stealing behinde the Souldiers, recouers some place of safety.

But when in marching they are neare to plant their Campe, the Tribunes and they which are viually appointed to that charge, goe before: who after they have viewed the place fit for the Campe, they first marke out the place for the Confuls Tent, (as hath beene faid) and vpon what aspect and slanke of the square thus markt out, the Legions should bee lodgd. Then they measure out a plot for the Pretorium: after which a fireight line, whereupon are joyned the Tribunes Pauillions: Then a line equally diftant, after which are lodged the Legions. In like manner they B measure on the other side of the Pretorium, the places whereof we have lately spoken in particular. This is soone done, for that the measures are easte, the spaces being certaine and ordinary) they set downe a marke, and first of all that where the Consuls Pauillion must stand : Then the second on the fide which is chosen: The third to the line in the midst, to the which the Tribunes fet their Tents: The fourth where the Legions are lodgd. Of which these last are red, and the Coasuls white. As for the other fide, there they fometimes faften forked Darts, or other markes of divers colours. This done, they confequently make the streets: At euery one they fasten a forked Darr, to the end that all things might be C knowne more commodiously to them that approach to the Army, and to the view of the Campe, by a coniecture and confideration of the Pra-

Wherefore enery man knowing plainely in what streete and in what part his Tent is, for that they alwaies hold one place in the Campe. It falls out in like manner as when an Army enters into its owne Citty, which is well knowne. Euery man from the Gateturning, marcheth prefently and comes to his owne lodging without wandring, for that all in generall and particular know in what quarter of the City their dwellings are. It happens likewise in the Romans Campe, wherein they seeme (following this custome) to take a contrary course to the Grecians in regard D thereof. The Grecians make great accompt of the strength of a Campe, and feeke it principally, flying partly the labour of ditching, imagining that fortifications made by hand, are not fo effectuall and good as those of nature, wherefore they are forced in Camping, wholly to change their formes according to the scituation on of places: so as all mens lodgings are vncertaine. In regard of the Romans, they defire rather to endure the labour of rampring, and to doe all other things necessary for their ease, and to have the knowledge of every one in the Campe. There are the LI4

generall parts of the contemplation of an Army, and the scituation of



A Parcell of the SixtBooke

of Potentates, and which is the most excellent.



304

LL Historiographers in a manner R haue in their writings made great esteeme of the Excellency of these kinde of Common-weales, as the Lacedemonians, Candiots, Mantiniens, and Carthaginians: Some likewife have mentioned the Athenians and Thebeins. For my pare, I differ from the rest: in regard of the thenians and Thebeins. I doe not hold it needfull to vie many words of them; for that they have had no C great increase, nor any firme forces, neither are they fallen into any mo-

derate alteration : But as they feemed to be in vigour and force by a certaine new temporall Fortune; fo they have felt a contrary change. The The Thebeins. Thebeins have purchased an esteeme of virtue among the Grecians by the fault of the Lacedemonians, and the hatred of those which were of their League, adding thereunto the excellency of one or two in regard of the afore-favd things. That the virtue of Gouernours, and not the citate of the Common weals hath beene the cause of the Thebeins felicity, the fuddaine following Fortune hath made manifest. Their power hath beene augmented and confirmed, and againe ruined during the lines of Epaminundas and Pelopidas. Wherefore we must conceine that these Men and not the Common weale, have beene the cause that the Citty of Thebes hath purchased so much honour whilest it was in esteeme. We must likewise for the same reason judge the like of the The dibenians, Athenians: the which hath many times, especially by the virtue of Themissocles, made it selfe glorious, but hath presently tryed a contrary change by the disorder of its nature.

It hath alwaies happened to the Athenians, like vnto ships vnfurnifhed of Pilots. For when the Company resolue to agree, and to obey the Gouernour of the ship, either for feare of Enemies, or for the danger of astorme, they performe their duties cheerefully. But when through arrogancy they begin to dildaine their Gouernours, and to mutine, for that the same things doe not please all men : so as some have a will to faile, others to force the Pilot to goe to harbour, and that fome lay hold of the Oares, and call vpon him to fet faile: this caufeth an infamous spectacle to those which behold it, by reason of the mutuall dis-A cord and mutiny. The humour of those which are Companions in the Nauigation, hath no stay: wherefore flying many times the great depth of the Sea, and great stormes which doe vsually arise, they saile along the shore. The like bath often happened to the Asbenians. For asthey have some times repell'd by the virtue of their people and Commanders, great and greiuous calamities, yet they have err'd wonderfully by their great rafineffe and indifferetion, having a prosperous gale and all things successefull. Wherefore it is not needfull to hold any longer discourse, neither of it nor of the Thebeins: where the Commons attempt all things according to their owne humours, the first be-B ing brutish and rude, and this other accustomed to violence and fury.

Comming then to that of the Candyous, it is fit to know two things, why the most learned among the ancient writers, as Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, and Plato, fay first that it is like and the same with that of the Lacedemonians, and secondly that it is commendable: For neither of them feemes true in my opinion: The which may bee conceined by that which followeth, shewing first that it differs ; they tay that the Lacedemonians have this proper ; that it is not lawfull for one man to haue more land then another, being necessary for every burgesse to have an equall portion of lands in the Cittie. Secondly that hee isto bee C amerced as a wicked man, that hath greater possessions then the rest: By this meanes ambition is wholly or in part rooted out of this Common-weale. Thirdly, their Kings enioy the Crowne for euer and they only for life, whom they call ancients: By whom and with whom all The Lacede. the affaires of the Common weale are mannaged. In regard of the Can- minim Comdiess, all the things are gouerned by contrary meanes. For the Lawes allow them to possesse what Lands they can get: by this meanes Excel. The Common lency is in esteeme amongst them, so as the possession of Lands is not

onely held necessary, but also most honest. Finally, the desire of infamous and auaritious gaine is so powerfull among them, that among all mortall men onely the Candists find no D kind of gaine worthy of blame: Although that in that which concernes

their principality, they have an Annall and Democraticall governments to as we are in doubt, and wonder often, how Writers have delivered them vnto vs to be familiar and as it were Germaines, seeing they have fo contrary a Nature: Neither haue they without doting ordained (o many differences, not lightly, but with a great flew of words : faying

that onely Licurgus among the Ancients, had aim'd at firme and found. things: And that as there are two meanes for the preservation of every

Common-weale, which are force against the Enemy, and mutuall concord and agreement among themselues: that in chasing auarice, hee had withall taken away all civill discord and mutinic: and that by this meanes the Lacedemonians being freed from these mischiefes, have better then any other Grecians gouerned their Common-weale, and with greater vnion. And although the Candyotts bee of this aduice parralelling themselues, Yet they thinke it concernes them nothing, living in many publique mutinies, murthers and civill warre by their naturall avarice. prefuming to fay that thefe two Governments are alike. Ephorus fpea., king of these two Common-weales, vieth the like speech, except their names: If any one doth not observe the propper names, who can discerne whereof hee speakes. These are the causes for the which in my opinion they differ.

Wee will now thew the reasons for the which the Candrotts Com. mon-wealth, doth not seeme commendable nor worthy to be immitated. I conceine that of enery Common-wealth their are two Principles, for the which their estate and power is desired or detested: Which are their manner of liuing and their Lawes. That is to bee defired and the best, by the which the life of men in private is made religious and hour pest, and the common course of living in the City gracious and just. Fig. nally that is to be detested and anoyded, where they doe the contrary. And as we judge confidently that the men of a Common-wealth apply themselues to virtue, when we see their course of life, and the lawes to fauour of honesty in some of them: So we may with reason say, that a Common-weale is altogether depraned, as well by the lawes, as by their course of living, when we see any given to conctousnesse, and the publike

Moreover you shall not finde any lives in private more cunning and Lieurgus without doubt, seemes to have made the law, and well provi-Lacedemon, and the maintenance of their liberty: So as his confideration seemes more divine then humane. An equality of possessions, with a

Arts vniust. crafty, nor enterprizes more vniust then among the Candiotts, except fome few. Whereof we approue it by this comparison, the reason why we hold their Common-wealth not to be like the Lasedemonians, nor to be chosen, or worthy to be followed. I say moreover that Platees Common-weale is not to be preferr'd. Although that some of our Philosophers make great esteeme. As we doe not receiue among handicrafts. to be rejected, men, nor wreftlers, those which have not excercised their bodies, nor beene accustomed to wrestling, So we may not receive this: So as compared with the former, we may not bring it in compedition, before wee fee some effects. I will for the present onely propound this : If wee must efteeme and parralell it to the Common-weales of Lacedemon, Rome, and Carthage, it were even as if a man should propound an Image, to be compared with men that are living and animated. For although he deserues commendation of his Art, yet the comparison of things which be dead, with the living, feeme to the eye poore and obscure. Leaving them therefore, let vs returne to the Lacedemonian Common-weale ded that the Burgesses might agree together, for the preservation of

fimple and common course of living, should cause a modest life in priuate, and make a City quiet and peaceable. Finally, exercise in labour, and to indure all toyle, was to make men strong and valiant. Being certaine that these two which are magnanimity and temperance, concurring together in a private person or a City, malice can hardly creepe in amongst them, or be drawne from their neighbours. By these meanes the Common-wealth being fetled, it hath procured fafety to all the Country of Lacedemon, and a very durable liberty. But as for that which concernes the conquest, and principallity ouer their neighbours, and A finally the enterprize of a warre, it seemes he neuer thought of it: but onely that they should bring in a certaine friendship or resolution, by the which the common course of living of the City, should rest contented with their moderate estate, euen as their lives in private were modest, and contented with their choise. And although hee had instituted in fuch fort, as they were freed from ambition, and were very wife afwell in private as in the common course of their living in the City: yet he hath left them towards the other Grecians more then ambitious, and of an insatiable desire to raigne, with an extreame auarice: So as it is partly notorious, that first in a manner among the Grecians, greedily defiring the countries of their neighbours, they made warre against the Meffeniens, to draw them into subiection: It is also partly manifest, that they had obstinately sworne amongst themselves, not to raise the siege, before they had forc't the City of the Meseniens. It is also notorious that for the great defire they had to rule ouer the Grecians, they had againe submitted themselves to the yoake of those whom they had vanquished in battaile, So as they had patiently obeyed their commande.

They had vanquished the Persians making a discent, in fighting for the prescruation of the Grecian liberty : to whom notwithstanding beging returned and fled, they have delivered the Greeke Townes which were restored, according to the peace made by Antalcides : to the end that having money, they might fortifie themselves against the Greciansi At what time the establishment of their law seemed to decline : for whilst it gap't after the command of their neighbour, and finally of Mores, they helpt themselves with content, by the meanes which Landemon did furnith, having necessary preparations speedily, and making a suddaine returne vnto their houses . But when they began to put an Army to Sca, and to march out of Morea with forces by land, it is certainethat their Iron money, nor the trocking of their Annall fruits, could not supply their necessities according to the lawes of Licurgus. Their enterprize required current money, and traffique with firangers for victuals : fo as they were forced to have recourse vnto the Percians, to impose a tribute vpon the Handers, and to exact money from all the Grecians : knowing it impossible (according to the lawes of Lieurgus) to hold the principallity of the Grecians, nor to bee able to keepe their owne Common-wealth. But why haue I wandred so fatre in this discourle. To the end it may really appeare, that the institution of Lie curgus lawes, is onely sufficient for euery man to preserve his owne, and

Platet Com-

of every Com.

306

The Ramas Comon-weale then the Lace. demonian-

308

to maintaine his liberty: And we must confesse to those which respect a Common-wealth to this end, that there is nothing more to be defired. then the estate and order of the Lacedemonians. But as any one tends to greater matters, and thinkes of the command of the Empire, and Signury ouer many, their hope in him and his fauour towards them, to be more specious and magnificent, we must then confesse, that the Lacedemonian Common-wealth is defective, and that the Romans is more excellent, and of a more powerfull foundation. The which experience shows plainely.

For when the Lacedemonians laboured to conquer the principality of the Grecians, they suddainly brought their owne liberty into danger: whereas the Romans after they had reduced Italy under their obedience, within a short time they subdued the whole world, being sufficiently supplied with abundance of all things, and prouision of munition and victuals to effect their Enterprize. In regard of the Carthaginian, it feemes to have beene well instituted fince its beginning, according to all differences. They had Kings, and an Aristocraticall power of Senators: The Commons also had their prerogative in matters which belonged vnto them. Finally, in that which concernes their generall af- R fembly, it was like vnto that of the Romans and Lacedemonians. It is true, that in the time of Hannibals Warre, that of the Carth sginians was leffe, and that of the Romans better. In every Common-weale and action there is a certaine naturall increase and vigour, and consequently a diminution: so as all things are perfect in their vigour. Moreouer these Common-weales were at that time different : For the greater the Carthaginians were in the beginning, having had many better fortunes then the Remans, the more they have beene weakned. In regard of Rome, It flourished then even in order and policy. And as the people of Car. thage tooke great authority vponthem in Councell, so the Senate had A Comparison great power among the Romans. Wherefore as in publique resoluti-C A Compartion betwist the Ro- ons the Commons in the one gaue their aduice, and the best men in men and Car- the other : to the Romans haue beene more excellent in their publique sbaginian Come affaires: where if they have beene in danger of their whole estate, yet viing good Councell, they have in the end vanquished the Carshazinians.

But for that which concernes a suddaine preparation to Warre, the Carthaginians are more actiue at Sea, and prepare their Fleets better: For that this practice is hereditary and ancient vnto them, and they traffique more by Sea then any other men. But as for the Foot-men, the Remans make better vie then the Carthaginians, for that they wholy D addict themselues voto it. In regard of the Carthaginians, they are careleffe of Foot-men: As for Horfe-men they take some good order. The reason is, for that they imploy forreine forces which are Mercenaries: and the Romans their owne Nation and Burgesses. Wherefore this Common-wealth is more commendable then the other, the which commits the hope of their liberty to the proweffe of mercenary men: and the Romans to their owne virtue and the succour of the Allies. Wherefore if at any time the Remans have made losse in their Principa-

lities, they resist with all their forces. The Carthaginians on the other fide, fighting for their Countrey and Children, cannot abate their fury, maintaining the Combate vnto the last gaspe, vntill they have vanquished the Enemy. Wherefore although the Romans be (as I haue said) inferiour vnto them in Sea-fights, yet they exceed them in the bounty of their Souldiers. And although that in dangers at Sea, the experience of nauall combats be of no small importance, yet the prowesse of Souldiers at Sea, is of great profit for the Victory.

The Italians in truth are of a more excellent disposition then the Phe-A niciens or Lybans, as well in force of body as in courage: whereunto they vsually incite their Youth. I will tell you one thing which may ferue for a great presumption, of the diligence of this Common-weale, ordained to breed up such men as will endure any thing, to the end they may purchase praise, vertue, and same vnto their Countrey. If at any The pompe of time a man of great fame and note, dies, they bring him with great the Romansto pompe to the place which they terms for valiant men, where hee is person. fometimes vpon his feete, but seldome laid along. When as all the people are assembled, if there be any Sonne of his of sufficient age, he goes into the Chaire of Orations: if not, some other of his Race, who B fets forth the vertue and valour oft he deceased. Hence it growes that many, not onely of his Companions in valour, but also others being admonished, and seeing visibly the deeds, haue so great compassion, as the misfortune feemes not onely proper to those which undertake the danger, but common to the people. Finally, after they have interred him and performed likewise his obsequies, they set his Image vpon the most apparent place in the house, building about it a Chappell of Ioyners worke. The proportion of his face is carefully wrought to the life, according to the forme and lineaments. Which Images being showne in publique Sacrifices, they adorne honourably. C When a man of some excellent Race is dead, they make his obsequies, and they being about him which feeme to be of the same height, stature, and proportion, they put on a garment bordered with purple, if he had beene a Confull, or Generall of an Army: or else a Roabe of Purple, if a Cenior; Or of cloth of Gold, if he hath triumphed, or done a. ny fuch like thing. These march in a Charlot in this order : Before the which goe the bundels of Rods and Maces, and other things accustomed to honourable persons, according to enery mans authority, with the which during his life he hath beene honoured in the Common-wealth. Being come to the place of interment, they are all fet in Chaires of Iuo-D ry according to their order : fo as a young man that thirsts after glory and fame, can behold nothing more beautifull. For who would not be encouraged, to see the Images of men whom they honour in regard of vertue, and as it were aliue? What other spectacle can wee findemore beautifull? Moreouer, he that makes the Funerall Oration, begins to speake of his other Kinsmen there present, and first of all the most ancient, relating the deeds and imployments of either of them. So as it

bred by their vertue, their glory is immortall which have performed

falls out that by the Commendation of good men, many times remem-

any honourable action: and their honour which have served their Countrey well, is made knowne to many, and multiplyed to posterity. Moreouer, young men are encouraged to that resolution, that they are ready to endure any thing that presents it selfe for the publique good, to the end they might purchase the renowne which accompanies good men. Many Romans for this cause have fought man to man, to get an estimation among the people : Others haue chosen an apparent death : some to saue others in Battaile: Others to the end they might procure a safety in peace to the Common-wealth. Some also having the command of an Army, haue contrary to all custome and law, slaine their owne Children, having more regard to the good of the Countrey, then to the naturall alliance of those which were neerest vnto them. They write divers other things of many Romans : but it shall suffice at this time to produce one for an example and proofe.

They report of Horatims Cocles, that when he fought against two, right against the Bridge of Tiber before the Citty, and seeing a multitude of Enemies come to succour them, fearing lest they should force the Citty, he retired to those that were at his backe, crying out vnto them that they should breake the Bridge, and in the meane time maintained the fight with great courage and resolution, receiving manywounds, and B stayed the fury of the Enemies : so as they wondred not so much at his forces, as at his resolution and courage. When by the breaking of the Bridge the Enemies enterprize was disappointed, Cosles casting himfelfe armed into the River, died according to his resolution, esteeming more the preservation of his Countrey, and his future glory, then his present life, or that which hee had remaining to line. It is likely that by such courses young men were inflamed with a desire to honest

As for that which concernes gaine, the custome and proceeding of aftions. the Romans is much more excellent then that of the Carthaginians, to C whom nothing is infamous that brings profit : where there is nothing more vile and base among the Romans, then to be corrupted with gifts, and to wrest from another man contrary to duty. The more honourable they esteeme a benefit gotten from a great and powerfull man, the more they blame and condemne as infamous abundance purchased by vnlawfull meanes. For proofe where of, among the Carthaginians they attaine vnto the gouernment which have openly given prefents: whereas among the Romans that corruption is punished with death if it be discouered. Wherefore as the rewards of vertue are contrary smong them. It is apparent that the institution of these Common-D wealths is vnequall in these things. Finally, it seemes that concerning the opinion of the Gods, the Roman Common-wealth followes not the best. And I imagine that all the world holds it a dishonour that this is found among their actions. I speake of their superfition. It is in truth preacht among them for so excellent, and so anchored in men, as well in private as publique, as they cannot adde any thing, the which in truth will seeme admirable. I am of opinion they have done it for the comon for. For if the Common-weale could have affembled wife

men, this course happily had not beene necessary. But for that the multitude is light and inconstant, and subject to disordred affections, and to unreasonable distempers of fury and violence, it was fit to restraine them by a disguised feare, and by this kind of strange language. Wherefore the Ancients did not without reason invre the Common sort with the knowledge of the Gods, and with Tales of Hell, which some at this day oppose foolishly and without consideration.

Of the History of POLYBIVS.

Lib. 6.

Wherefore in paffing ouer with filence others which gouerne Com-A mon-weales, if a man lends to Grecians but fixe hundred Crownes, they cannot keepe their Faith, although he hath ten promises, and as meny Signatures, and twice as many Witnesses. In regard of the Romans, in all their Commands, they which mannage great affaires and wealth, performe their duties according to the Faith of their Oaths: whereas in other states you shall find few men carefull and sparing of the publique good, and performing the duty of an honest man: so it is a rare thing among the Romans, to finde any one accused of such a Crime. That Allthings subthere is corruption and alteration in all things, it is not needefull to ied to corrupto speake: For the necessity of Nature will give sufficient proofe. And as there are two menaes by the which every Common wealth is vitially B ouerthrowne, whereof the one is exteriour, and the other of it selfe: That which is exteriour is in its consideration inconstant: But as for the order within it selfe, we have formerly delivered what kind the first is, what the second, and how it ends in a third Common-wealth: fo as they which can appropriate the beginning of this present Subjectto the end, may also fore tell the future: the which in my opinion is

manifelt. For when a Common-weale hath gotten (after many and great dangers anoided) an excellency and vnrefistable power, it is apparent, that growing (as of custome) to abundance of wealth, the expences are C more sumptuous, and men grow more quarrelsome rouching Gouernments and other Enterprizes. By the continuance whereof begins a change to worse, as to ambition which is a kind of ignomy: Moreouer, an arrogant kind of living and fumptuousnesse. The people will leave this Title of change, when as growne proude with ambition, sweetned with their good words, which feeke to gaine them by couetoufneffe. For then being furious, and mannaging all things with rage, they will no more obey their Princes, nor be equall to their Gouernours, but most commonly will have all the power. This done, the Common-weale will D change its name into a goodly shew of liberty and a Democracia: but in effect to a most wicked Orchlocracia. Finally, as we have declared the establishing, increase, with the vigour and disposition of the Commonwealth, and the difference from others, and what is good or bad in it,

we will here make an end of this Discourse. Resuming then the parts which cohere with the time of the Historv, from whence wee strayed, we will in few words make a briefe relation of an action: to the end that not onely in speech, but also in effect, after the manner of a good workeman, we may plainely show the vigour and power of the Common-wealth, as it was at that time, propounding Mm 2

Ð

Cannes.

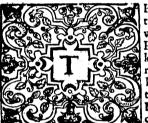
312

fome excellent action. When as Hannibal had won the Battaile of Hammbais pro ceeding after Cannes against the Romans, he tooke eight thousand men Prisoners, the Battaile of which had bin appointed for the guard of the Fort of Campe: fuffring them all to send to their kouses for their Ransome and safety. He sene tenne of the most apparent to Rome, vpon their Faith to returne againe. Whenas one of them being out of the Fort, was returned, faying that he had forgotten something, and having taken that which he had left, he went on his way, thinking by this returne to have kept his Faith, and to haue made his Oath voide and enprofitable. When they were come to A Rome, they intreate the Senate not to hinder the deliuery of the Prifoners, and that they would fuffer them to pay thirteene Livers for a man, and that they might returne safely to their Families. They sayd that Hannibal had so agreed, and that moreover they were worthy to be preserued, for that they had not playd the Cowards in the Battaile, nor done any act vnworthy of the Roman name : But being left to guard the Campe, all the rest being staine in Battaile, they had beene suddainly enuironed and brought under the Enemies subjection. But when the Romans (hauing made great loffes during the Warres, and being in a manner abandoned by all their Allies, fo as they feemed to be in great danger for their Countrey) had heard this speech, they were not care- B leffe of their honour, to yeeld vnto their mifery : neither did they difdaine any thing that was needfull to be done. But confidering Hannibals intention, who thought by this practice to draw away their Treasure, and withal to dif inhearten & discourage his enemies in battaile, shewing couertly that the vanquished had yet some hope remaining, and were fo farre from yeelding to that which was required, as they were neither moued to pitty the Prisoners, normade any accompt of the future fauls of men : making it knowne (in refußing to redeeme their men) that the conceit and hope which Hannibal had in them was vaine. Finally, they haue enjoyned their Souldiers by a law to vanquish in fighting or to die, C for that being vanquished there remained no hope of fafety. After which things decreed, they fent backe the nine Embaffadours, who willingly returned according to their promife, delinering him who had thought cunningly to breake his Faith to the linemy, bound hand and foote: fo as Hannibal was not fo glad of the Battaile wonne against the Romans, as forrowfull, wondring at the constancy and magnanimity of these men in their tesolutions.

A PARCELL OE the Seuenth Booke of the

History of POLYBIVS, concerning the Accord made betwixt the Carthaginians and Messeniens, with the

taking of the Citty of the sardines by Antiochus.



A He Citty of the Leontins is wholly scitus. ted towards the North: In the midst whereof is a great place, where there are Pallaces built, Seates of Iuftice, and a Market place for all Commodities. Vpon euery fide of the place is a Hill, with a thicke Rocke, and the plaine of these Hils vpon the top, is fill'd with houses and Temples. Finally, this Citty hath two Gates: where of the one is towards the South, at the end

of the place about mentioned, going to Sarage ffe : and the other bends to the North towards the Leontine Plaines and the errable Land. But vnder one of the Rocks which lookes towards the West, there sowes a River which they call Liffen: where there are houses built one against 2. The River of nother, and many others vnder the Rocke, betwixt the which this River Liffon. passeth. Behold the accord sweine, which was made by Hannibal the Commander, Mago, Mercane, Barmocare, and all the Carthaginian Senators, which were then with Hannibal, and the Carthaginian Ar. An accord made betwise my which he had under his command, with Zenophanes the Son of Cleomachus, Embassadour for the Athenians, whom King Philip the Sonne ans, Macedoniof Demetrius fent vnto them as well for himselfe as for the Macedonians and, and Greciand their Allies: And that before Iupiter, Inno and Apollo: And before the Gods of the Carthaginians, Hercales and Iolas, Mars, Triton and Neptune: And before the Gods of their Army, the Sun Moone, and Earth: And the Rivers, Gods, and Waves, and finally before all the Gods which possessed arthage, and all those which hold Macedony and the rest of Greece, and in the presence of all other Gods which are not compre-

Lib. 7.

hended in this Oath. Captaine Hannibal with the Senators of Carthage which were with him and the whole Army, hane faid : according to your good pleasure and ours, wee Friends, Allies, and Brethren. shall give order to this Accord sworne, concerning the Friendship and good intelligence, so as the Lords of Carthage, Captaine Haunibal and his men, with the other Carthaginian Princes, which line under the same Lawes, and likewise the Bisartins, with all the Citties and Nations subicato the Carthaginians, Souldiers and Allies, and all Girties and people with whom we have any league or friendship, as wel A in Haly and Spaine, as in the Countrey of Genoua, and if there be any others in this Region with whom we have any friendship or league, shall be guarded and defended by King Philip and the Macedonians, and all other Grecians which are in league with them.

In like manner King Philip and the Macedonians with the Allies of the other Grecians, shall be guarded and defended by the Carthaginians. making Warre with them, and by the Bifartins, and by all the Cities and Nations acknowledging the Empire of Carthage, with their Allies and Souldiers, and all Nations and Citties which are in Italy, Spaine, and Genona, and all other Allies which are in other Countries of Italy. Neither the one nor the other shall have any practices, nor plot any War B by deuices, being of good affection and intelligence, without fraud or deceit, Enemies to those which shall make Warre against the Carthaginians, except the Townes, Citties, and Ports, with whom they have a sworne league. We likewise shall be Enemies to those which shall make Warre against King Philip, except the Citties and Nations with whom we have sworne friendfhip. Finaly, you shall maintaine our party, in giuing aide and comfort according to the necessity of our affaires, in the War begun betwixt vs and the Romans, untill that by the grace of the Gods you and we may have a good end. And if by the helpe of the Gods you and we shall consent to to treate of friendship with the Remans tou- C. ching the Warre we have with them, we will treate it in such forr, as you shall be partakers, so as it shall be never lawfull for them to make Warre against you : Neither may the Romans rule ouer the Ceregreius or Apolliniates, or Epidamnes, or ouer Phaire, or Demale, the Parthins, and the Antintanica: And morcover they shall restote to Demetrisu of Phaire all his Subjects, whom they have received for Burgefles. And if it happen that the Remans make Warre against vs or you, we shall succour one another as the common necessity shall require. The like also we will doe, if others make Warre against vs, except the Kings and Nations with whom we are in league. Moreover, we will adde or diminish what we D shall thinke good of this accord sworne by a common consent.

During these things Philip taking the Bowels of the Sacrifices, the which according to the custome were brought vnto him, and bending himselse a little, he presented them to Arate, demanding of him what those Sacrifices signified, and whether they would abandon that Fort orkeepe it fill. Then Demetrius as the most aged, said : If thou hast the iudgment of a Soothfayer, we wil leaue it fuddainly, but if the vnderstanding of a warlike King, we will keepe it. And not to abandon it, thou shale confider

confider of another necessary occasion: For by this meanes in laying hold of the Oxes hornes, thou shalt haueit wholy in thy subjection. By the hornes he meant Isthomate, and the Acrocorinthe : and by the Oxe. Mores.

Then Philip returning to Arate, art thou of this advice? And when as Arase spake nothing, he intreated him to deliuer his opinion : who after he had considered thereon, answered, thou mayst keepe it, if thou canst provide in such fort that the accord with the Atheniens may not be infring'd. If in taking it thou puts a Garrison, thou shalt loose all the A Fort, and the Garrison it selfe (meaning his fayth) which thou hast receined from Antigonus, in giving the Guards to the Allies. Confider whether it be now better, that in putting me forth, thou loofest this fidelity, and that by this meanes thou fetlest Garrisons over the Mellewiens, and other Allies. But Philip had a great defire to breake the accord: the which his following actions made manifest. And when hee had a little before beene sharpely reprehended by yong Arate for the defeate of some men, and that the elder (having spoke freely and with authority) had intreated him not to give an easie eare to such speeches as should be vsed vnto him, shame restrained him: and taking his right B hand, well fayd he, let vs follow the same course.

In regard of the City of the Sardins, there were continually combats and dangerous encounters. For the fouldiers of cyther fide studied day and night to frustrate one anothers pollicies by new inuentions: to write all which in particular would be no leffe unprofitable then tedious. And whenas the fiege had continued full two yeeres, Lagoras of Candy, a man well experienced in the art of warre, having confidered with himselfe. that many times ftrong Cities fall eafily into the Enemies hands, by the negligence of the inhabitants, who relying vpon their fortifications made as well by nature as art, affure themselues and grow idle: And C knowing likewise how they are accustomed to set guards in strong places, which might make heads against the Enemies attemps: Seeing likewise according to his conceit the despaire of them all, that they should not be able to take the Sardins Fort by this meanes, and that want of victuals and munition, remained for their last hope to take it: The more he considers thereon, and studies by what meaners he might finde some occasion to surprize the City. And when as afterwards hee found that the courting of the place, which they call Serie (it is that A figne of the which ioynes the City with the Fort) was without guard, it happened sardins neglithat according to his hope and opinion, he discourred the negligence gence. of the guard by his presumption.

This place was very rough and steepe, having a valley necre vnto it, into the which they of the City cast their dead carrion: Whither reforted agreat number of vulture and other rauening Birds. When this man saw that these Birds after they were full gorg'd, pearch daily voon the top of the valley, and on the wall, he knew thereby, that of necessity this courtine was abandoned, and for the most part without guard. Then approaching wifely in the night, hee fought meanes to get vp. And when he found that in a certaine place of the valley they might

Lib. 7.

ascend, he advertised the King. Who conceiving a good hope, perswaded Lagoras to continue his enterprize, promifing to doe what possibly hee could. Lagoras intreats the King, to give him for companions Theodose the Etolien, and Denis Captaine of his guard, and that hee would command them to beare him company to lay this Ambush: For they seemed to bee able men and sufficient for this enterprize. And when the King had fatisfyed his demand, they agree together, and by a common consent make choyse of a night, when as part of the morning had no moone-light. After which the day before at Sunne-setting, they make choyce of fifteene strong and resolute men, A to mount up the ladders with them, and to gaine the wall, who in this hardy enterprize should be their companions.

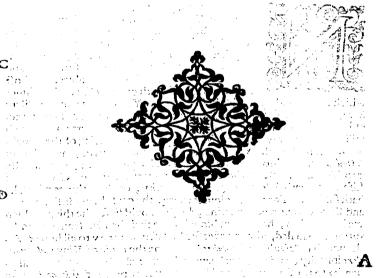
Then they chose thirtyother, to lye a little distant of in Ambush: to the end that when they had recoursed the wall, they should fall vpon the next gate, and ftrive to breake the hinges and ioynts, and the others within the barres and lockes. They also appoynt two thoufand men in the reare of these, who entring with them should recouer the place of the Theater: The which was made to conueniently, as it was opposite to the approaches of those of the Forts and those of the City. Moreover to awoyd the suspition of the truth, R in regard of the choyse of these men, he gaue order that the Etoliens should give an affault vnto the City by a certaine valley: And therefore it was needfull that these should second them, according to a signe which should be given them. When as all things were ready, and the Moone growne darke they which were Lagoras, taking the ladders, approacht closely to the top of the valley, and hid themselves vnder the

rocke.

316

When at the breake of day they had reliefied the watch which was on that fide, and the King had fent (as of custome) others to second them, and had appoynted a good number for a place where they runne their horses, no man suspeded any thing of the enterprize : But when C as the two ladders were fet vp against the wall, where Denis on the one, and Lagor as on the other mounted first vnto the top, their grew a great noyfe, and alteration in the Campe. It so fell out that they which mounted the ladders, could not be discovered by them of the City, nor by the rest which were in the Fort under Achem, by reason of the Rocke which advanced over the valley. But their courage which ascended the wall and affailed the City, was apparant to the Army. Wherefore some wondred at there incredible resolution, others foreseeing the future, and fearing, remained partly amazed, and partly toyfull. Wherefore the King seeing the alteration in his Gampe, desiring also to dinert D this fancie, as well from his owns men, as from those of the Chy, he led forth his Army, and befieged the two Gates, which they call Perfides, On the other fide Asheus, sceing the Enemies alteration more then of custome, was in great doubt, being ignorant of the present cause, and could not vinderstand the practife, Yet he sent mento the Gate, which fuccours came somewhat late, for that they descended by straights and hollow places. Aribaze who was Captaine of the City, went

fimply to the Gates, which he had feene Antiochus affaile : appoynting fome to goe vnto the wall, others to make fallies by the Gate, to keepe the Enemy from approaching, and to fight with them. In the meane time Lagoras, Theodote, and Denis, with their troupe, hauing recoucred the walls, came to the Gate underneath, whereof some maintayned the charge which the Inhabitants gaue them, others brake the barres and bolt of the Gates. The like did they without which were appoynted to that Quarter. When as the gate was opened, the other two thousand entred the City, and seize vpon the place of the Thea-A ter. This done, all they which had runne to the walls, and to the Gate which they call Perside, who had beene sent by Aribage to defend it, against the Enemies affault, came running thither. After which retreate, the Gate was opened, so as some of the Kings troupe pursuing those which abandoned it, entred pell mell. When they had taken the Gate by force, fome entred the City, others forced the next Gates. They that were of Aribages band; with all the Citizens, recoucred the Fort by flight, after they had made some little resistance. After this route, Lagoras and Thodores band flood firme in the place of the Theater, feruing as a Fort to all the B rest. Finally the rest of the Army charging of all sides took the City. The City of Buthis means the City. the Sardins to By this meanes, the City was wholly fackt and ruined, fome killing ken by afsauls. those they encountred, others setting fire of the houses, and some gaping after spoyle for their private profit. And thus Antiochus vanquished the Sardins.



Lib.8.



A PARCELL OF the Eighth Booke of the

History of POLYBIVS, concerning the Difference of a Perticular and Generall History.



O man can juftly fay, if they to whom these kindes of Calamities and disasters haue befalne. ought to be blamed or censured, or helde worthy of pardon and pitty in regard thereof: For that it falls and happens to many (to whom all things have beene done conformable and C agreeable vnto reason) to bee subject to those which transgresse with great desire, the things

which are iust and reasonable before men. Yet wee may not be filent here, being necessary (hauing regard to the time and circumstance of accidents) to blame forme Captaines, and to pardon others: The which will appeare plainly by this. When Archidamus King of the Lacedemonians suspected that Cleomenes aspired to the Crowne, he fled from Lacedemon. Who soone after being againe perswaded, put himselfe into his hands. Being therefore by this meanes stript of Crowne and Life, hee hath lest no excuse posterity, of those things which he hath fuffred. For what colours there, the cause being still the same, and Cleomenes power increasing, but he should suffer the things which we have spoken, having put himselfe into their hands, from whom he formerly had fled, giving order for his fafety contrary to all hope? Although that Pelopidas of Thebes had beene the cause of King Alexan. ders iniquity, and that hee knew well, that all Tyrants are capitall Enemies to those which defend liberty, yet he perswaded Epaminundas

to be Gouernour not only of the popular Common-weale of the Thebeins, but also of the Grecians. And as he was an Enemy to Thessalv. to the end he might ruine the Monarchy of Alexander, yet he prefumed to go the second time in Embassie vnto him. Wherefore when he fell into the hands of his Enemies, hee was the cause of great preiudice to the Thebeins, and the ruine of their glory, which vntill that time they had preserved: for the confidence he had in those, whom he thould not have trufted.

The like hapned to Cheius Chiefe of the Romans, during the Warre A of Sycily, for that he had indifferently thrust himselfe into the Enemies power. Divers others have suffered the like. Wherefore they are worthy of blame, who without great confideration, fubmit themfelues vnto their Enemies, and not they who (asmuch as in them lies) mannaged their Affaires discreetly: for in truth no man can gouerne them well, relying vpon another. If thou doft them by certaine occasions, which are conformable to reason, thou shall be blamelesse. The most likely causes of this kind are, an Oath, Children, Wife, and for the most certains, the fore-passed life. And if it happens that ynder colour of these things, thou faist into an inconvenience, the faulte shall not bee thine in suffering, but theirs who commit the wrong. Wherefore we must seeke such Arguments and assurances, as in regard thereof, he in whom you trust, may not breake the faith which hee hath given. But for that there are few such, the best will beeto have a care of those which are conformable to reason; so as if wee be deceiued therein, wee may not loofe our excuse with strangers: the which hath hapned to many of our Predecessors.

It is a thing much more manifest in those times whereof wee haue made mention, and of a later date, in that which hath befalne Acheus: who tell into his Enemies hands, although hee omitted nothing that C might be done for his fafety, prouiding for all things as much as Humane sense could effect. Wherefore the euent hath caused commisseration and pardon, in him which hath suffered with strangers, and blame and hatred to those which have done the outrage. Moreover, I do not find it strange to my Enterprize and first intention, to aduertife the Readers of the greatnesse of these things, and of the ambitious desire of the Roman and Carthaginian Common-weales. Who will not hold it fit to be confidered, how the Gouernours of fuch great Cities, not being ignorant of the things which had happened in Italy and Spaine, having moreover of either fide an equall hope of the future, and a present danger of the Warre, have not beene contented D with this apparent discommodity, but contended for Sardinia and Sycily imbracing the whole, not onely in hope, but with Expences and Preparations of Warre, which will moone any man to wonder, that shall observe it all in perticular? The Romans had two sufficient Armies in Italy with their Consuls for their preservations: And two ethers in Spaine, where Gneius had the leading of that by Land, and Publim of the other by Sea. These are things which happened to the Carthaginians. Moreover they fent an Army by Sea, to croffe the at-

Lib. 8.

tempts of Philip in Greece: In the which Marcus Valerius commaunded first, then Publius Sulpicius, with whom Appius likewise ioyned with a hundred Quinqueremes. Moreouer Marcus Claudius furnished with an Army at Land, had assailed Sycily: The like Amilcar had done being sent by the Carthaginians.

By the which things I am confident, (the which I have often spoken in the beginning of this Worke) to find a certaine assurance by the accidents which consist in this, that it is not possible for those which Write perticular Histories, to be able to observe the generall disposition of things: For how is it possible, that he which doth barely read the Exploits of Sycily and Spaine, can know or conceive the greatnesse and continuance of Actions, nor in what fort or forme of a Commonweale, Fortune hath brought it to an end? The which is very admirable to vs, for that all the Countries of the World, which are come to the knowledge of men, are subject to one Empire and Power, the

which hath not formerly beene.

It is true, that it is not impessible to vnderstand in some fort by perticular Histories, how the Romans have Conquered Sycily and Spaine: But it is a difficult thing to know in what fort they have attained to this Universall power and Commaund: Nor to what vse perticular Actions B haue served to their generall Enterprize, nor with what succours, nor at what time they have attempted it, without a full and generall History of the proceedings: neither will it be easie for the same causes, to consider the greatnesse of Actions, nor the power of this Commonweale. For in that the Romans have Conquered Sycily and Spaine, and haue made Warre there both by Sea and Land, it is no wonder if one man deliuer it in perticular. But if we confider that when these things hapned, this powerfull Common-wealth had ended many others, and at the same time, and how it was effected, and with what calamities and Warre, they were afflicted in their owne Region, which performed these Exploits at that time, finally their deedes wilbe held glori- C ous and admirable; and then the knowledge of these things will square well. This Discourse shalbee directed unto those, who by perticular Commentaries, thinke they are able to attaine vnto the knowledge of a generall History.

Mareus furnished with an Army of threescore Quinqueremes, sailed to Achrandine, either of which were armed with men, carrying Bowes, Slings, and Darts to repulse those which should defend the Forts. Hee had also eight Quinqueremes surnished with Pallisadoes, aswell on the right as left side: with the which being joyned together with two thin inclosures, they approacht vnto the Wall, by meanes of the Pallisa. Defence without the inclosure, and they call them Sambuques. The manner of ordring the same Engines was in this fort. They had within the Shipa Ladder of soure foote broad, to the end that at the Defencent it might come to the top of the Wall: Vppon the sides thereof they made stayes, and armed them with a couering for defence, setting them crosse the inclosures, which kept the Shippes vnited together, so as they did passe much beyond the Prow or fore part of the Shippe.

There were pullies fastned with Cords to the top of the Masts; and when as necessity required, they drew those which were at the poope or hinder part by the pulleys, with Cords tyed to the top of the ladder. The others which were at the Prowe, affured the Engine with stayes : and finally they approacht it to the wall, drawing neare to Land by the nauigation of the ships, which was done by the meanes of two Pallisadoes which are placed withour. On the top of the ladder there was a planke, which couered three superficies with Persian Targets, to the which foure Souldiers mounted, and fought A against those which from the Forts sought to hinder the approach of the Sambuques. When by the loyning of the ladder they have gained the wall, in disarming the sides of their Targets, they mount to the Forts or Towers. The rest follow them by the Sambuques, by meanes of the transport of the ladder from Vessell to Vessell by ropes. Finally, this Engine was not vnfitly fo called. For being finished and set up, the figure of the ship and ladder reduced into one, make it like vnto a Sambuque. They imagined to come close vnto the Wall with this Engine.

But exchimides having made provision of Engines fit for all distances, troubled them at Sea much, and thrust them into despaire, annoying them a farre off with casting Engines which were strong and B great. But if they went beyond them, he vied lesser Engines, according to the distance, which disappointed and hindred their Enterprize and navigation: vntill that Marcin being much perplexed, was forced to make his approaches covertly in the Night. When they had recovered Land, and were out of the Battery, he made another kind of Engine against those which were to sight by Sea. For hee made many holes in the Wall without, the height of a man, and of the bignesse in the Wall without, the height of a man, and of the bignesse of Engines to repulse, making by the meanes thereof the Enemies attempts

in their mounting vnprofitable.

By this meanes he not onely repulf'd them farre off, and prevented their attempts neare, but also slew many of them. And whereas they made vse of their Sambuques, he likewise set vp Engines, to pull them ouer the Wall: and kept them alwaies hidden untill necessity required, fetting them vpon the Walles within, to passe forth and fall vpon the fayle-yards: fome of them cast Stones, or Lead of twelve hundred waight. And when as the Sambuques approach sometimes in turning. they cast from the top of the Engines with a Tower, Stones against them as necessity required. So as not onely the Sambuque hath beene broken, but also the Vessel: and all they that were within it in great danger. Againe, some Engines cast lesser Stones upon the Enemy, comming to the affault couered with Targets, to the end they might not bee annoved with the Darts and other Weapons, which they cast from the Wall, that they which fought in the Prowe might bee repulf d. They likewise let downe a hand of Iron tyed to a Chayne, the which laying hold of him which gouerned the toppe, drew the Prowe within the Walles with the tayle of the Engine. And if at any time in rayling the Prowe, hee set the Shippe vppon its Poope,

The order of the Engines o Battery.

320

Lib. 8.

hee held it firme and vnmoueable by his instrument, then by a kind of fauour he let flip the hand and the chaine by the Engine. By this meanes some fell voon their sides, others were ouerthrowne. a great part of them (the Prow falling from the top to the bottome) were drowned with great confusion. Marcus discontented with Archimides repulses, seeing likewise his men preuented in their attempts, to his prejudice and differace, fayd (although hee were griened with his misfortune) in scoffing at the deeds of Archimides, that he vsed his ships as they doe pots, to draw water out of the Sea, and that being battred and beaten, they were as disloyall fallen infamously. This was the end of the Siege at Sea. In regard of those which were with Appine, they ceased from their attempts, having endured the like affronts and loffes. For although they were a good distance from the Wall, yet they were hurt and flaine with their casting of Stones and Darts.

In truth the Art, the number and the effect of all manner of Engines. whereof King Hieron had made good prouision, was admirable, the which Archimides had forg'd and made, being the Architect and Engineere. And when as they approacht the City, some of them (as we haue fayd) were flaine with their Arrowes, and continually repulf'd B from their approaches: Others couered with Targets, and therefore affailing with greater force, were ouerthrowne, and flaine with Stones and the bodies of Trees: A good number likewise were slaine by the hands descending from the Engines as we have sayd: For they cast downe men being raised up on high with their Armes. Wherefore they of Appine Army retiring to their Campe, and holding a Councell with the Captaines, were all of one opinion, and resolued to try all manner of hope, to take Saragoffe by fiege: the which in the end they did. For when they had besieged this City for the space of eight Moneths, they ceased not daily to make braue and valiant enterprizes of Warre: But they neuer durst attempt to take it by force.

By this meanes a man with good fortune seemed to bring to an end great and admirable things, when as they are fitly loyned together in great affaires. Finally, the Romans having fuch great Armies both by Sea and Land, attended to take the Towne speedily, if they could get an old man out of Sarageffe, not daring to approach it, whilft that Ar. chimides were present and could defend it. Wherefore concelling that Saragosse might be taken for want of victuals and munition, confidering the great multitude which was in the City, they relyed vpon this hope: and hindred by an Army at Sea that nothing might approach, n and by that at Land, that no fuccours might come. Moreouer, the Commanders being loath to spend the time in vaine, during the siege of Sarage ffe, but withall to vndertake some good thing beside the siege, they divided their Army in such sort, as two parts should remaine with Appine for the fiege of the City: And that Mareus with the third part should affaile the Carthaginians, who sent an Army into Sicily.

Finally, Philip having made the Messeniens his mortal Enemies,

could in nothing offend them that was worthy of fame: Although hee had affailed their Countrey to torment them, vfing great indignities to his best Friends. For soone after hee caused old Arate to bee poiso. Philip causerh ned in Messee, for that hee was discontented with his course of life; polloned. The like hee did to Taurion, who had served him in Morea. Wherefore these his Actions were presently divulged and made knowne to strangers. His power ouer those whom hee then defeated was not new, but long before vsed, and practifed by custome : neither was Arate ignorant of this mischiefe, the which was discouered by this A meanes. And as he had concealed it from all others, yet he did not hide it from Cephalon one of his familiar Friends : But declared voto him his infirmity, the which appeared by the bloudy spittle against the wall, faying: Behold Cephalon, the recompence wee reape by Philips Friendship.

Truely, Mediocrity is so great and honest, as hee which suffers, is more ashamed of the deed, then he that hath committed it. But such rewards they reape of Friendship, that have beene Companions in such great Actions, and done service to Philip. Finally, Grate after his death received sufficient honours, both in his Countrey and the Com: Honours done mon weale of the Acheins, as well for the government which hee had to Arate after B often in charge, as for the many fauours he did vnto that Nation. They his death. decreed him Oblations and Heroyicke I onours, and finally, all things which serue to perpetuate the memory : so as if the Dead have any fense, it is likely he commends the acknowledgement done vnto him, and the communication of affliction and dangers which have happened in his lifetime.

As Philip had long deuised how to take Lisse, and its Fort, desiring to reduce those places vader his obedience, hee drew thither with his Army. Hauing marcht two dayes, and past the streights, hee campt neare vnto the River of Ardaxana, neare vnto the Citty. And when C he had viewed the scituation of Life, excellently well fortified both by nature and industry, as well towards the Sea as Land: And likewise the Fort loyning neare vnto it, the which in shew was impregnable to all the World by force, as well for its extent vpwards, as for the other fortification, he despaired to take it, yet he did not wholly despaire to take the Towne. Considering therefore that the space betwixt the Towne & the Mount of the Fort, was reasonable to bessege the Towne, he thought good to make a Skirmish there with his Archers, which was then his manner of proceeding: Suffring then the Macedonians to reft a day, whom he advertised of things necessary, he layd an Ambush in the Night of a great part, and the ablest of his men, in cermine woody Valleys, and neare vnto a Mediterranian place, lying about the place wherof we have spoken : and retaining for the day following those that were armed with Targets, and the rest of the nimblest Souldiers, hee takes his way forthwith towards the Citry, marching of either fide to-wards the Sea.

When hee had past beyond it, and had made a stand there, it was apparent that hee meant to affaile the Citty in that place. As this Nn 2 Sec.

Lib. S.

324

comming of Philip was not vnknowne, for great number out of Selausuis were come into Liffe. It is true that for the great confidence they had in the fortification of the Fortresse, they feat but a meane Garrifon. Wherefore when the Macedonians approacht, the Inhabitants pre-A fally made by fently made a fally, relying in their multitude and the force of the place. The King ordred the Targetteers in the plaine, commanding the most active to recover the hills, and to fight valiantly with the Enemy. The which they performing, the danger feemed fomething equall. But in the end Philips men retired, for the difficulty of the place and the multitude of their Enemies. And as they retired to them that were armed with Targets, they of the City pursuing them with a kind of disdaine into the Plaine, fought with the Targetteers. They likewise which had the guard of the Fort, feeing Philip retire by little and little with his Troupes, and imagining that he was going away, came running couertly, trufting in the nature of the place: Then leaving few men within the Fort, they came by vuknowne wayes into the Plaine, as if they were to take the spoiles of their flying Enemies.

But in the meane time they which were in Ambush, rise suddainly and gaue a furious charge with the Targetteers voon the Enemics. The multitude was herewith to amazed, as the Lifiens retired for their fafety to the City. In regard of those which had abandoned the Fort, their returne was cut off by the Ambush. Whereby it happened that whereas before there was no hope now the Fort was presently taken, and without danger, and Liffe the next day by the valour of the Macedonians; and by their rough and terrible affaults Philip having conquered the faid places contrary to his hope, he made all the Neighbours thereabouts Subject vate him. Se as a great part of Sclauenia, offred to submit their Townes to his protection. It is true, there were no Forts that could endure the violence of Philips peither any fafety for thefe which refifted after the taking of the faid Forts by affault.

Balis was a man borne in Candy, who had long frequented the Court. and was advanced to the prime dignity. Hee feemed to be very wife and refolute, with no leffe experience in the Warre. Whom when Sofibite had gain'd, and made affectionare varo him, he commanded him (after a long speech) to put a businesse in execution, telling him, that there was not any, thing arthardime, could be more pleafing varo the King, then to finde meanes to faue Acheins. The which Belis having heard, and premiled to confider thereon, he retired. Two or three dayes after, when he had thought of this Discourse, her came to Solihim and vadertooke to effect the faying, that he had long held the party of the Sarding, and had good knowledge of the Countrey : Adding morcouer, that Gambele, Captaine of the Candiots which are in pay with Autischus was not only a Burgelle; but allo his kinfills and friend. It happened that Cambrie and the Candier that were ynder his charge. had the guard of the sackpart of the Bortreffe, which was not fortified, but it was guarded by a multitude of Cambyles Souldiers W Hen as Soft bise found this advice good, Audving how hee might free Achem from calamity, or whether if were better to the fieby fotne other

man then Bolis, but his humour concurring with Bolis, the bufineffe tooke this effect. Sosibius deliuered money presently, to the end nothing should bee wanting for the Enterprize, promising great rewards if it succeeded well- So promising the Kings fauour, and that of Acheus if hee might bee preserued, hee fedde Bolis with great

This man being ready to vindertake the Enterprize, without any longer expectance imbarkes: and having Letters of Recommendarion and credit, hee goes to Nicomache at Rhodes, who feemed to be A affected to Achem, as well for his Fathers loue', as for particular Friendship: And likewise to Melancorne in Ephesus. These in truth were the men, of whose meanes Acheus had formerly made vie, as well comming to Ptolomy, as in other forreine and remote places,

Being come to Rhodes, and afterwards to Ephefus, having acquainted them with this businesse, and finding them ready in any thing hee defired, hee sent Arian (being one of those that were vnder his charge) to Cambyle, faying that he had beene fent from Alexane dria, to leuy forreine Souldiers, and that he had a great desire to conferre with him concerning matters of importance : And therefore he defired to appoint a time and place where they might meete vnknown to the World. Arian came to Cambyle, discouering vnto him his charge: whereunto hee gaue eare, being ready to doe that whereunto they prest him, appointing a day and place knowne to them both : whither being come in the Night, he fent backe Arian.

As Bolis was a Gandios, and cunning by Nature, he studied of the refolution inquiring of all things. Finally, according to the agreement of Arian, he goes to Cambyle, and deliuers him the Letters: whereon they aduise and consult after the manner of Candibis. For they had no care A Treason to succour Acheus being in danger, but onely to prouide for their owne practiced a-C fafety and commodity. And as they were both Candiors, they were by Cambyle soone of one opinion as followeth : That the ten Talents which Sofibia and Bolis. ss had deliuered, should be equally divided betwirt them: and then they should discouer the businesse to Antiochus, to make vie of him, and promise to deliuer Acheus into his hands, in giuing them money, and hopes worthy of their attempt. Thefethings being thus concluded, Cambyle undertakes that which concernes Antiochus: Bolis on the other side resolues within certaine daies to send Arian to Acheus With Letters of recommendation from Nicomache and Melancome. But concerning the meanes how Arian might enter fafely into the Fort and ren turne, he giues him charge to doe his duty. If this were done, and that Acheus made answere to those things which concerne Nicomache and Melancome, Bolle held himfelfe affured, that he might well deliver him into the hands of Cambylo.

After this resolution they part, cyther of them striumg to effect that which they had concluded. Cambile imbracing the first occasion, difcouered the bufineffe vnto the King. Asthis promife pleafed Antie chus, which offered it felfe contrary vinto his hope, fo he tooke it partly joyfully a promiting great matters: partly diffruffing; he confidered

cambyk.

Ziffe taken by

Philips

Baks.

of either of their opinions and resolutions. But in the end giving credite, thinking that this Enterprize came Divinely vnto him, he often intreated Cambyle to bring it to an end. Belie wrought in like manner with Nicomacke and Melancome. Who thinking thefe things to be guided by God, they suddainly prepare Letters from Arian; directing them to Achens, Written by their Common fent, as they had bbin accustomed: And in sending them they perswaded Acheu. togiues credit to those things which Bolis and Cambyle should doe. They were written in such fort, as being surprized they could not be understood.

Arian enters the Fort by the helpe of Cambyle, and deliuers the Letter to those that were with Achese : and instructs him dilligently of enery thing, as one who from the beginning had beene present at that which was practifed. And although hee answered oftner for Sosibius and Bolis, then of Nicomache and Melancome, and likewise for Cambyle, so hee often maintained by his owne invention, the Arguments which they made: And the rather being ignorant of that which had beene resolved betwixt Cambyle and Bolis. Acheus giving credit, aswell in regard of Arians answeres, as of the Letters of Nicomache and Me. lancome, made an answer, and sent Arian presently backe. And as this bufineffe was handled often of either fide, in the end Achem people fent B word of themselves to Nicomache, that there was no more hope of fafery remaying : And aduise him to send away Bolis with Arian at mid-night, as it were to take them. The resolution of Acheus was, that first he would flye the present danger, and then recouer Syria.

Finally, he was in a wonderfull hope, that if fuddainly and contrary to all hope he shewed himselfe to the Inhabitants of Syria Antiochus being yet tyed at Sardains, he should cause a great alteration. purchafing great praife, aswell with the Antiocheins, as with the inhabitants of base Syria, and Phenicea. Acheus being in this hope and conceite, expected the comming of Belis. In regard of Melancomes peoples, C after the comming of Arian, and the Letters read, they presently fend away Bolis with all speede, making him great remonstrances, and putting him in great hope, if he effected his Enterprize. Bolis fending Arian before, aductifed Cambyle of his comming, and came by night to the place appointed. And when they had agreed on the day, and had resolved how to bring all to an end, they entred the Campe at night. This was their resolution : If it hapned that Acheus came out of the Fort alone, or accompanied with some one with Bolis and Arihe might be taken with an Ambush as abandoned. But if he came foorth well accompanied, the businesse would prooue difficult, to D these to whom they had given the charge. Finally, they thought to take him alive, knowing that by this meanes they thould do great pleafure to Antiochia. Wherefore they gave charge vato Arian to march before, when he should draw forth Achers, for that he knew the turnings, by the which he had often entred and come forth. Bolis was to follow the rest behind, to the end that being come unto the place, where the Ambush should be ready by Cambyle, he might seaze upon Acheus and flay him, fearing thet through the Allaruprin the night,

he might faue himselfe through the Forrest, or being in Despaire, he might cast himselfe into some pit: and contrary to their Resolution, fall aliue into the Enemies hands.

These things being thus concluded, when Bolis came to Cambyle, he was the same night brought by him to Antiochus being alone. And when the King had received him graciously, and had affured them of his promises, making remonstrances to either of them, not to be negligent in the businesse, they then returned to their Campe. In the morning Bolis accompanied with Arian ascend, and at night they enter A the Fort. Acheus receiving him with great affection and love, demaunded many things of him dilligently. And as hee observed as well the countenance, as the familiar speech wherewith Bolis affured the plot, he shewed partly a joyfull countenance, for the hope of his safety: So he partly languished, for the apprehension of the future danger. But for that he was a man of a great Spirit and great Experience, hee did not hold it fit to relye wholy vpon Bolis. And therefore he vsed this Speech vnto him : That for the present hee could not go foorth; and that hee would fend three or foure of his friends with him, and that after conference with Melancome he would be ready. Acheus in B truth did all that could be done: But hee was ignorant of the common Prouerbe: That bee must Candite with the Candyots. Bolis likewife To Candize had tore-seeneall things which concerned this husiness.

had tore-seene all things which concerned this businesse. But when the night came, in the which he fayd he would fend his friends, fending Arian and Bolis before out of the Fort, he comman-

ded them to attend vntill the comming of those which should goe with them. Whereunto obeying, in the meane time he conferres with his Wife. But for that he had amazed Laodicea, with a businesse not wite of Acheins fore-seene, he stayed sometime untill he had pacified her, and brought her to an expectance of good hope. Then making the fift, hee arrived C the others meanly, and himselfe purs on an old and simple Robe, shewing himselfe to be a man of a base condition : and so he goes forth. He had given charge to one of his Friends to answere Arian continually to

all that he should propound, and that he should learne of him whither they went, and should speake of the rest as of Barbarians. When they were come to Arian, he went before for the knowledge hee had of the way.

Lib. 8.

In regard of Bolis he followed behind, according to the first resolution, being doubtfull of that which was offered. For although hee were a Candyot, and did diue into all things neerely, yet he could not n know Acheus, by reason of the darknesse of the night, nor yet whither he was there. And as the descent was rough, and for the most part vneasie, and in some place vulafe and dangerous for the steepnesse, and being come vnto a certaine place, where as some helde Acheus and others received him, (at that time in truth they could not wholy forbeate to yeild him their accustomed reverence) then Bolis suddainely knew which was Acheus. When hee came to the place appointed to Cambyle, and that Bolis had given them a figne by his whiltle, they of the Ambushissue forth and take the rest : But Bolis seazed vpon Acheus, ha-

Lib. 8.

44201

Acheus taken and brought to Antiochus.

328

uing his hands wrapt vp in his Robe, fearing that in discouering the Ambush, he should attempt to kill himselfe : for hee had a Sword ready. Being thus suddainly inuironed, he fell into the hands of his Enemies, and was presently led to Antiochus with his friends. The King remaining in suspence, expecting what would become of it, hee was alone in his Tent waking accompanied onely with two or three of his guard. But when as Cambyles Company was arrived, and had layed Acheus bound voon the ground, his Speech failed him for so strange an accident; so as he continued long without speaking: And in the end toucht with Commisseration and pitty, the teares came into his eyes: the which in my opinion hapned by a Confideration, that those things which Fortune brings, are ineutrable and vncertaine.

The Race of Acheus.

Acheus was sonne to Andromachus, brother unto Laodiceathe Wife of Seleucus, and he had married Landucea daughter to King Methridate, and withall hee was Lord of all the Region on this fide Mount Tauris. As hee was then held to liue in a place of his owne wonderfull ftrong for the Enemy, so he was now set vpon the ground bound and mannacled in their hands : Neither was there any man that knew of the fact, but those which had the Execution. But when the day was come, and that the friends (according to the custome) were come vnto the Tent, B and faw this accident, it happed vnto them as it had done formerly vnto the King. For in wondring at the businesse, they were in doubt of those things which they saw. When the Councell was affembled, they spake many things of him touching his defeate. First they decreed that his hands and feete should be cut off, and then having taken of his Head it should be sowed to an Asses skinne, and the rest of his body hanged upon a Crosse. Which being Executed and the Army hearing thereof, the fury and alteration was so great in the Campe, as Laodicea, who knew nothing but the departure of her Husband, looking from the Fort, coniectured of that which had happened by the trouble and alteration in the Campe.

A Herald was presently sent unto Laodices, who advertised her of those things which had befalne Acheus, commaunding to consider of Her estate, and to leaue the Fort. At the first they which held it made fo great cries and lamentations, as they could give no answere: Not fo much for the affection they bare to Acheus, as for the accident which seemed to them all vnlooked for and not fore-seene. Finally, they were in great doubt what they should do. Antiochus after the ruine of A. cheus, prest the besieged more violently, perswading himselse that in the end hee should have meanes to take it by the Souldiers themselves: n the which happened accordingly. For they beeing divided among themselues, they parted into Troupes, some holding for Ariobaze, others for Laodicea. After which both parties yeilded for their mutuall distrust, and delivered the place.

The ftrong fort

To conclude, as Acheus had done what hee could in reason, (being yanguished by the wickednesse of those which assured him) lost his life, feruing for a profitable Example to posterity for two causes. Firth, that no man should relye simply vpon any: And next, that no man should

mistake himselse for his good Fortune, but be prepared for all accidents, which may happen to man. And therefore in the beginning they goe forth, as it were to take some spoiles, and come by night to the Cartheginians Campe : Others held the close way, staying at a certaine Heturnes his place full of Woods. But Philimene and Nicon approacht the Campe: the carthaginist Whom the Watch led Prisoners to Hannibal, they never discouring nians, of whence nor what they were: making onely a figne that they would sueake with the Generall.

Being then brought vnto Hunnibal, they told him that they would A speake with him in secree. Who giving them Audicace with great affection, they excuse themselves and their Countrey, accusing the Romans in many forts, to the end they should not seeme to be come forth about this businesse without cause. Wherefore Hannibal commended them much, and entertained them curteoufly: Finally, hee fent them backe to returne speedily to conferre with him, ordering for the present that these men should be let go : when they were out of the Campe, and in the meane time he would confider what should be most fafe. This he did to have conference with these young men, and to Tarentum bee

inquire of their affaires : And to the end they should keepe their credit trydeto Hand with the Cittizens, as if by the Capraines featie they had made incur- nibal. B fions for spoile.

When as Nicon had Executed his Charge, Hannibal was very well farisfied and joyfull : For that he might have meanes to effect his Enterprize which was then difficult. Philimene on the other fide aff cied the businesse propounded, for that they had given him a sufe accesse to speake, and he had found Hannibal very attentive, promiting him to give fore of Victuals to the Cittizens! Then they not onely got credite with the Tarentins, but moreover they had a good Traine, afwell for the accord made, as for the Victuals whereof they had fuffi. cient. Afterwards making a fecond incurfice, and putting every thing C in Execution, they affured Hannibal : and were likewife affured by him, (that is to fay,) that the Carthaginiani fliould leave the Tarentins in their Liberty, not oppreffing them with any Subfide or Tribute, nor with any other impost : Being also lawfull for them, after they had Conquered the Citty, toruine the Romans Houless Finally they agreed, that when they should come vito the Campe, the Watch should presently take them. 164 way 103 bung he

Which things being concluded, they had power to come and speake often with Hannibal . patting from the Citty fometimes to get spoyle, n and lometimes to Hunt! Theft things being thus agreed upon for the furture, most of them had a care of the occasion, In regard of Palls, Philimeseaps mene, they appointed him for Hunting. For as he was much medined to pointed for it, they thought he could do no other thing but to attendit. Where forethey gaue him this Charge, to the end he might thee wild beaffe, first to winne Coine Lybine Gouernour of the Citty, and afterwayes those which kepithe Gates, which are called Temenides. Impracing this Commission, he tooke some Beasts in Hunting, of hers, were prepared for him by Haunibel. For his part hee continually brought his

retiring

prize, whereof he shared part to Caius and to the Guards of the gates to the end they might speedily open the Gate called Rhinopile. He entred and went forth often in the night by this Gate, vnder colour of feare of the Enemy, but in the meane time hee made vse of it for his

When Philimene had obtained this course with the Guards, so as without suspition approaching to the Wall, if he whistled, they opened vnto him the Gate Rhinopile : And withall observing that the Roman Governour of the Gate, should be on a certaine day with great A Company at Musea neere the Market place, they appointed that day to Hannibal. He had long before invented this fiction, as if hee were ficke, to the end the Romans should not hold it strange, that he staied fo long there; and then he feined himselfe to be more sicke. Hee had not beene in the Campe for the space of three daies vpon the approaches of Tarentam. The day being come, he makes choise of a thoufand of the ablest and resolutest men, both Horse and Foote: to whom he gives charge to carry ViQuals for foure dayes. Finally hee marcht speedily, remooning his Campe at the breake of day. He gane commaund to foure score Numidian Horses to marcht thirty Furlongs before the Campe, and that they should run of eyther side of the Coun-B try, to the end that no man might discouer the whole Campe, but taking some of them that fled, the rest which escaped might advertise the Citty of the Numidians courses. When as the Numidians were about twenty Furlongs off, they fet downe to Supper neere vnto a certaine River, in a Rocke which was not easie to discover.

Then Hannibal drawing the Captaines together, he discouers his Enterprize vnto them; and perswades them, that first of all they should carry themselves like brave men: for that there were never such great rewards propounded vnto them: And that fecondly enery man should keepe his Souldiers in obedience during the Voyage, and punish those feuerely, that should abandon their places thorough Disobedience. Finally, they should have a care of those things which should bee Commaunded, and that they should not attempt any thing of their owne fancy, contrary to his Commandement. This Speech being delinered in the presence of the Captaines, he marcht, (being yet night) meaning to come vnto the Walls about mid-night. Hee had Philimene for his Guide, to whom hee gaue synagrie for a Companion in that same

VV hen as Calus Lybius with his Company were in the day time at Muses, according to the conception of the Youth, they advertised n him that the Numidians over-ran the Country towards the West, when as their defire of drinking increased. Yet thinking to stay them, hee called for the Captaines, giving them charge to go forth at the breake of day with halfe the Horfe-men, and repulse the Enemy which spoythe Countrey. This was all the conceite he had of the businesse. As for those which kept Gompany with Nicon and Tragifque, affembling fuddainly within the Citty, they looked for the returne of Caiss. And

being suddainly ready, for that they had drunke in the day time, some

retiring to certaine places stayed there: Others among the Youth go to meete Caius, sporting and playing among themselues, making shewe to bring them backe which should be found at the Banquet, and moreouer as it were, transported by reason of the Drunkennesse of Lybins Company, as soone as they met they fell to laughter and immoderate sport of either side: then turning head they Conducted Caius vnto his House. He layd him downe to rest as a man soundly drunke, after the manner of those which drinke daily, having nothing in his braine that troubled him : finally, he was full of ioy and negligence. But Nicon and Tragifque; having affembled the Youth, divided themselves into three Band: and after advice, they seazed upon the most commodious approaches to the Market place, to the end that nothing might be vnknowne vnto them, of that which was practifed, aswell with-

in the Citty as without.

Lib. 8.

They also approached necre vnto Caius House, being resolued that if he should have any suspition of the Enterprize, to kill him first: And that whatsoeuer they did they should beginne with him. As it often times happens at the returne from Banquets, when as the Tumult was fuddainly past, and that the multitude was layd downe and a fleep, and by the advancement of the night, the hope of the Enterprize remained entire, then altogether attend the Execution. The Youth had An accord articulated and agreed with the Carthaginians, that Hannibal comming made by the to the Citty, neere vnto Musacce on the East, and to the Gates which youth of Tarent to the Citty, neere vnto Musacce on the East, and to the Gates which tum with the they call Temenides, he should make a fire vpon a little Hill, the which carthaginians, fome call the Hill of Hyacinthe, and others of Apollo Hyacinthe, And that when Tragifques Company should fee it, they should answere him by the like figne of fire: This done, Hannibal should quench the fire which hee had made without the Citty, and then approach with a flow pace.

These things thus concluded, the Youth of the Citty having past the inhabited part, they came to the Monuments of the Deceased. The Easterne part of the Citty of Tarentum, was full of Monuments : For that all the dead are buried within the Walls of the Citty, according to a certaine old Oracle. They fay that God gaue the Tarentins to vnderstand by an Oracle, that it would be best for them when they had most Inhabitants. For their parts they thought, that they should have a good dwelling according vnto the Oracle, if they retained the dead within their Citty. For this cause they interre them within their wals. When as the Youth of the Citty was come to the Fithjonique Hill, they n expected what would succeede. Hannibal approaching did what had beene concluded; and the Company of Nicon and Tragifque feeling the fire, they tooke courage, and kindled another fire. Againe feeing Hannibals fire quencht, they made hast and ran vnto the Gate, meaning to preuent Hannibals men in killing the Guards : for that the Carthagimians preparing to enter marcht flowly. When they had prevailed in their Enterprize, and the Guards being furprized, some slew them, others brake the Bolts. The Gates being fuddainly opened, Hannibals men came with such a measured March, as without any delay they

Tarentum taken by Hannibal.

They kill the

Porter.

332

affailed the Citty. When they had made their entry fafely and without Tumult, thinking they had done the greatest part of their businesse, they entred the Market place boldly, on that side which ioines to the Sea. In regard of the Horse-men, they leave no lesse then two Thousand within the Walls for their supply, as well for the accidents which might happen without, as for other expected things which do

vsually chance. When they were comevato the places neere varo the Market, the Army made a stand. Philimene likewise being much troubled, how he a might execute his Charge, staied without. For when they made the fire, they ranne not to that Gate: and they had fent him with a wilde Boare, and about a Thousand Lybians with him to the next Gate, meaning to execute their Enterprize, not by one meanes only but by many. When as Philimene was according to his Custome come ynto the Walls, the Guards fuddainly were ready descending to Rhinopile. When as he ealled vnto them to open the Gate, for that having a Boare, hee was soare laden, the Guard hearing those words open speedily, expecting to have a share of Philimenes prize, as formerly hee had done

Philimene being the first of this Battalion enters, accompanied by B another, wearing a Numidian Habite, as if hee had beene of that Countrey: after whom followed two others, carrying Venison. When there were foure entred, they slew him which opened the Gate, running simply and without feare, to handle the Boare, there entred to the number of Thirty Lybians by the little Wicker, which followed them a flow pace and fecretly. This being done, forne brake the Hinges, others flew the Guards at the Gate, and others called the Lybians by fignes being yet without, leading them to the Market place, as it had beene ordred. Hannibal joyfull of the adjunction of these men, for that matters succeeded according to his desire, he was attentiue to that which he had begunne. Hee therefore drawes two Thousand Gaules C a part : and dividing them into three Bands, hee appoints to eyther of them two of the Youth which had mannaged this Enterprize, with fome of his Captaines, giving them charge, that they should gaine the most commodious approaches to goe vnto the Market place. After which they should receive the Youth of the Citty, and have a care to preserve the Cittizens, and that they should crye out to the Tarentins, to stay in the place which was affigued them for their safety. Finally, hee Commaunds the Captaines of the Carthaginians and Celts, that they should kill all the Romans they should encounter. Dividing them D selues one from another, they dispatch that which they had in charge. The Enemies entry being knowne to the Tarentins, the Citty was full of cries and vnexpected Trouble.

When as Cains was advertised of the Enemies entry, thinking that he should not be able to prevent the danger, by reason of his drunkennesse, he gets fuddainly out of his lodging with his family : And when hee was come to the Gate which leads vnto the Port, and that the Guard had opened the Rhinopile, he escapes that way, and imbarques with

his people in a little Cocke boate which lay in the Port, and was carried to the Fort. Afterwards Philimene makes provision of Roman Trumpets, whereof some sounded neere vnto the Theater, as they had vitially done. And when the Romans ran in Armes according to their Custome to the Fortresse, the Enterpize was dispatcht to the liking of the Garthaginians. But they which being dispersed and without order entred into those places, some fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, others among Celts: Who by this same meanes slew a great number.

The day approaching, the Tarentins rested in their Houses, not able to preuent this inconvenience. For they thought by reason of the founding of the Trumpets, that this combustion had beene made by the Romans; for that they made no spoile in the Citty. But when they faw some of their men slaine in the place, and some of the Ganles stripping the dead bodies of the Romans, they begaine to thinke of the comming of the Carthaginians. When as Hannibal had drawne his Army into the market place, and that the Romans were retired to the Fort, the which they held before with their Garrison, he causeth a Proclamation foorthwith to be made and proclaimed, that all the Tarentins should come vnto the Market place without Armes. In re-B gard of the Youth, they went vp and downe the Citty crying liberty,

adulfing and perswading the Citizens to rest affored that the Carthaginians were there for their good. But all the Tarentins which held the Romans party, being aduertised of this Action, retired to the Fort: The restassembled without Armes at the sound of the Trumpet. To whom Hannibal spake graciously.

When the Tarenins had generally conceived by his Speech, and vnexpected hope, he fent many of them away, giving them charge at their returne, to be carefull to Write the name of the Tarentins vppontheir doores: And if by fortune or chance any one did it to a C Romans House, he should be punished with Death. Wherefore hee made choise of men accustomed vnto this charge, and sends them prefently to spoile the Romans Houses, willing them to hold and maintaine the Tarentins lodgings for Enemies, which had not the marke of a Tarentine. Finally, hee kept the rest in battaile to succour the others. When he had drawne together great store of goods by this spoile, and that the commodities answering the conceived hope of the Tarentins; came to good, they then returned to Armes.

The day following Hannibal holding a Councell with the Tanentins, D decreed to seperate the City from the Fort, and to fortifie it, to the end they should be no more in feare of the Romans holding the Fort. Wherefore he beganne first to fortifie the Citty with pallisadoes, right against the Wals of the Hill which is before the Fort. And knowing that the Enemies would stirre and make some attempt, hee appointed sufficient Forces: Thinking that for the future, there would bee nothing more necessary, to amaze the Romans, and to assure the Tarentins. When as they beganne to fet up their impalement, and that the Romans affailed their Enemies with great confidence, courage and refolition,

Caius laucs bimfelfe.

Lib. 8.

В

▲ skirmith bemans and Carthaginians.

Erota

334

resolution, Hannibal fighting with them a little, prouoked them to the Combate. But when as many of them past beyond the Hill, he giuing courage to his men encounters the Enemy. When the Combate grew hot, as much as might be in a streight place inuironed with Wals, the Romans in the end beeing roughly repuls'd gaue backe, fo as many of them fell into the Numidians hands: Finally the greatest part

being repuls'd, and falling into the ditches, dyed. After this, Hannibal fortified the Citty with Pallisadoes without danger, and having done all things to his liking hee was at quiet. He likewise forced the Enemies to remaine shut vp in their Fort, in search not onely of themselues, but also of the Fort. In regard of the Citizens, hee hath so pust vp their Courage, as they helde themselues able to resist the Romans, without the helpe of the Carthaginians. Afterwards Hannibal leaving some little space, from the pallisadoe towards the Citty, hee made a Ditch answering the Pallisadoe and the wall of the Fort, from whence some time there were Souldiers drawn unto the wall of the Citty. Moreouer hauing Pallisadoed this Ditch, this fortification prooued not lesse strong then a Wall. Besides the which within towards the Citty (leauing a reasonable space) hee beganne a VVall from that part which they call the Sauior, vnto that B which they call Deepe : So as without any Garrison, these Fortifications would bee sufficient to cause the Tarensins to dwell in safety. Leauing then a sufficient Garrison of Horse for the Guard of the Citty and wall, hee planted his Campe forty furlongs from the Citty, neere the River which some call Galles, others Erosa, which name it The Riverof hathtaken from that other River, passing neere vnto Lacedemen, which they likewise call Erota.

The Tarentins in trueth have many fuch, as well in the Country as in the Citty, for that vindoubtedly they have taken their Collony and Race from the Lacedemonians. The wall beeing finished and ended, C aswell by the diligence and industry of the Tarentins, as the helpe and affiltance of the Carthaginians, Hannibal resolues to ouer-throw the Fort. And when hee had prepared and made all things ready for the fiege, the Romans having received into the Fort succours by Sea, from Mesaponeia, they were fomething refresht and comforted, and in the night affailed Hannibals Engines, ruining them all with their

the Fort.

the Tarenins.

to be masters of the Sea, against the discommodities of the present time. But as the mouth of the Port was in the Commaund of the hope of the comodity of the Sea, they would prefently yelld it to them.

preparations. This made Hamibal to despaire of the siege of And when the Citty wals were made perfect, he affembles the Taventins, and lets them understand, that it was very necessary for them D Fort, it was not in their power to helpe themselues with shippes at their pleasure, or goe out of the Port: VVhere as the Romans had all necessaries brought vnto them safely. So as the Citty should neuer enioy a perfect freedome and liberty. Hannibal confidering this, he let the Tarentins understand, that if they which held the Fort, loft the

The which the Tarentins hearing, they allowed of his Speech, but they could not at that time effect it, vnleffe they were affifted by the Carthaginians Army: The which could not then be done. Wherefore they could not conceiue whereto Hannibal tended, propounding these things.

And when he maintained that they might well be masters of the Sea without the helpe of the Caribaginians, they wondred more, not being able to vnderstand his conception. When hee had viewed the place within the Wals, from the Port vnto the outward Sea, he was of opinion that the Ships might faile close vnto the Wall towards the A South. When hee had given this advice vnto the Tarentins, they nor onely imbraced it suddainly, but commended Hannibal wonderfully. Presently after they had made Wheeles, they prepared a way for ships, which was sooner done then spoken, for that affection and the multitude of Worke men preuailed much. By this meanes the Tarentins past their ships into the open Sea, and safely besieged those of the Fort, who received their fuccours from abroad. In regard of Hammbal, leaving the Citty he raifed his Campe, and returning three dayes after, to the Pallisadoe which he had made in the be-

ginning, hee stayed to spend the rest of the



O:0 2

Lib. 9.



A PARCELL OF the Ninth Booke of the

History of POLYBIVS.



336

Shold the most renowned and excellent Actions, comprehended under the aforefayd Olympiade, and within the space of foure Yeares which it containes: Of which we will endeauour to speake of in two Bookes. I am not ignorant that our Commentaries have beene fomthing rough, and Andirors, and blamed by others. In truth other Historiographers, and in a manner all, or the greatest part; helping themselves with all the parts of a History, draw many mentothe cities aftheir Commentaries. The manner to Discourse of General descauses a desire to heare: That also which speakes of Collonies, howages, Possessions, and Races, which please a curious man of little indeament, as that of Ephorus. And to a civill man, that wherein they Discourse of the Actions of Nations, Citties, and Potentates, whereunto applying our felues plainly, and D disposing all our Treaty to these things, wee direct and guide our

promifed. It is true, wee direct most Readers to that which is not much pleafing and delightfull. Finally, wee have at large delivered the cause, why in reproouing the other parts of a History, wee will thus write the Actions. There is no hinderance that for the better expressing and declaration, weeshould not briefly advertise the Reader heereof.

felues by a certaine kinde of Discourse, as wee haue formerly

But as many of these things are related in divers manners, of Genealogics, Fables, and Collonies, and moreover of Races, Alliances, and Possessions it will benecessary for him that would Write, to speake consequently of strange things as proper, which were an infamous thing: Or if he will not, hee must labour in vaine, in promising publiquely to purfue and Comment of those things, which have bin sufficiently declared, and delivered to posterity by the ancient.

For this cause, and for many others we have left them, receiving a relation of Actions : For that first, that as many new things offer A themselves often, so it is very necessary to vie a new kinde of Difcourle? The which happens not in the beginning of the Relation. fo as we deliuer the subsequent Actions. And secondly, for that this kinde hath beene before, and is most profitable, by the which the experience of things and Policies, have so much prevailed with vs. as they which have a defire to know the Actions, may helpe themselves by an easie way, in all that which happens by the course of time. VV herefore having no such regard to the pleasure and delight of those which shall reade and peruse our Commentaries, as to the profit of the Hearers, we have (leaving the other parts) fixed voon this. Finally, they which shall diligently consider of our Commentaries, wilbe more cer-B gaine witnesses.

When as Hannibal had inclosed the Campe of Appins Claudius, Appinibeffeeed being at the fiege of Capona, at the first hee yeed skirmishes, seeking to by Hamibal, draw the Enemy to Battaile. But when as no man presented himfelfe, in the end he belieged them, which was an Enterprize wherein hee was frustrated as well as of the first, although the Horse men of the Wings affailed them in Troupes, casting Darts into their Campe. with great cries: And the foote-men charge them by Bands, labouring to breake the Pallisado. Yet they could not divert the Romans from their former resolution, repulsing those which affailed the Pallifadoe with great strength and Courage: And being woll armed, they went not out of the Campe with their Ensignes. Hannibal bearing these things impatiently, and the rather for that the Romans could not any way bee annoyed from the Towne, studied what order he might take for the present Affaires. For my part, I thinke that the case falling out thus', seemes to have made not onely the Carthaginians to doubt, but all other men to whom the knowledge thereof hath come.

Who will not wonder, hearing how the Romans have often beene ry vanquished by the Carthaginians, and durst not present themselves, nor fight with them, have not abandoned their Fort beging in the open field? It is certaine that in times past, they had alwayes Camped onely at the bottome or foote of Mountaines against the Enemies: But now being in a faire Plaine, and in the openest place of all Italy, befieging a strong Towne, they were assailed by them of all sides, against whom they dust not once thinks or immagine to make head, being so much dishearmed. And although the Carthaginians prevailed continually fighting, yet they were no leffe annoyed by the vanquished. 003

Finally, I hold this to be the cause; that they consider the Enterprize one of another: That is to fay, that the Troupes of Hannibals Horsemen, purchased the Victory to the Carthaginians, and a defeate to the Romans: Wherefore the vanquished made suddaine sallies after the fight. They also lodg'd their Troupes in such a place, as the Horsemen could not annoy them. The case falling out thus neere vnto Capeua, was common to them both. The Romans in trueth durst not come foorth to fight, beeing terrified with the Enemies horse. They kept themselves within their Fort, knowing well that the Cauallery vanquithing them in fight, they could not annoy them.

The Carthaginians likewise could not with reason stay long with fo great a number of Horses : For that the Remans had for that cause wasted the whole Countrey : Neither could they give order to have Hay and Barley brought on Horse-backe so great a way vnto their Cauallery and Sumpters : Neither durst the Carthaginians besiege the E. nemy without Horse, being fortified with Ditches and Pallisadoes: Against the which in fighting without Winges vppon an equall danger. they should hazard an vncertaine Fortune. They scared likewise that the Roman Subjects, would joyne with them and succour them, and that cutting of their necessary Violualls, they would draw him into B

great distresse.

338

A wife, Confi-

Hamibal.

Hannibal confidering these things, having opinion that they could not raise the siege directly, he takes another aduice. Finally, he makes his reckoning, that if in stealing away suddainly, he should shew himselfe about Reme, he might do something that might be profitable for the Carthaginians affaires, the inhabitants beeing amazed with such a new accident : Or if that did not succeede, hee should force Appins Army to raise the flege to succour and supply their Countrey, or else footth-with divide themselves, so as they which should succour the Country, and they which remained at the fiege would be caffe to van. quish. Considering these things, hee sent a certaine Lybian messenger to Capena, perfyrading him to retire to the Romans, and fo into the Citty, prouiding wifely by this meanes, that his Letters might bee fafely carried. He feared much, that the Capouans feeing his departure would yeilde, following the Romans party, as destitute of hope. For this cause hee acquaints them with his intention by Letters, for the which he fends the Lybian, after the departure of his Army, to the end that knowing his resolution and dislodging, they should maintaine the fiege couragiously.

When as they which befieged Capoua, had intreated the people of D Rome for affistance, that Hannibal held them besieged, they were all in great doubt and feare, for that the present Affaires required a finall end, and therefore they fought by frequent Embassies and attempts to affift that party concerning the Generall. The Caponans on the other fide (after they had received the Letters by the Lybian, and knowne the Carthaginians aduice) hold good against the Enemy, resoluing to aduenture and trie their Fortune. Wherefore Hannibal having fedde his Army the fifth day after his comming, and leaving fires burning,

he raifd his Campe, fo as he was not discouered by the Enemy. Taking then the difficult way by the Saunitide, discouering & gaining by his Cauallery the nearest places to his way, he past the River of Annion secretly, whilest that the Inhabitants of Rome were in suspence for Capona and that Warre: Approaching in such fort, as he planted his Campe within Hannihal withforty Furlangs of Rome. And as he affailed it by this meanes, it hap-in 40, furlangs pened that they of the City were troubled and dismayed with feare, for oi Rome. that this accident came suddainly and contrary to their hope, and that Hannibal had not formerly belieged the City so neare. They had also a conceit, that he approaching so neare the City, their Army besieging The amazes

Capoua, must of necessity be deseated. The men flye to the Walles, ment of the Roand out of the City to places of advantage. The Women on the other mans. fide make professions about the Temples, washing the pauement with The superstiti their haire. It was a thing they were accustomed to doe, if at any time on of the Rothe Countries were in great denger.

the Countrey were in great danger.

When as Hannibal was thus incampt, thinking to affaile the City the day following, there happened an admirable and cafuall accident, working for the preservation of the Romans. Cains and Publim had taken an Oath of the Souldiers which had beene leuied, to come to Rome the the same day in Armes. They also made another Lenie: so as at a certaine time a great number of men of Warre transported themselues suddainly to Rome. With the which the Captaines made a bold fally : and planting their Campe beforethe Gity, they restrained Hannibals fu. ry. The Carthaginians in truth at the first made such an attempt, as they despaired not to take the City by affault. But seeing the Enemies to hold a Campe, and advertised by a Prisoner of that which had happened, they desisted from their Enterprize to take the Towne, falling The Carthaginito spoile the Countrey, and to fire their houses : so as at the first they are walle the brought a wonderfull booty vnto their Campe, as being come to this Country a. kind of hunring to the which never fineme, the which never fineme, the whole for the bout Rome. C kind of hunting, to the which neuer Enemy thought to attaine. And when as afterwards the Confuls taking courage, had planted themselues The Romans in within Eleuen Furlongs of the Enemies Campe, Hamibal lost all hope Field, oftaking the City, notwith anding the great spoiles which hee had made and which is more, he parts at the breake of day with his Ar-

my, keeping a good reckoning of dayes, in the which according to his

advice taken from the beginning, he was in hope that Appius adverti-

sed of the danger of the City, would wholly raise the fiege, and that

he would succour Rome or leaving some portion of the Army, and taking the greatest part, he would make haste to succour his Countrey . D either of which happening, his affaires would succeed well. But Pablius breaking the Bridges of the faid River, forced him to passe his Army at a Fourde, being alwayes in the taile of him, and annoying him much.

It is true, he could not defeate him for the great number of Horses, and the dexterity of the Numidians fit for all purposes: yethe retired to his Fort, having recourred a great part of the booty, and taken about three hundred men. Afterwards imagining that the Carthaginians hastned their retreate for feare, hee pursued them in the Reare by 004 Skirmithes,

endea-

A defeate of the Romans by

340

Skirmishes. In the beginning Hannibal made haste pursuing his defigne. But when as on the fift day he had beene aductifed that Appiw continued still at the siege of Capona, he stayed: then suddainly receiuing those which pursued him, he charg'd them in the Night, making a great flaughter, and chasing the rest out of their Fort. When as the day following he faw the Romans retired to a certaine Hill, strong by seituation, and rampred, he despaires to take them : Yet making his voyage by Daunia and Brette, hee affailes the neighbour places to Rhegium so suddainly, as he had in a manner taken the City: yet he sur-prised all those that were stragling in the Fields, with a great number of the Rheginois at his comming. In my opinion we ought with reason to observe at that time the vertue and enuy of the Romans and the Carthai ginians in the conduct of the Warre.

Lacedemontaken by Epaminundas.

Esaminundas

Fortune.

For as all the World wonders at Epaminundas, Generall of the Thebeins in this, that when he was come with the Allies of the Warre to Tegee, and was advertised that the Lacedemonians were with their league at Mantinea, affembling there to give Battaile to the Thebeins, hee gaue order to his Troupes to feede presently: By this meanes hee caufeth his Army to march in the Euening, as it were to recouer fome conuenient places to put them in Battaile. VVhen he had drawne many in. B. to this conceite, hee parts to affaile the City of Lacedemon. VVhere entring about three houres in the Night, contrary to all hope, and finding it naked and destitute of helpe, he tooke it, and kept it on that side which was paued to the Riuer. As this difaster happened with a great alteration, and that a certaine Fugitive flying to Mantinea, had advertised King Agesilaus of that which happened, and that they of the league made haste to succour Lacedemon, hee was out of hope to bee able to keepe it. But when he had fed neare veto the River of Erota, and had drawne his Army together, after that he had suffered many miseries and dangers, he returnes to Mansines, taking the same way, with hope to finde it destitue and vnfurnished of Lacedemonians and their league, as being gone to succour Lacedemon: the which succeeded accordingly. Wherefore giving courage to the Thebeins, and marching in the Night with great labour and toile, hee arrived by noone at Mantinea, being destitute and void of succours. It is true that the Athenians who at that time held the party of the Lacedemonians, against the Thebeins, were come to their succours. When the foreward of the Thebeins arrived at the Temple of Possiden, standing seven Furlongs from the Towne, it happened as a thing fore-raft, that at the same instant the Athenians shewed themselves upon a Hill neare to Mantinea, who D being discourred by them which remained in the Towne, they went to the VValles, taking courage to repulse the Thebeins attempts. Historiographers therefore have reason to complaine of the said actions. faying, that the Commander had done all that was fitting for a wifer and more excellent Captaine then the Enemies were, and that Epamivanquished by nundas was vanquished by Fortune. Some others likewise may say with reason, that the like hapned vnto Hannibal.

For who will not wonder at this Commander, in observing that hee

endeauoured to raise the siege, in affailing the Enemy by Skirmishes: And when hee was therein frustrated in his attempts, hee affailed Rome it selfe : And when this Enterprize did nor succeed, for the casuall euents, hee againe endeauoured (turning head with his Army) to charge the Enemy, and to try if hee might trouble those which befieged Capona: And when in the end he prevailed not in his Enterprize. herefolued to annoy the Enemy in ruining them of Rhegium. It is true that some one will happily judge that at this day the Romans are to bee preferred before the Lacedemonians. Who vpon the first advertif-A ment parting together, delivered Lacedemon, yet lofing Mantinea for their parts: But the Romans preserved their Countrey without traising the siege from before Capona, growing constantly obstinate in their Enterprize, and have in the end affailed the Caponans resolutely. I have propounded this Discourse not so much to praise the Romans or Carthaginians, (for we have many times shewed them to bee excellent) as well for their present Captaines, and for those which hereafter shall have the government of these two Common-weales : to the end that remembring them, and having these things before their eyes with a defire of imitation, they may take courage, not of a desperate and dangerous rashnesse, but of a politique resolution, with an admirable industry and good discourse, which shall neuer be subject to forgetfulnesse, retaining still in memory actions well mannaged; and Enterprizes withour reason.

6: For this cause the Romans have decreed to set a part, and to carry into their Country the things we have spoken of, not omitting any thing. If this be well done and profitable to them, or otherwise, it requires a longer discourse: And moreouer whether it hath beene in former times, or is onely necessary at this day. If considering these things, they had instructed their men, it is certaine that according to reason they had transported to their vse the things for the which they had growne great : But if leading a simple life, they flye abundance and sumptuous nesse, and yet they vanquish those which many times have store of such good things, why should not their actions be turned to vice ? Some one may confidently fay, that they erre which have left the Victors course of life, to follow that of the vanquished, and having incurred enuve a Companion of fuch things: which is a case much to bee seared in Great men. Doubtleffe a man thus poffeft, will neuer hold them hapby which possesse another, and beares them enuie. Moreouer, who will take compassion of those which degenerating lose their principalities! If Fortune smiles, and if a man drawes together all the wealth of another, and moreover, invites in some fort the disposses to see it, he finnes doubly. First the Spectators have no compassion, but are admonished as of their owne miseries: whereby not onely enuy but also choller inflames them against the fortunate. The remembrance of their owne calamities is as it were a flirring up to hatred against the Authours. It is true, that it may be there is some shew of reason for the drawing of Gold and Silvery For they could not have arrained to the Empire, If they had not gotten the power taken from others.

Lib. 9.

The duty of a

In regard of those things which concerne not power, they might leave them with the enuy in those places where they were before, and make their Countrey of better fame, in beautifying it with honefty and magnanimity, not with Images and figures. I hold this Discourse for those which Potentates alwaies vsurpe, to the end that in sacking Cities they may not conceive that the mileries of other men, are the glory and beautifying of their Countrey. Finally it is necessary that the accidents which happen in the Art of Warre, bee diligently confidered of. It may happen they shall duly fore see enery thing, if any one doth exe-

cute speedily that which is propounded.

If any man will know that executions done openly with violence. are of leffe confequence then actions of policy and time, hee may eafily iudge by the actions past. It would be no difficult thing to vnderstand by the euents, that in matters which are done by time, there are more found executed through errours then by reason. For no man doubts that many faults are committed through the ignorance and dulnesse of Commanders. Wherefore we must consider the reason of this kinde. It is not fit to hold for good fernice the accidents which without forefight happen in the profession of Warre, but rather for events and cafuill accidents; and wee must leave them, for that they are not gouer- B ned by reason; whereas those should be apparent which are done with a setled resolution whereof we now speake. But for that every action hath time, space, and a determinate place, and hath neede of secrefic, and of confident resolutions : and that it doth import by whom, with whom, and by what meanes they shall execute them: it is apparent that he which shall duly consider every one of these things apart, shall not stray from reason : if he omits any one of them, he shall be defrauded of his whole resolution. Nature in truth makes one of all the parts, and every one of them (although vulgar) sufficeth to cause a disaster of aduice if it be forgotten: Finally all the parts doe scarce suffice, although they be imployed to bring any worke to a good end. Wherefore Commanders should not omit any thing of this kinde.

Silence is the chiefe of those things which we have spoken of: to the end that through ioy if any vnexpected hope presents it selfe, or for feare and amazement, they do not through familiarity or friendship, comunicate their enterprize to any ftranger, but only to those without whom they cannot execute their resolutions nor yet to them, but so far forth as necessity shall force them. He must be secret not onely in words but also in his affections. For it happens to many to discouer by signes. and sometime by their actions, their resolutions which the tongue hath kept filent. Secondly, it is necessary not to be ignorant of the wayes both by day and night, and the meanes to paffethem as well by Sea as Land. The third point, and the most exquisite, is to know the opportunity of times by the circumstances, and to be able to coniecture it with judgement. He must make no little esteeme of the manner how to execute it. For many times thereby things which seeme impossible, proue possible, and those which vsually baue beene possible, are made impossible. Finally, he must not disdaine the Accords and Articles annexed.

nexed, nor the choise of things by the which, and with whom that which hath bin refolued, is brought to an end. Of these things some are considered by the exercise, others by Histories, and some by the course and reason of experience. The knowledge likewise of the waies, and whither he meanes to go, and its nature would be very fitting : and consequently by whom and against whom they make Warre, and carefully to confider of the businesse, and not to trust all men. It is true that they which are led and gouerned, must alwaies in such affaires give credit to those that lead them. Moreover, Commanders may happily learne these things and other such like from a simple Souldier: some by their owne industry, and others by History, in considering the actions by experience. It is also necessary to understand the Mathematiques. and the Theorique, especially of Astrology and Geometry, the Art whereof is not very necessary in this trade; yet the vse may helpe much in the alteration of things. Their chiefe necessity consists in the consist deration of the Day and Night. If they had beene alwaies equall, there would be no difficulty therein, and the knowledge would bee common to all.

But as the afore-faid things have a difference not onely betwixt them, but also in themselves, it is most necessary to know what bee their augmentations and diminutions. How can the course and perfections of the Day and Night beknowne without the confideration of the faid difference: No man can without their experience attaine vnto those things which concernes a competency of time, being otherwise forced to worke sooner or later then is needfull. Haste in these affaires is more defective then the delay of an Enterprize. Hee that exceeds the time appointed, is frustrated of his hope: But hee may repaire it in giving good order, knowing after what time it may be done: whereas hee that preuents the opportunity of the approaching time, and being C discouered, not onely failes of his Enterprize, but is in danger to be wholly defeated. Occasion is the Mistresse of all humane affaires, and

especially in the Art of Warre.

A Commander therfore of an Army must have knowledge of the The knowledge Solftice of Summer, and of the Equinoctials, and of the intermixt in st the disense creases and decreases of Dayes and Nights. By this onely meanes hee ties of Dayes may hold a meane in things which are to be effected, as well by Sea as Captaines. Land. Moreouer, hee must know every point of the Day and Night, to the end that hee may vinderstand the time when to plant his Campe and to raise it. It is not possible that hee shall attaine to a good end D which dort not consider the beginning. It is not impossible to see the houres of the Sunne by the shaddowes whilest he makes his course; and the distances which are made by it in this world. In regard of those of the Night, it is a difficult thing, valeffe some doe follow and observe the Starres after the disposition of the Heaven; and the order of the twelve Signes in the Zodiacke. It is in truth easie for those which diligently observe the Celestiall Starres. For although the Nights be vinequall, yet in every one of them fixe of the twelve Signes do moove, to as it is necessary that to enery part of the Night an equal portion of the Zodiacke

Zodiacke be turned, and as daily it is apparent what part the Sun drives

behind, which is that which it separates from the Diameter : it is neces-

fary that accordingly there should be so much consumed of the Night,

that after this part it appeares elevated from the rest of the Zodiacke. The Signes of the Zodiacke being knowne as well for their number as greatnesse, it falls out afterwards that they shew themselves such all times of the Night. But when the Nights are cloudy, we must observe the Moone: for her greatnesse, her light appeares vniuerfall in what part of the world foeuer she be. And wee must sometimes search by the times and places of the East, and sometimes of the VVest: for that in this A part there is a knowledge, so as she followes the Diurnall differences of the East. There is also in this knowledge a manner of casie consideration. There is likewise the same end almost within a figure, and all are of Sence. For this cause they inftly commend the Poet, who brings in Vlisfes an excellent Prince, taking coniccure of the Starres, not onely to direct a Nauigation, but also to mannage Warre at Land. Wee may in truth exactly fore-fee vnexpected chances, although that many times they be of great perplexity, as inundations by Raine and Rivers, Snows and violent Frosts, and finally Fogs and Clouds, with such like things. Shall we not with reason be destitute and voide of many things by our B owne fault, if wee disdaine those which wee may fore see . Wee may not therefore contemne or despise any of these things, lest wee

fall into such a consideration which they say hath happened vnto ma-

ny others: Concerning which wee must now speake by way of

The errour of

Homer.

Arate Chiefe of the Acheins, labouring to surprize the City of Cinethe, appointed a day to them of the Towne which had the fame intelligence: who comming by Night to the River which fals to Cynethe, he was to stay there with his Army : and they of the Towne taking their occasion about Noone, should send forth one of them secretly out arthe Gate, couered with a Cloake, and should command him to stay C before the Gate vpon a Dunghill: and in the meane time the rest should take the chiefe men fleeping, who were accustomed to guard the Gate about Noone. Which being done, comming out of their Ambush, they should plant their Battalion against the Gate. These things thus concluded, Arate came at the time appointed, and keeping the accord, he laid his Ambush neare vnto the River. But about five of the Clocke, a man having weake Sheepe of those which are accustomed to feede about the Towne, came forth of the Gate in a Cloake, as it was needfull who according to the reason of the time, enquired of the life of the D Shepheard: And staying vpon the sayd Hill, looked where hee was. Arate thinking they had given him the Signe, makes hafte to gaine the Towns with his men. But when the Gate was fuddainly thut by the Guards that were present, for that they within had nothing ready, it happened that was not onely frustrated of his purpose and intention, but was the cause of extreame calamities to the Burgesses, with whom hee had intelligence. For being apprehended, they were presently chased away or sigine. What shall wee thinke to be

the cause of this accident? Doubtlesse for that this Commander had executed this agreement with more lightneffe then was fir, who being young had not an exquisite knowledge of these two accords, nor of the things annexed. The affaires of Warre have an alteration in a moment, watering from one fide to another in the Euents. When as likewise Cleomenes the Lacedemonian, had resolved to take the City of Megalopolis by practice, he agreed with the Guards of the Walles, that hee The crout of thould come in the Night with his Army to the Cleament. should come in the Night with his Army to the Gare which they call Pholee, at the third renewing of the Watch. For they which held A his party, had then the guard of the Wall. But when he had not forefeene, that the Nights were shorter at the rising of the Pleiades, hee parting from Lacedemon with his Army at Sun fetting, and as hee could not come thither in time, arriving when the Sunne was up, he was repuls'd, making his attempts in vaine and without reason, with a great and shamefull losse of his men, and in danger to lose all : Whereas if hee had aim'd truely at the time appointed by the agree-

ment, and had brought his Army when as his Confederates had power to let him in, he had not failed in his Enterprize.

In like manner Philip (aswee have formerly fayd) having plotted a The errour of fecret surprize of the City of the Meliteens, faileddoubly. He brought Philip. B not Ladders of a sufficient length, as the businesse required, neither did he observe the time. For having resolued to arrive at Midnight, when as all the World slept, heedislodg'd before the time from Larisse with his Army, and came too soone into the Meliteens Countrey. For this cause as he could not stay, fearing to be discouered by the Citizens. nor yet steale away, he gaue an assault to the City, the Inhabitants being yet awake. Soas it was not in his power to get to the top of the Walles by his Ladders, for that they were not of a just length, neither could hee enter by the Gate, for that the Confederates which hee had in the City, could not fuccour him being excluded by the C time. And as hee had incenfed the Citizens, and made a great loffe of his men, hee returned with shame and disgrace, it being a warning and caueate vnto all others, not to put any truft or confidence in him hereafter.

As likewise Nicias which was Chiefe of the Athenians, might have preserved the Army which hee had neare vnto Saragoffe, and The errour of hadraken a fit occasion in the Night to lay an Ambush, to the end Nicias. hee might not bee discouered by the Enemy, hee retired into a safe place: Afterwards hee remound not his Campe through superstin tion, for that the Moone was Eclipsed, as if shee had fore told fome ensuing danger and misfortune. But it happened vnto all, as well to the Army as Captaines, to fall into the hands of the Saragosins, when as the Night following Nicias railed his Campe, being discouered by the Enemies. Notwithstanding hee might in such affaires have beene made wife by such as have had experience, that the comodity of time ought not to be he glected for fuch things, making the ignorance of the Enemy his comfort. Ignorance in truth gives 4 great helpe to men of experience, to bring their affaires to a good end.

ought to be.

346

Wee must then for the afore-said things have recourse to Astrology, in regard of the measure of ladders, the manner is as followeth. If any one of the Conspirators have given the height of the Wall, they may presently know of what length the ladder shall be: As if the Wall bee ten foote high in some places, the ladders must be twelve soote long. Finally, they must give vnto the ladder good footing, according to the proportion of the staues : lest burthening it too much, it breake not easily by reason of the multitude : and againe set vp straight, it will be very dangerous vnto them. If there be no meanes to take the meafure, nor to approach the Wall, let them take the greatnesse of those A things which are eleuated on the Plaine, by the space of all the height, which is a kinde of measure not onely possible, but also easie for those which study to learne the Mathematiques.

Wherefore it is necessary for them that will aime truely in their re-

Waire.

of Souldiers

solutions of the course of Warre, to know the vse of Geometry: If not perfectly, yet at the least that they have the knowledge of pro-Geometry ne- portions, and confideration of Similitudes. It is not onely necessary for this, but also for the comprehension of Designes in the scituation of a Campe: to the end that when as wee fometimes change its generall disposition, we may observe the same proportion of things which B are there comprehended : And if fometimes we retaine the fame Defignes of Camps, we may extend the place comprehended by them. or straighten it according to the reason of things before decreed, or fet apart : the which we have declared more exactly in our Commentaries for the ordring of Battailes. I doe not beleeue there is any man that will be discontented with our study, for that wee charge the profession of Warre with many things, commanding those that loue it, not to distaine Astrology nor Geometry. For my part, I firiue especially, and with great defire to command things necessary, as I doe reproue and blame the excesse of vaine and superstuous things, in regard C of the subtilties and dreames in enery Science: So doc we those which are out of necessary wie. It is a strange thing that they which practife Dancing, or playing of the Flute, take the preparations which concernes the accords and Musicke: And likewise Wrestling, for that this kind of Art seemes behoovefull to bring this exercise to an end: And yet they which terme themselues Souldiers, are discontented if they must allow of any other Studies : So as they which practile Mecanique The carelefnes Arts, are more carefull and studious then those which challenge an for the Scien-Excellency in things which are of great honour and glory : the which no man of Sence will deny. But wee have spoken enough of this n

Many coniecture the greatneffe of things by the Circuite : to whom notwithstanding it feemes incredible, that although the City of Megalepola bee contained within the Circuite of fifty Furlongs, and that The circuite of of Lacedemon within forty eight, yet it is twice as great as that of Megalopolis and Megalopolis. And if any one (meaning to make this doubt greater) fayth, it is possible that a City, or the Pallisadoe of a Campe, having the Circuite of forty Furlongs, may bee more ample and complete

compleate then that of a hundred, this will seeme vnto them a mad and extrauagant speech; the cause is, for that wee remember not the things which inhumane Disciplines are deliuered vnto vs by Geometry. This is the cause why I have vindertaken this Discourse. For that not onely many people, but also some of those which gouerne the Common-weale, and likewise Commanders and Captaines are amazed and wonder how it can be possible, that the City of Lacedemon should be greater then that of Megalopolis, seeing the circuite is lesse: and that confequently they coniecture the number of men by the cir-

A cuite of the Campe.

Lib. 9.

There is another fuch like errour which they commit in the description of Townes. For many conceiue, that Cities containe more houses which are crooked and hilly, then those which are in a flat Countrey. But this is not true, for that the houses are not of a good building in a declining Streete, but in a plaine Countrey, for the which it happens that the Hils yeeld: the which may appeare by that which is apparent in a Plaine. If thou doeft confider the houses which are built high, and fer upon the declining of a Hill, fo as they are all of an equall hight, it is apparent that their tops being levell, the distance is equall, as well of those which are built vinder the Hils, as those which are seated on the B Plaine neare vnto the foundations of the Wall. It sufficeth at this time to have spoken to those which (desiring the preheminence over others. and to governe Common-weales) are ignorant of these things, being amazed and wonder at this relation. The City of Agragas is not onely more excellent among many other Cities, but also for the force of its The City of Rampire, and for the grace and building. It is built eighteene Furlongs Agrague. from the Sea, fo as every man may be partaker of her commodities, the Walles are excellently fortified by their scituation and the industry of man. The Wall is feated vpon a hard and inacceffible Rocke, as well by Nature as by Art. It is enuironed with Rivers. For towards the C South runs a River of the Townes name, and on the Westernepart towards the Winter Solftice, paffeth the River of Hypfe. The Fortreffe is cated vpon the fide of the Summers East. The which hath without an inacceffible valley and within it one approach to the City. On the top is built the Temple of Minerua, and of Inpiter Atabarin, like as a sandes. For as Agragas hath beene peopled by Rhodiens, their God h good reason hath the same name, as at Rhodes. Finally the City thely adorned with Temples and Porches. In regard of the Teme of Iupiter Olympian, it is none of the most sumptuous : But like. wife it feemes not leffe in its height and greatneffe then any other of Grecce.

The Oration of Chlence, Embassadour for the Etoliens to the Lacedemonians.

T is so true my Maisters of Lacedemon, that your power hath beene the beginning of Committee of the power hath beene the beginning of Committee of the power hath been the beginning of Committee of the power hath been the beginning of Committee of the power hat been the beginning of Committee of the power hat been the beginning of Committee of the power hat been the beginning of Committee of the power hat been the beginning of Committee of the beginning of the power hat been the beginning of the the which I hold so certaine, as no man at this day will say the contrary. Wee may judge of it in this manner. For what a multitude of Grecians are there in Thrace, whereof

the Athenians and Callidonians have planted Collonies: What Ci- B to bath had a greater estate and power then that of the Olynthiens? The which when as Philip had made Captine, and ordained to serue for an Example, hee hath not onely beene Lord of all the Cities of Philip subdued Thrace, but hath moreover made subicathe Thefalians, being terthe Theffaliant rified with feare. And when as afterwards hee had subdued the thenians by Armes, he vsed his Fortune nobly, not so much for the good of the Athenians (for there wanted much) but to the end that by the fame of his benefits towards them, he might draw others to a voluntary obedience.

In regard of the authority of your City, it seemed for a time to fall uour the other Grecians. Wherefore propounding what hee thought good, he went to Field with an Army, and in speiling the Countrey. he hath ruined and fack't your houses, and finally your Countrey, di-Attibuting part to the Argines, part to the Tegeases, some to the Megalopolisains, and the rest to the Melleniens : seeking without reason to benefit others, to the end he might endammage and and annoy you. Alexander hath fince taken you him the power and command. Who thinking that there was yet remaining some comfort for Greece in the City of Thebes, I conceive you all know how hee hath ruined it. But what neede is there to relate in particular the Deeds of those which D havefucceeded them, and how ill they have intreated Greece? There is no man so negligent of the actions of Warre, which doth not know how Antipater (the Grecians being vanquished neare vnto Lamiai) did most wickedly intreate the miserable Athenians and others: To whom hee was so outragious and vniust, as hee sent Inquisiters for Fugitues, and sent to the Cities, against those which had contradicted him, or in any fort offended the honour of the Macedonians. Whereof fome being violently drawne out of the Temple, and others from the Altars themselues,

Alexander ru ned Thebes.

348

Antipater.

themselves, have beene miserably deseated and slaine the other Fugitiues haue beene chased out of Greeves. There was no freedome but onely in the Nation of the Etoliens. In regard of the executions

Of the History of POLYBINS.

done by Cassander, Demetrius, and Antigonius, Gonas, who is ignorant of them? The knowledge hath beene manifest, seeing they have beene done without any disguising. Some of them placed Garrisons in Townes others fetled Tyrants: By which meanes there hath not beene

any City free from the name of this kind of feruitude.

But leaving this Discourse, I come in the end to Antigonis : to the A end that none of you confidering plainely my intent, may thinke him. Ant gonus, selfe beholding to the fauour of the Macedonians. Antigenms in truth hath not made Warre against you for the preservation of the Arbeirs: neither for that he was offended with the Tyranny of cleomenes, he defired to fet the Lasedemonians at liberty (it were too great a folly, if you were of this opinion) but for that he faw his power was not affured; if the principality of Morea were vnder your gonernment, and withall he faw the industry of Cleomenes, and that Fortune smiled voon you; the which he feared with enuie. He came not to give fuccours to Mores. but to rauish your hopes, and abate your greatnesse. Wherefore the Macedonians are not fo much worthy of lone . Lording it over this B City which they have ruined, as to be held for Enemies and odious, feeing he hath alwaies hindred you, when you had meanes to command

all Greece. In regard of the iniquity of Philip, what neede is there The blatte of to vie any long discourse . His execuation towards the Gods, for the Philip, outrages committed in the Temple of Thermes is plainely declared: And as for his cruelty to men, it is fully exprest by this prevarication, and the accord violated with the Meseniens. Finally, the Etolien's haue alone among the Grecians made head against Antipaser in the view of all the World: fo as they llued in fafty which were outraejoully afflicted. They have also withflood the attempt of Brennis and

C the Barbarians which accompanied him : And they alone being called, have endeauoured with you to fet the principality of Greece at liberty. But it is enough of this Sublect : Wee must now adust in fome fort, and take order touching this present Councell, as with them that resolue for the Warre. Wee must consider it according to the truth.

Lib. 9.

I am also of opinion that as the Acheins as the weaker, should not onely forbeare to spoile your Countrey, but also give great thankes vn. to the Gods if they may preserve their owne : The Eliences and Messeniens will make Warre against them for the league they have with va the like you will doe. As I vnderstand, Philip will desift from his Enterprize, being affailed by the Etoliens at Land, and by the Romans and Attalus by Sea. It is moreouer easie to judge of the future by the actions past. For making Warre onely against the Etoliens, hee could neuer subdue them, how then will hee support this present Warre? Take these words according to my first proposition that it may be notorious to all men, that you ought not by a rash and vnaduised Councell, but by a mature & setled deliberation rather give succours to the Esotions Pp 3

Lib. 9.

the Macedonians. And if you have formerly prevented, and given order for those, what meanes can there remaine? If you have granted vs present succours, before you have received the benefits of Anticoweenuft with reason enquire, if it be fit that in welding to the fucceding benefits, you food contemne the precedent which you haugenioved. How this liberty and fafety being published hath beene confumed by Antigonus, there are some which reproach it voto you, and urne these things to euill, demaunding often whither you should follow the party of the Etoliens or Macedonians : You would enter League with wain many things, to whom in these affaires you have A given your faith, and you have it mutually from vs, having mannaged the cormer Warres with vs against the Macedonians. Who can doubt infily of these things.

It is certaine that the Affaires which you have with Antigonus and Philip, is palliated under the Tile of courtefie. Finally, what neede is there to declare that, which fince hath beene done vnto you. Either ingegard of the ourrage of the Etoliens, or the bounty of the Macedenians, or for any other thing which hath beene autileable vnto theme How can you being now changed, confirme the Accords and Oathes with them, (which are great Testimonies and Tyes among men) to B whom formerly you had wifely resolued norto obey: When as Chlenee had Discoursed of thesethings, and had spoken in such fort, as hee thought no man could contradict him, hee made an end of his Speech. After whom Lucique Embassadour for the Acarnanians, entring, contained himselse at the fust; seeing many discoursing of the afore. fayd things: But when filence was made, hee beganne in these Termes.



The Oration of Lucisque Embassadour of the Acarnanians to the Lacedemonians.



350

Ou Masters of Lacedemon, we are come hither, as sent by D the Common-weale of the Acarnanians. We conceiue that this our Embassie, is common to Vs and the Macedonians: For that in a manner daily, they and wee are Companions in the fame hope. And as in dangers wee involved together, by reason of their excellency and

the greatnesse of their Vertue, to the end that by their forces wee may live in safety : In like manner the commodity of the Acarmanians, is according to the care of the Embassadours, contained in the right of the

the Macedonians. Wherefore you have no cause to wonder, if we make a long discourse of Phillip and the Macedonians. Chlence making an end of his Oration, addes a briefe recapitulation of the right by the which you were bound vnto them : For hee hath faid, if theire bee nothing which hath beene done Since by the Esoliens, which doth hurt or diff content, after the Succours granted unto them: or any courtefie done by the Macedonians, this present deliberation, is of a just confideration. If likewise they have not committed, in producing the things which concerne Antigonus, the which formerly have beene allowed by you, I am of opinion that you are the simplest men in the World, A if you renew the Oathesand Accords. For my part, I fay you are the simplest men in the World, and take the vainest resolution, if when as there hath beene nothing done according vnto his Speech, and the Grecians Affaires remaine fuch as they were before, when you made the League with the Etoliens.

But if this cause hath a very different disposition, as I will shewe in continuing my Discourse. I thinke it will appeare plainly, that I say fomething which will be commodious vn.o you, beeing vnknowne by Chlenee. We are come hither to that end, being perswaded that we are to speake it, to make it knowne. Wherefore it is necessary, it it may be done, that when you have heard the calamities which hangs ouer all Greece, you should resolue on that which may be honest and fit, and to enter into League with vs in the same hope. If this cannot be done, but at this prefent you will rest your selves. Yet I hold it neceffary, that in Discoursing in few words of this Subject, (for that the others have presumed to accuse the House of the Macedonians) Wie should cleare the ignorance of those, which have given credit to their Speeches.

Chience hath fayd that Philip the sonne of Amintas, Conquered the C Principallity of Thessaly by the ruine of the Olynthiens. Contrariwise I am of opinion, that not onely the Thesalsens, but the rest of the Grecians have been epreserved by Philip. Who is there among you, that knowes not that at fuch time as Nomarche and Philomale, going to Theblame of Delphos, had vsurped the Gouernement vniustly, and rausshed the philomate. Treasure of the Gods execrably, what great forces they then rayled. against the which none of the Grecians durst once open his mouth publickely. As they were wicked towards God, so they laboured for to vsurpe the Principallity of all Greece. At what time Philip imploying his forces willingly, defeated the Tyrants, and restored the things safe. D ly which belonged to the Temple: Deliuering withall vnto the Grecians an occasion of liberry, as the effect doeth testifie to Posterity. The Grecians did not make choise of Philip to be their Commaunder, both ar Sea and Land, as having offended the Theffaliens, as this man hath presumed to say, but as a Benefactor vnto Greece: Which dignity no man before had euer receiued. It is true, hee came to Lacedemon with an Army. This was not by his owne aduice, as you know: But being called and often prest by his Friends and Allies of Morea, whom hee obeyed vnwillingly. And when hee arrived there, confider Chlenee Pp4

how hee carried himselfe. When it was in his power to make vse of the fury of their neighbours, aswell in the spoile of the Lacedemonian Region, as in debasing the Citty; whereby hee should purchase their fauour, but he would not follow this aduice: But terrified both the one and the other, and forced them to make an end of their Quarrell, for their common good and profit. Neither did hee Constitute himfelfe a Judge in this Contention, but established men chosen throughout all Greece.

Is this an Act worthy of reproach and reprehension: Thou hast A likewise made the same reproach to Alexander, as if hee had wrongfully afflicted the Thebeins: But thou hast made no mention of the punishment which hee inflicted upon the Persians, to revenge the common outrage done to all the Grecians: Nor how hee deliuered you from great miseries, reducing the Barbarians into servitude, and defeating their Succours, with the which they ruined Greece, making Warre sometimes against the Athenians, and their Ancestors, sometimes against the Thebeins: and that in the end he made Asia subject to the Grecians. As for his Successours, how dares he presume to speake? They have beene themselves many times the cause of good to some, and of hurt to others, during the Calamities of their time: Against B whom some happily may have cause to remember outrages: But it becomes not you, from whom they neuer diuerted any good, but contrariwise presented you many times from harme. Who are they which have called Antigoniu the sonne of Demetrius to subvert the Acheins? Who are they moreouer which have made a League, and fworne it with Alexander the Epirote to ruine Acarnania, and to divide it : Haue not you done it? Who hath fent such Commaunders contrary vnto the publique good, as you have done? Who were not ashamed to infringe the liberties.

Alexander the Epirete.

352

How hath Tymeus fackt the Temple of Nepsune in Tasmare, that of Artimedes at Luses . In regard of Phariques , he hath ruined the Tem. C ple of Iuno in Argos. And Polycrates that of Neptune in Mantinea. What hath Lattabe and Nice Strates done? Haue they not infringed the Accords of the Pambiolates with Panegyre, and practifed the cruelty of Sytheans, and Gallatians, or Gaules, so as nothing hath beene done by the Successours? And when you could not excuse them, you holde it a glory that you have broken the attempts of the Barbarians, falling vpon Delphos: Saying moreover that for this cause the Grecians ought to give you thankes. And if they must acknowledge this commodity from the Etoliens, what honour do northe Macedonians deserve, who imploy the greatest part of their lines continually, to maintaine the fafety of the Gregians against the Barbarians? What is hee that doeth not know that the Grecians have beene continually subject to great dangers, if the Macedonians and the bounty of their Kings had not served them for a Rampire ? VVhereof behold a great Argument : For when as the Gaules disdaining the Macedonians, had vanquished Psolomy firnamed Ceraune, they came prefently into Greece with Brennus Army: The which had often happened, if the Macedonians had not had the charge.

charge. And although I could holde a long Discourse of ancient deedes, yet I thinke these presents will suffice. But for that which among other things Philip hath done, hee turnes to cruelty the ruine of the Temple: But hee doth not adde their outrage and infolency, which they have committed in the Temples and Oratories of the Gods, which are in Die and Dodone, the which hee should have spoken first. You relate the wrongs and miseries you have indured, and make a greater shew then is needfull, passing ouer in silence, those which you have formerly committed in great numbers : For you know, that every out-A rage and wrong that is done, is by all men rejected wpon those, who

haue first done the wrong vniustly.

Lib. 9.

As for the deedes of Autigonus, I will onely make mention, to the end his Actions may not seeme to you worthy of contempt : neither must you lightly regard a deede of great esteeme. I doe not thinke there were euer so great a benefit seene, as that which hee hath imparted vnto you. It seemes vnto me so excellent, as there cannot be a greater: The which may appeare by this, Antigonus made Warre against you, then in giuing you Battaile, he vanquished you by Armes: Hee was in the end Lord of the Country and Citty, hee might by the Law of Armes haue intreated you roughly: But hee was so far from offering you any outrage, as beside other Benefits, he hath (chasing the Tyrant) restored your Lawes and proper rights. For which Fact ordaining a Testimony to the Grecians by publicke praises, you have called him Antigonus your Benefactor and Saujour. VVhat should you then doe! I will tell you, seeing there is hope of your good Audience. The which I will doe, and not without reason, not to charge you with reproaches. but for that the quallity of matters forceth mee, to fpeake that which is necessary in publicke. VVhat shall I then fay? That in the former VVarre you should have imbraced the League of the Ma-C cedonians, and not of the Eteliens: And that arthis day you should rather revnite your selues with Philip, seeing hee calls you then with them.

You answere, that in doing so, you shall breake your Accords. But tell me, if you shall commit a greater mischiese, in leaving the Accord which you have made in particular with the Etoliens then in Transgressing those which concerning all the Grecians, are grauen and Confecrated vpon a Pillar : Why doe you so superstitiously flie the disdaine of those, from whom you never received any benefit: And beare no respect to Philip, nor to the Macedonians: from whom you have n the power to hold this Councell ? Thinke you that right and equitie. ought to bee preserved to Friends ? Yet the Sanctitie is not so great to observe the Faith reduced in Writings, as the sinne is prophane and execrable in bearing Harred, and making Warre against a publicke body. What the Etoliens require now of you? But we have spoken enough of this Subject, the which would be held by the Envious, not to concerne the present businesse. I returne therefore to the Continuation and Discourse of the cause which consists in this. If the Affaires be at this day a like, as when you made an Alliance of Warre with them,

the election of things propounded in the beginning must remaine in you. If they be altogether changed, it is fit you should consider indi-

ciously upon that which they require.

354

I demand of you Cleonice and Chlence, what allies had you when as you called these men to a Common warre. Had you all the Grecians? With whom at this day have you communication of your hope: Or to what league doe you inside these men ! Is it not of Barbarians ? Thinke you this present warre is like vnto the precedent, and not different? You contended then with the Acheins, and your kinfmen the A Macedonians, and with Philip, for principality and glory: And now the warre is made by strangers against Greece for its seruitude, whom you thinke to draw against Philip. Are you ignorant that their forces are call'd in against your selves and all Greece? Like vnto those which during a warre retire into their City a greater Garrison then their owne forces for their owne safety, make themselves subject to their friends, as soone as they are freed from the feare of their Enemy: The Etoliens thinke the same at this day. Whilst they desire to vanquish Philip, and to humble the Macedonians, they doe not observe how they blind themselves with a westerne fogge, the which happily may bring some darknesse to the Macedonians, and in the end be the cause of great miseries to all the Grecians. It is therefore necessary for all Greece, to provide for the threatnings of this time, and especially for the Macedonians. Otherwise what cause thinke you my Masters of Lacedemon; had your Ancestours, when as Xerxes demanded by an Embassadour which he sent vnto you Water and Earth, they cast him that was sent into i-Well, and cast Earth uppon him: Then taking him out againe, they gaue him charge to tell Xerxes that hee had Water and Earth in Lacedemon: Moreover, for what reason did the Company which was flaine with Leonides, cast themselves vppon the Enemy in view of all the World? Was it not to the end they might see them undergoe the danger, not only for their owne liberty, but also for the rest of Greece? Consider now, if it be decent and fitting for their posterity, to take Armes, and so make VV arre with the Barbarians, in allying themselues with them, against the Epiroses, Acheins, Acarnanians, Beocians, Theslaliens, and in a manner against all the Greeians, holding nothing infamous, fo as it were profitable. VVhat must they attend that doe such volawfull things:

As the Romans have beene vnited to them, fo the others have endeauoured (hauing the said comfort and aide from the Selauonians) to make the war by Sea, and to breake the Accord at Pyles: And have by D Land belieged the Citty of the Chtoriens, ruining that of the Cynetheins. It is true, they first made an Accord with Antigonus, in regard of the Acheins and Acarnanians. But at this day they are Confederate with the Romans against Greece in generall. These things vnderflood, who dorn not suspect the comming of the Romans, and detest the sortishnesse of the Etolieus, who presumed to enter into such a League? They spoile the Vines, and the Hand of Acarnania, and have already taken the Cittle of the Tallaneins and Anticyra, which

they with the Romans have ruined, who carry away their VViues and Children, suffring (as it seemes) the common accidents of those which fall into the hands of strangers in regard of the soile of these miserable people, the Ecoliens enioy it. It were without doubt a very honest and pleasing thing that the Lacedemonians Brould imbrace this League, who would have the Thebeins alone among the Grecians live in peace, when the Persians descended : and have resolved to make vowes vnto the

Gods to vanquish the Barbarians.

Lib. 9.

Your dutie and Honor, my Masters of Lacedemen, depends thereon, to the ende that having recourse vnto your Ancestors, and searing the comming of the Romans, and suspecting the bad intent of the Esoliens, and putting you in minde of the deedes of Antigonus, you may detest the League of the wicked, and flie the amitie of the Esoliens, allying your selves by a common hope with the Atheins and Macedonians. And if some of the chiefe yeild not voto it, at the least budge not, neither make your felues Companions of their Outrages. It is true, that affection to friends is very profitable, if it bee commodiously made: But if it be forced, and finally flow and defective, it hath no comfort ; and therefore you must obserue, if onely in words, or else in actions they will keepe their League with you.

Aparcell of the River of Euphrates.

Pohrates takes its sourse and beginning in Armenia; running its course by Syria, drawing towards Babylon, and falls as it seemes, into the Red Sea : whereof the figne is. It loofeth it felfe in hollow places vader ground made in that Region, before it falls into the Sea. VVherefore it hath a different nature to other Rivers. The course of others augment as they passe by many places, and are very high in C VVinter, and low in Summer. But Euphtates growes very high at the rifing of the Canicular, especially in Syrie, and continuing its course decreaseth. The cause is for that it is not augmented by the concurrence of the winter raine but by the melting of the Snow : It decreafeth likewife for that it extends vpon the plaine, and is differed for the watring of the Land. Then the transport of Armies is flowly made, for that the shippes stay in regard of the bufthen, the River beeing low; and finally the swift course of the water is some hinderance vnto the Nauigation.

Lib. 10.



A PARCELL OF the Tenth Booke of the

History of POLYBIVS.



356



S from thence vnto the Sea, and from the Citty of Rhegium vnto Ta. rentum, there be aboue two Thoufand Furlongs, yet the Coast of Isaly hath no Ports, except those which are at Tarentum. That Coast turnes to the Sicylian Sea, and bends towards Greece. It is much peopled with Barbarians: So there are very C famous Grecian Citties. For the Brucians, Lucain, and some Countries of the Samnites, and moreouer the Calabriens, and many other nations inhabite this Country:

Euen as among the Grecians , lies Rheglum, Caulone, Locres, and Croton. Moreouer the Metapontins, and Thurins, possesse this Maritine Region. And therefore they which come from Sycily and Greece, are (when as they faile vnto any of the faid places) by necessity carried to the Ports of Tarentum : And are forced to Traffique with their Merchandizes in that Cittie, with all the inhabitants of that Coast. Some happily may coniecture, that the Commoditie of this place, proceedes from the abundance and fertillitie of the Croteniates. And although The Crotomiates they have some Summer stations of small revenew, yet it seemes they will challenge to themselves a great fertillitie, and from no other thing but from the fruitefulnesse of the place, which is not to bee compared to the Ports and Region of the Tarentins. There is also a Commoditie

from this place to the Adriaticke Ports, at this day great, but in former times greater. All they which failed from high Pouille vnto Si. puntes in Front, and were carried into Italy, landed at Tarentum, and made vie of this City for their Commerce and Trafficke, as in affaires. Then the City of the Bretenfins was not yet built. Wherefore Fabi. much esteeming this abode, was addicted vnto it, leaving all other things. All others hold him for a very fortunate man, and that many times, and for the most part, he ended his Enterprizes without reafon and accidentally : holding this kinde of men to bee more divine A and admirable, then those which attempt all things by a discourse of reason: Being ignorant withall, that by these words the actions of the one are worthy of Commendations, and those of the other happy and fortunate. Moreouer, the one is common vnto the people & Vnderstanding But the other is proper to wife and iudicious men, whom we must hold dable then Fordivine and beloved of the Gods.

For my part Fabius seemes to me to have a Nature and disposition like vnto Lycurgus, the Law-giver of the Lacedemonians. We must not thinke that Lycargus had beene fo superstitious, as obeying Pitheas, he had established the Lacedemonian Common-wealth : Nor likewise Publim Scipie moued with Dreames and Dininations, had purchased so B great a power in the Countrey. But for that the one and the other faw many men not greatly to affect doubtfull affaires, not likewife to prefume to vindertake matters that were grave and dangerous without the hope of the Gods : For this cause Lycusgue making vie of the fame drawne from Pytheas in his opinion, hee made them more pleasing and certaine. Publius Scipio in like manner had made an impression in many of a conceite of him, that hee executed his Enterprizes by a certaine Divine Councell : By this meanes he made his men more affured, and willing to attempt difficult things. That he hath brought enery thing to an end by sufficient reason and wisedome, and that C for this cause all his actions have had an end concurrent to reason, will appeare manifest and plaine by the Discourse which I shall hold concerning him.

It is certaine he was bountifull and generous: But as for his industry, fobriery, and vigilancy in his resolutions, no man can conceive them, The diposition but fuch as have lived with him, and have exactly fearcht the depth of publius scihis disposition : amongst the which was Lelym, who had beene his Companion from his Infancy in all his actions and discourses vnto his Death : for that hee feemes to speake likely things; and conformable to his actions. First hee reports this Noble deede of Publius; when as his Father had resolued to fight with Hannibal nears vnto the River of Poe. For at that time being as it feemes but seventeene yeares old, going into the Field, hee had received from his Father a Troupe of the best and strongest men for his desence and guard.

And when he saw his Father in danger, and enuironed by the Enemy. accompanied onely with two or three Horse, hauinig received a dange. tous wound, he began at the first to encourage his company to succour

Publitu.

358

his Father: But when they wavered, for the great multitude of the The course of Enemies, hee cast himselfe desperately as it seemes, and charged them couragiously. Afterwards when the rest were forced to fight, the Enemies amazed with feare, ceas'd the Combate. Old Publim being thus preserved contrary to all hope, hee was the first who (in hearing of them all) called him his Sauiour. When by this action the fame of his prowesse and dexterity began, he afterwards ingag'd himselfe in greater dangers, whenfoeuer the supreame hope of the Countrey required it by necessity: This was not with a courage relying in Fortune, but of a judicious Captaine.

Afterwards Lucius his elder Brother, aspiring to the Dignity of Edile, the which among the Romans was the Noblest command of the Youth, and that by custome they made choise of two Ediles among the Patricy, and that there were many at that time which aim'd at it, he was long before he durft demand it of his Brother. When the Election grew neare, and that he had made a coniccure by the humour of the multitude, that his Brother would hardly obtaine it, seeing himselfe on the other fide in great fauour with the people, and might attaine vnto his attempt, if with their consent he vndertooke the cause, he sell into this conceit. When he faw his Mother visite the Temples, and sa. B crifice vnto the Gods for his Brother, and that the entertained a great hope of the future, which she had in singular recommendation, and that his Father being then Commander of the Army in the fayd War, had fayled into Spaine, he told his Mother that hee had one dreame twice, and that it seemed vato him that he returned being made Edile with his Brother, from the place to goe vnto their house : And that running onto the doore, shee had saluted them with imbracings. When hee had ended this Speech, the Mother being very passionate with an effeminate affection, and answering I know not what, shee added; Oh that Imight see that Day : will you faies he, that wee make a tryall & C Whereunto confenting, for that the did not thinke he would dare to attempt to great a matter, confidering that he was very young, thee required (as it were in sport) that he should presently provide him a long Cloake. For they which stand for gouernment, are accustomed tabeso attired. In regard of his Mother, shee had no considence in

Publiss when he had this brane Robe, went fuddainly to the place, his Mother being yet afleepe. When the Multitude had received him with amazement, as well for this nouelty contrary to all hope, as for the love and affection they had formerly borne him, and afterwards n drawing to the place appointed, he was neare vnto his Brother, masy adjudg'd this government not onely to Publim, but alforo his Brother for the lose of him : and being both of them created Ediles in this manner, they returned to their house. When the Mother had receiued the newes, she ran vnto the Gate, and with affection and loue saluted them. Wherefore although that Publim disdained Dreames, yet it seemed by this action to all those which have heard speake of it, that he had speech with the Gods, not only sleeping, but much more in the day

waking. But for that he was bountifull and pleafing in his words, and had well observed the affection of the Commons towards him, and had accommodated the time to the people and his Mother, hee not onely perfected his Enterprize, but also seemed to have dispatche it by some Divine inspiration. They without doubt which cannot duely consider the occasions, nor the causes and dispositions of every thing by the vice of Nature, or ignorance and dulnesse, referre vnto the Gods and Fortune the causes of things which are decided by industry and discrette reason. These things I speake for the Readers, to the end that falling A through errour into the vulgar opinions of this man, they should not leave good and commendable graces that were in him, that is to fay, his Dexterity and Industry. In regard of that which I speake of him, it will appeare manifest by his actions.

Lib. 10.

Publicus Scipio being then Generall of the Army in Spaine, calling his Troupes together, he aduited them not to be amazed for the aduentures and differences past. For the Romans had never beene vanquished by the prowesse of the Carthaginians, but by the treason of the Celsibe- Aiemonstrance rians: And the raffinesse of the Commanders seperated one from ano. of Publius Scither, for that they trusted in them : which are things he sayd were then pio to his Army. among the Enemies. For besides that they made Warre being farre B distant one from another, they offer'd outrages to their Allies, and made them Enemies: And that for this cause some were already sehe home: and the rest will speedily (when they shall be assured) come when you have once past the River, not so much for the good will they beare you, as to feeke a reuenge for the wrongs received by the Cartha. einians. But moreouer the Captaines are in diffention among them. selues, and will not willingly joyne together to fight with you : And being thus divided, they would be defeated, and fall eafily into their hands. Wherefore he perswaded them, that considering these things they should passe the River boldly, promising to give good order for C the rest. When he had vsed this speech vnto the other Captaines, he left his colleague Marcus vpon the passage of the River, accompanied with three thousand Foote and fine hundred Horse, to the end hee might succour his Companions being in the River : hee himselfe past with the rest of his Army, holding his intention secret from all the World. Hee resolved things which he did not impart to many men. His resolution was to lay siege to the City of Carthage scitnate in Spaine, by the way of course : The which every man might voderstand, and that it is an excellent prefumption of his esteeme, where-Dof I have formerly spoken. For as hee was but seven and twenty yeares old, he gave himselfe first to things which in the judgement of the World seemed desperate, for the great precedent dangers and misfortunes: leaving all things that were vulgar and eafle; and refolued and attempted those which seemed impossible vitto the Enemie, enery one of which required an exact wiledome, knowledge, and

In the beginning being yet at Rome, when hee had confidered by himselfe, and eniquired diligently of the treation of the Celliberians, and

Qq 2

ther created Ediles.

Publius Scipio

and his Bro-

Lib. 10.

360

of the division in the Armies, what might happen, and what fortune had befalne his Father, he was nothing amazed at the Carthaginians. neither did he faint as many viually doe. But after that he understood that the Allies on this fide the River of Ebro, continued constant in their Friendship, and that the Commanders of the Carthaginians werein discord, and oppress the Subjects, hee affected the Warre with an affured courage, having no confidence in Fortune, but in wife Councell. When he arrived in Spaine, he moved them all, and hauing enquired of the Enemies actions, he vnderstood that the Carthaginians Armies were divided into three : and that Mago made his A abode within the Pillars of Hercules, at certaine places called Conies: And that Afdrubal the Sonne of Scone, was neare the mouth of a River by Portugale; the other Asdrubal in the Carpensius Countrey held a City belieged : Either of which places were many dayes iourney distant from the City of the Ceneteins. Studying then whether he should resolue to give Battaile vnto the Enemy, if it were against all their forces. he should be in danger to be defeated, as well in regard of that which had befalne his Predecessors, as for that their Armies were great. If likewise he laboured to fight with the one, it was to be feared that in flying the Battaile, the other Armies would B come, and by this meanes hee should be inclosed, falling into the like Disafters, whereunto his Vncle Cains and his Father Publim had beene subject.

Wherefore leaving this advice, when he understood that Earthage was a great case voto the Enemies, and would be a great annoyance to him in this Warre, he confidered of enery thing, wintring among the Eilotes. When he was advertised in the beginning that it had Ports which might containe all the Sea-army of Spaine: having likewife a Maritine scituation, spacious and commodious for the Carthaginians, for the Nauigation which comes from Lybia: and likewise for that the Treasure and Baggage for the Army, with all the hostages of Spaine, were kept there: adding thereunto the great aduantage, for that the Fort had not about a thousand Souldiers in Garrison, for that they never sufpecked that any man would prefume to beliege it, the Carthaginians being in a manner Maisters of all Spaine : and that finally the rest of the people are in great number, yet they were Artizans, Mechannickes and Fishermen, who had no great experience in the Warre : He imagined that his comming to this City would be vnexpected with amazement. He was not ignorant of the scituation of the Towne, nor of its fortification, nor likewise of the disposition of the Poole: which things n he had learned from Fishermen which had frequented the place: This Poole was generally muddy, and yet madeable for the most part: and withall the water retired daily about Sun-fetting. Wherefore concluding that if he prevailed in his Enterprize, he should not onely annoy the Enemy, but it would bee a great benefit for the Watte: And if his aduice and councell succeeded well, hee might preserve his Subjects as Maister of the Sea, if he might once fortifie and strengthen his Army. The which was easier for that the Enemies were far off.

Leauing therefore all other refolutions, hee attends this during Winter.

And when he had once resolued, being of the age we have mention ned, he concealed his resolution from all the World, (except to Caius Lelyne) vntill he thought it fit to manifest it? Although that Historiographers giue testimony of this resolution, yet when they come to the end of the action, they attribute this excellent worke to the Gods and to Fortune, and not to him nor his wifedome; without any probable arguments, and the testimony of those which lived with him: A for that Scipio himselfe declares plainely in an Epistle which he had written to Philip, that making vie of the aduice which wee have mentioned, he had undertaken the Warre of Spaine, and the flege of Carthage. Moreouer, commanding Lely ifecretly touching the Army at Sea, he gaue him charge to faile about the City. Hee alone was pring to his defigne, as I have layed . Himfelfe Yaking the Troupes of Foote-men, marcht speedily. There were in the Army at Land about fine and twenty thousand Foote, and two thousand fine hundred Horse: Being The number of comeynto the City on the feuchth Day, hee planted his Campe on at Land. the North part, and fortified it without with a double Rampire and Ditches from one Sea vnto the other, without doing any thing to carriage belie-B wards the City. The Nature of the place had fortification enough.

To understand well how this City hath beene belieged and taken, I hold it necessary in some fort to describe the neighbour Comprises and its scienation. It is seated in Spaine about the middle of the Maritine The simuation Region, in the Gulle which hath its afpect towards Affricke : whose of carthage. depth is about twenty Purlongs, and the breadth at the entrance about ten : All this Gulfe makes a kind of Port, where there her an Iland at the mouth of it; leaving on either fide a little entrance. And when the Sea is troubled with any torment, then all the Gulfe is calme, but when the Westerne Winds of the Winter Solftice, bearing vpon C the two entrances, cause the forme : But as for the other Windsit is not troubled, by reason of the firme Land which entirons it. Behinde the Gulfe there rifes a Cape, whereon the City is schuated, enuironed with the Sea towards the East and South, and with a Lake vpon the West and North, so as the space which remaines from one Sea to another, by the which the City is loyned to the firme Land, is not about two Furlongs.

In regard of the City, one moiety of it is concaue: and towards the South it hath the approach of the full Sea : Finally, it is full of Hills, whereof two are rough and difficult : the other three are very lowe, but strong and hard to passe, whereof the highest bends towards the East, advancing to the Sea : There the Temple of Asclepie is built. Right against the which is another of the same scirnation, whereon stands a sumptuous royall Pallace, the which some say had beene built by Afdrubal affecting a Regall power. The rest of the lesser Hills haue their tops towards the North. That of the three which lookes directly towards the East, is called Phese; to the which is ioyned that of Alete. It seemes that Phese fiath beene the in-

Lib. 10.

uentor of Silver mettals, and for this cause purchased divine honours. The third is called Cross. In regard of the Lake loyning to the Sea: it hathtaken its course by the worke of man, for the benefit of Fisher, men, and others trafficking by Sea. But as the breach of the Banke by the which the Lake and Sea are disided, they base made a Bridge, to the end that Sumpters and Carts might bring things necessary from the define with a noife mister

A Parcell of the tenth Booke

This was the scituation of those places, the Romans Campe was fortified in Front, without any provision as well by the Lake, as Sea on either side. In regard of the space which ioynes the City to the sirme A Land, he did not fortifie it, for that it was in the midft of his Campe: to the end he might amaze the Citizens, and make vie of it for Skirmilhes, and to fally forth and retire to his Campe. The Walles in the beginning had not about twenty Furlongs: Although that many have ginen it forty: which is not true. Wee foake not by heare-fay, but vpon a certaine knowledge, for that we have feene the places : and ar this day they containe no more. I amiliand town bins , 32

Scipio having drawne his Army together with that at Sea, began to make remonstrances vnto them, without wing any other arguments and reasons, then simply to propound the things whereof wee have partly B spoken, and shewing them that this attempt was feazable : and in relating in particular things done by prowelle, he externated that of his affaires. Finally, he promised Crownes of Gold to those which should first ascend the Wall : and the accustomed rewards to others which should carry themselves openly like brane and valiant men. And in the meane time he affirmes that Neptune had appeared unto him in fleepe, and had thewed him this kind of attempt to affaile the City: And confequently promited, that during the affault, he would worke to apparently, as the efficacy of his Succours should be manifest to the whole Army. By his remonstrances and euident reasons, together with the promile of Crownes of Gold, and moreover by the providence of God. he imprinted a vehement defire and courage in the Youth, done to

The next day hee drew his ships into the Maritine places, furnished with divers Engines to cast, whereof he gave the charge to Cains Lely. w: And taking at Landtwo thousand able men with those that carried Ladders, he began the affault three houres after. Mage on the other fide who had the guard of the City, dividing his Battalion of a thoufand men, leauing the one halfe within the Fort, and plants himselfe on the Hill which lookes towards the East: and appoints about two thoufand strong men, furnished with Armes which were in the City, to the Gate which drawes to the Isthmus, and the Enemies Campe: Commanding the rest to runne vp and downe the Walles, and to defend them with all their power. When as Publim Scipio had caused the The beginning Trumpet to found to the affault, Mage caused a fally to be made by the Gate, hoping to terrifie the Enemies, and to frustrate their attempt. As they fought valiantly with those that came marching in Battaile towards the Ifthmu, there was a braue Combate, euery man guing cou. rage to his Companion. But the attempt was not equall, for that their

Succours were not alike: Footbat the Carebaginians came running forth but by one Gate, within the space of two Furlongs : whereas the Romans came suddainly and from many places. Scipio restrained his men neare the Campe, to drawe the Enemy farre from the City, being confident that if he defeated this Battalion of Commons, he should subsequently defeate the rest, and that no man would dare to make a fally. It fell out that the Combate was for a time equall : for that on either fide they had made choise of their ablest men to make the point. But The carthaginiin the end the Carebaginians being repuls'd by the force of those which ans repuls d. A came running from the Campe, turne head s fo as many were flaine during the Combate and retreate. There were many likewise slaine at

After this all the people of the City were so amazed, as they which were on the Walles fled : and the Romans had like to have entred with the Run-awayes. Moreover, they fet up the Ladders diligently, where carthage affaul. as Ssipia undertooke the danger : the which he did wifely. He was ac ted by the Ro. companied with three men carrying Targets, (the which couering Scipio, hindred the fight from the top of the Wall) defended him thus concred. By this meanes firming upon the flankes and difficult places. he was of great vie in taking this City. When he faw what was done. being also discouered to all the Souldiers fighting, he gaue them great courage, so as no danger was avoided : and hee imployed himselfe cheerefully with the rest (as it was reasonable) in every occasion that was offered to purpole. When the first ascended the Ludders resolute. ly, the multitude of Desendants did not make the assault so dangerous; as the height of the Walles. For this cause they which defended it. were more affured feeing the difficulty which happened. For fome of the Ladders brake by reason of the multitudes which mounted on them. They also which ascended first, were so dazeled with the height of C the Ladders, as if the refiltance and defence had beene any thing, they must have cast themselves downe headlong: Aud when as any fuch accident happened, striuing to get ouer the Wall, they were ouerthrowne to the ground. And although fuch things happened, yet they could not repulse the Romans from their affault : fo as when the first were fallen, their next neighbours stept into their places.

But as the day was farre spent, and the Souldiers tired with the toile of the affault, the Commander caused a retreate to be sounded. Whereforcthey of the City reloyced as if they had repuls'd the danger. But Scipio attending the time when the Tide should retire, appointed five D hundred men for the Lake with Ladders. In regard of the Gate and 15thmus, he set fresh men : and after that he had preacht voto them, he delinered them more Ladders then formerly, to the end they might mount voon the Walles more thicke. When they had founded to the Ascond afaffault, and that the Souldiers went up the Ladders with great courage, fault given to there grew a great trouble and alteration in the City. For when they Romans, thought they had beene free, they faw the danger renewed by another affault. But when they found themselues destitute of Darts, and were heavy for the great number of those which perished, they were dif-

contented

ot the fight for Carthagena.

Qq 4

contented at that which happened were defending themselves no lesse valiantly. Finally, the ebbing of the Sea beganne during the Combare of the Ladders: The beight of the Poole was much diminished. by the ebbing of the Tide, the which was great, falling by the mouth imo the Sea, fo as it feemed incredible to those which saw it without confideration.

Scipio haujng his guides ready, commaunds those which he had appointed, to enter and to carrie themselves valiantly. Hee was as fit and industrious as any man, to put courage into his Souldiers, and to make them resolute to whom he preacht. When they obeyed him, and A strived thorough the mud, all the Army held that which happened to be done by some Divine providence. Wherefore remembring those things which they had heard, and the prowelle of Scipio, they were so inflamed, as they drew to the Gate close and with a violent course, and seeke to breake it open with Hatchets and Axes. The others approaching the VValls through the mud, and finding the toppe naked of men , they fet up their Ladders not onely without danger , but they past the Wals without difficultie. The Citizens in truth were drawne to other places, neither did they thinke that the Enemy would ever affaile the Wall by the Lake. Moreour by reason of the extreame crie B and the confused noise, they could neither see nor heare any thing that was done.

The Banans having gotten the VVall, feeke fiff under colour of making the tound, how they might draw the Energies voto them. For ken by affault, the effecting whereof their Armes was of great fertifice. Finally, they come to the Gate, where as some going downe cut the barres, others entred from without. In regard of those which made their attempts at the Ishmac with Ladders, after they had defeated them which defended the VValls, they lept ouer, and by this meanes the VVall was gotten. As for the Hill scituated towards the East, they which entred by the Gate recoursed it, chasing away the Guards. VVhen'as scipio C law that there was a sufficient number entred into the City. hee sent many of them according to the Custome, against the Citizens, giving them charge to kill all they met without taking any to mercy, and not to bufie themselves with spoile vntill they had a figne given them. The Romans doe this to terrifie them. And therefore wee often see, that when they take Cities by force, they doe not onely kill the men. but they cut their Dogges in pieces, and dismember their other Cattle. Many such things happened in that Citie, by reason of the multitude of Prisoners.

Scipio alsailes the fort.

Maro delivers the fort.

Finally Publius Scipio accompanied with a Thousand men affailes the D Fort : whereunto making his approaches, Mage at the first striues to defend it : But when hee vnderstood the Truth of the taking of the City, hee fends men to parley for his fafety, and by this meanes heedelivers the Fort. This done; a figne being given, the massacre ceased, and they fell to spoile. And when as night approached, some remained in the Campe ordained for that end : And the Generall spent the night in the Fort, accompanied with a Thouland men: Appointing the

rest being retired from the Houses, by the Captaines of Thousands, to carry the booty to the Enfignes in the market place. In regard of them that were lightly armed, called from the Campe on the Hill, hee fent them to the Easterne parts. The Romans tooke Carthage in Spaine after this manner. The day following after they had carried the baggage of the Carthaginian Souldiers, and the substance of the Burgesses and Artizans to the place, the Captaines of Thousands according to Custome, divided it among their Bands.

Among the Romans this order is observed touching Cities taken. The order of Sometimes to every day they number the men, and distributing them the Romantin according to the greatnesse of the City, sometimes they divide them the division of the spirit should be s by Ensignes. They neuer appoint about halfe the Army for this busi- Towne. nesse. The rest remaine in Battaile for the Guard, sometimes they are without, and fometimes within the City, vnto the end they may be alwayes ready. The Army being divided for the most part in two of Romans, and two of Allies, they which are deputed for the diuision, do enery man bring his booty unto the Campe. This done, the Millanneers or Captaines of Thoulands divide it equally to them all : Not onely to those which remaine in Battaile, but also to the Guards of the Tents, to the ficke, and vnto all those which are or-

Lib. 10.

dained for any publicke feruice. When they are together in Campe to go vnto the War, they sweate The Souldiers not to commit any fraud in the pillage, and that they keepe their faith Oath touching according vnto the oath which they have taken. But wee have spoken the pillage. fufficiently heereof in Discoursing of their pollicy. Finally when an Army is thus divided, one part attending the Booty, and the rest standing in Battaile for their Guards, yet the Romans had neuer any difference through Couctous acffe. For when as none of them are trustrated for the Hope of gaine, and that in the meane time some follow C the spoile, and the others remaining in Battaile guard them, no man abandons his Enfigne: The which many times is the cause of great losse and danger to others. Many suffer losse, and are in danger in regard of gaine: For it is apparent, that they which remaine in Campe; or are in Battaile, containe themselves vnwillingly: for that most commonly all the spoile vnder his Commaund and power which rules, if he be an absolute Monarch: And if he be a Commaunder, every man holds that his owne, which may be hidden and purloin'd, although that all things be carefully brought together. And for that most pare of mendelirebooty, and for this cause are in danger, having no meanes to obtaine an absolute Victory, it fals out that they are in danger to lose all. The which happens to many, who although they haue premailed in their Enterprize, whether they have cast themselves into the Enemies Gampe, or haue takena City, yet they have not onely beene repuls'd, but moreouer had lost all, and for no other cause but that about mentioned. Whereefor Comanders ought to have nothing in greater recommendation and care, then that whereof wee speake : which is that (as much as may be possible) this hope may remaine to the greatest part; that if such an accident happens, the division may be

Lib. 10.

Scipio's proui-

taken.

366

equall to them all. Then the Captaines of Thousands gaue order so the Boory : and the Roman Commander having drawne together then Prisoners, (which were little lesse then a thousand) hee commands them first to separate the Citizens with their Wines and Children, and then the handy-crafts-men. This done, hee aduiseth the Citizens to imbrace the Friendship of the Romans, and to remember the fanour dence concerning the Prifo- which they received, and then hee fent them backe to their houses. Whereof some weeping, and others toyfull for their vnexpected safety, they retire, having done their duties to the General!.

In regard of the Worke men and Artizans, hee told them, that for A the present they were publique Servants to the City of Rome: But if euery one did his duty cheerefully and willingly, he promifed them liberty, if the Warre undertaken against the Carthaginians had a good end. Then he gaue charge to the Questor to take the Names of these men, and that he should appoint thirty Roman Commissaries, for the whole multitude contained in a manner two thousand. He also made choise of the strongest, and the most flourishing in age and forme, to furnish the Troupes; and fill'd the captine ships with all the Marriners, exceeding the former one halfe: fo as every thip had in a manner twice The number of as many men. There were eighteene captine ships, and in the beginthips that were ning they had beene fiue and thirty. To whom he promised liberty if they shewed themselves friends and valiant, and that if in this Warre he should happen to vanquish the Carthaginians. When he had declared himselse in this manner, he made the Burgesses affectionate and lovall, as well to himselfe as to the Roman Common-weale: The Worke-men and Artizans are in like manner joy full vpon the hope of

liberty.

But when he had by this sapply much augmented the Troupes, in the end he separates Mago and the Carthaginians. For he had two Senators and fifteene Councellors: whom hee gaue in charge to Caim Lelyus, C commanding him to have a speciall care. Moreover, hee calls all the hostages vnto him, which were about three hundred. Then he makes much of the Children, willing them to reioyce, and that within few dayes they should see their Parents. In like manner he perswades the rest to be of good hope, and to write vnto their Cities and Friends, that first of all they had their lives saued, and were well intreated : And that fecondly the Romans would fend them all home to their houses in safety, if their Friends could imbrace their alliance. This Speech being ended, he gaue the most commodious spoiles of the Army to every one according to his Race and age, as to Children Feathers and Bracelets, D and to young men Swords. When as among the Captines the Wife of Mandonin, the Brother of Andebale, King of the Lecheteins, had cast her scife at his seete, demanding with teares that he would have a better respect to her honesty then the Carthaginians had had, being moued with compassion, he demanded of her what necessary things she wanted. Shee was an aged woman, and carried the shew of some great Dignity. And when the held her peace, he calls for those which had the charge of the women, who presenting themselves, and affirming that the Carthaginians

The Wife of Mandonin.

Carthaginians had furnished the Women with all things necessary: she touching his knees againe, repeated the same words. Scipio viewing her, and thinking that they voto whom he had then given the charge. shewed themselves lyers through negligence, commaunded the Women not to be discontented, and that hee would give order to place other Commissaries, to the end nothing should be wanting that was needfull for them. Then staying a little, Capraine she said, thou mistakest my words, if thou doest thinke that I require thy assistance to content the bellie.

Then Scipio hearing her conceite, and observing in her face the vigour of Andobales daughters, and of many other Potentates, was forced to weep; for that this Lady discouered her Calamitie in few words. Wherefore when it appeared that he understood her conceit, taking her by the Hand, as he did the rest, willing them to reioyce: promising to have them in as great recommendation, as his owne fifters and children : and that according to his promife, hee would appoint trufty and confident men to have the Charge over them. Finally having delivered vnto the Questors all the Wealth found in the publicke Treasure of the Carthaginians, which amounted to aboue eighteene hundred Thoufand Crownes: So as iovning them vnto other twelve hundred Thoufand, which the Questor of Rome had the whole summe would be about three millions.

At the same time certaine Young men having taken a Virgin, passing in the flower of her age, and the beauty of her body all the rest of the Women . knowing that Scipio tooke delight in it, they came varo him bringing this Virgin, and staying him, told him that they presented her voto him. Publis amazed and wondring at her beauty: if I were (layth he) a primate person, there is no gift could be more pleasing vn- The chast antome : But being a great Commaunder, there is nothing leffe in my impre of scipia; C affection: Letting them understand (as it feemes by this answere) that

in time of rest and idlenesse, the vse of such things is pleasing to young men : But when affaires do presse, it ingenders in them which vie them great hinderances both in body and minde. Finally hee thankt the young men: And calling for the father of the Virgin, hee restored her vnto him, gining him charge to marry her as he thought good, to some Cittizen. By this meanes having made show of the Chastity and modely of his Heart, he became very pleasing to the Subjects. These things being thus ordained, and the rest of the Prisoners delivered to the Capraines of Thousands, hee sent Cains Lelyus to Rome to the five Yearcs Sacrifices, with the Carthaginians and the other prisoners of note, to make knowne in their Countrey, the accidents which had

Many in truth which despaired of the Warre in Spaine, applied themfelues vnto the prefent in divers manners, refuming Courage againe, where as the newes was directed publickly. Scipio Raying some time at Carthage, practifed the Army at Sea continually : And hee taught the Captaines of Thousands this kinde of Exercise for the Foote men. He appointed the Souldiers to runne thirty furlongs armed on the first

Lib. 10.

3**6**8

day: And on the fecond they should all furbush and cleanse their armes: Exercises ap- And on the third they should rest: But on the fourth they should fight with Swords of Wood couered with Leather, and with plummets. my both at Sea teaching them to call Darts: And on the fift to fall to their running, as in the beginning. In like manner he solicited the Artizans and Workemen carefully, to the end that nothing should bee wanting in the true Exercises of Armes. Healfo appointed part of the Commissaries to this Worke, and went up and downe daily, foliciting enery man unto

that which was necessary.

Finally, whilst the Armie at Land practised often before the Citie, the Marriners yfed their Exercifes at Sea, with their turnings and returnings. And they which should be in the Citie, should Furbush, Forge. and Worke; and that all should be carefully imploied to prepare Armes. There is no man but would have held the City for a shoppe of Warre, according to the faying of Xenophon, if he had feene it then. As all things seemed good vato him, and conveniently dispatche for necessary vsc, and that consequently hee had put a Garrison into the Citie, and rampred the Wals, he diflodgeth with his Army, as bending both by Sea and Land towards Tarragene, having the Hostages with him. He marcht with his Army, as in his indgement such B marches are requifite in all occasions. In the which hee must alwayes accustome the Horse-men, as to mannage a Horse, to handle a Jauelin, and moreover to bound and gallop, and to turne on the right hand or the left. Sometimes they disbanded the Commanders of ten out of the midft of the Army, and they which commaunded twenty ypon the two wings: and sometimes they drew them together, and Rayed them according to the troupes of horsemen upon the wings: or elfe they made an extent of two wings by an interpolition, or by the pollicy of the Captaines of the reareward. In regard of their exercife in a throng, hee fayed it was not necessary, as having one course vpon the way.

They must in all alarums bee accustomed to charge the enemy, and to make their retreate, that they should alwayes approach as nimbly as they could marching vnited and in the same order. They must moreouer observe the spaces betwixt the bands, for if the horsemen vindergoing the danger breake their rankes, there was nothing fo dangerous nor prejudiciall. When bee had taught them all these things, especially to the Captaines, hee enters into Citties, to inquire first if most of them obeyed the things which had beene commanded them, and finally if they which had the government of Citties, D were fufficient to execute the constitutions with judgement : holding nothing more necessary then the Prudence of Gouernors. These things being thus ordred, hee affembles the horsemen of Citties in a certaine place, and himselfe making certaine bounds and Cure hee taught them all the managing of Armes. Hee did not army, as Captaines viually doe at this day, thinking the first place to belong vnto them. This without doubt takes away the comanders experience, and draws him into danger

It is true that he is feene by them all, but fees not any. It is necessary The duty of that the Commander of an Army shew example, not by a Military the Commander of an Army authority, but by experience of a Captaine, and his prowesse in der of an Ar-Armes, marching sometimes with the fore ward, and sometimes with the reare-ward, and sometimes in the Battaile: the which this mandid, riding and confidering them all, who being doubtfull hee raught, correcting their errours in the beginning : the which feldome happened by reason of the precedent diligence. Demetrius Phalerius hath shewed it, saying, that as in buildings where the houses are comprehended under one Roofe and ligature, it happens that the continuance is the stronger . So a whole Army is made more firme, in the which all is diligently pursued in particular, and by the Chainbers. That which is done at this day, is very like to the government and order of a Battaile. Light things and those which are most vsuall in an Army, many times perish wholly in it. In regard of the Role of those which disband, and are armed with advantage, the Battalian containes them. Now the Etoliens fight like a fortome hope : So doe they of Morea their Allies : whereas the Romans make head holding the order of a Battalion. And if the others bee repulft, and returning from the Combate perish, the Romans retire with-B out losse: and if they variquish, which God forbid) they will make all the rest of Greece subject.

A Parcell of Media

Edia according to the Circuite of the Countrey, is the most defencible among all the Potentates of Affa, in regard of Athe maltitude and vallour of the men, and likewife of the Horses. It doth furnish in a manner all Asia with this kindel Cattell t fo as the Royall Races which are bred and entertained there, C are of great benefit to the Medians. It is also inhabited with area de Cities, the which Alexander caused to bee built for the guard thereof, by reason of the neighbour hood of the Barbarians a except the Erbatanes, whose City is built upon the Northerly marches of Media. Year is neare the parts of Afia which confine vpon the blacke Sea and the Eurine, we sit forms to Tonio. Claim fill or he

In the beginning the Royall City of the Medians was amongstrall the reflechement excellent in riches and fumptuous buildings, a It is: schuared vider the Mountainer Countries, band neighbours to Oronte without Walles, having onely a Forethar is well faguilled, and for tified with great Art. Under which is frituared the royall City of the Persians. It is a question whether we thould speake of it imparticular, or The Royall besides. Release water introduce a state of the City of the be fileht. Beleene mee sibgines a flybrig argumentoon those whose respans. intention and cuffome is to relate rare and admirable things with the speake former deling much voto them diwhich breeds a doub rambole which wilely it receive all that which is our of common fancy to

This royall City hath in greatness and circuite almost seiten Forti longs and the sumprousaction of every building sich, as in the way a

A. A. count

great abundance of wealth in those that first founded them. For as all the Carpenters worke is of Cedar or Cipresse, yet they have not left one cloud, but haue lin'd the Ioists, Wainscot, and Pillars with the vaults of the Galleries, with plates of Gold and Silver : and in regard of the Vessell it was all of Silver. Yet the greatest part was carried away at the comming of Alexander and the Macedonians : and the rest voder the gouernment of Antizonus, and of Seleucus Nicenor, and likewise at the comming of Antiochus, when as the Temple of Ence had about it many Pillars gilt, and a great quantity of Siluer vefsels, and finally, there were some small number of Tiles of Gold, A but many more of Siluer. Moreouer, there was a great heape of Siluer within the Royall City, coyned of the aforesaid things, to the number of about two Millions and foure hundred thousand Crownes.



A Parcell of Antiochus, and of his Army into Hyrcania.

Wisechus hopes to come vnto those places. Arfaces like wise thinkes that he dare not passe the Desarts there confining with so great an Army, especially for the want of Water. It is true that in the faid places the Water shewes it selfe upon the superficies, and that there are many Dit-C

ches having deepe Wells, but vnknowne to those which did not frequent them. Of which they have a Tale in the Countrey: that at fuch time as the Persians enjoyed Asia, this Countrey had in certaine places (in the which formerly there was no Water) fine Springs or Fountains. And therefore as Tauris hath many great Rivers, they imployed great labour and cost to fill the Ditches from farre, the which succeeded : neither doe they know which vie these Waters, the Spring of these Ditches, nor whence they come. When as Arfaces faw him take the way by the Defart, hee resolued to shut vp the Wells and to corrupt them. The King having this newes, he dispatcht fome from Nicomedia with a D thousand Horse, who finding Arfaces gone with his Army leaving some Horse men to fill vp the Ditches. To whom suddainly after their comming they gaue the chase, and then returned to Antiochus. The Defarts Hecatomphilon. being past, the King arrived at a City called Hecatomphilon, scituated in the midft of Parthyene. It hath taken its name for that all the passages of the neighbour Countries ioyne there: Here he refresht his Army; and made his reckoning that if Asfaces had beene able to joyne Battaile with him, hee would not have retired leaving his

comes out of Tauris.

370

Lib. 10. Of the History of POLYBIVS.

Countrey, nor fought other places more commodious for his Army to fight in , then those which are about Hecatomphilon. By his departure therefore it is manifest to him that will consider this action, that hee had taken another resolution. Wherefore Amiochus resolued to take his way to Hyrcania.

But when he was come to Tages, and had notice of the difficulty of the places by those of the Countrey, the which hee was to passe vnto the tops of the Mountaines which bend to Hyrcania, and that the Barbarians held the most difficult places, hee resolued to take a A good number of the ablest men, and to separate their Captaines, and to informe every one of them how to performe the way, and likewife hee appointed Pyoners, marching with them to levell the war for the Souldiers, Leginaries, and Baggage. This being concluded. he gaue the first Battalion to Diogenes, adding thereunto the Archers and Slingers, who from the Mountaines might cast their Darts and Stones: the which held no order of Battaile, but came alwayes in time to the place of danger, and were of great service in difficult places. Hee accompanied them with about two thousand Candiots armed with Targets, of which Polizenides had the charge. In the Reareward hee ordaines the armed men and the Targeteers: The B Commanders whereof were Nicomedes of Chio, and Nicolas the Etolien.

As these men march before, it fell out that the roughnesse and ftreights of the passage were found more difficult then the King had conceined. All the length of the ascent was about three hundred Furlongs, and for the most part by the deepe Found of a Torrent, into the which were fallen from the high Rocks Stones and Trees which made the passage inaccessible. To the which the Barbarians gave greataffistance: casting continually Trees which were cut downe, and gathered together great heapes of Stones: and feazed (keeping with-C all the length of all the Valley) on the Hills of advantage, which might serue them for defence : so as if they had not beene frustrated. Antiochus had giuen ouer his Enterprize as destitute of his forces. For as it was necessary for the Enemies to take their way, and to ascend by that Valley, they seazed on the sayd places and fortified them. But they did not observe that it was impossible for the Leginaries to passe there with their Baggage vatill the way were made: for these could not approach or come neare the Confines of the Mountaines.

They that were lightly armed and the valiant men, could not a fcend the Leucopetres. For this cause the Ordonance changed when they were joyned vuto the first Guard of Diegenes Troupes who ascended out of the Torrent. Suddainly the Combate beganas the accident shewed: Diogenes Troupe marching slowly through the Countrey, gaue a rough charge to the Enemy: And in throwing with the Barba. of Darts and Stones prest the Barbarians, annoying them much with rians, their Slings which they cast from their Pallisadoe. Having chased the first, and had taken their place, they gave charge to the Pyoners to make

the passage even, the which was presently performed by reason of their

great number. By this meanes when the Slingers, Archers, and Darters had marcht to the higher places, scattred here and there, and sometimes together, seazing on the most commodious places, and the Targeteers held the lower Countrey, marching in Battaile a flow pace along the Torrent: The Barbarians stayed not, but abandoning the place, they drew together on the top of the Mountaines. In regard of Antiochus Troupes, it past the difficult passages safely after this manner : But slowly and with great difficulty : They could hardly eight in a Ranke recourt the A top of the neare Mountaines. And when the Barbarians were there affembled, having an humour they should bee able to keepe the Enemies from gaining the top, there fell out a braue Combate. By these reasons the Enemies were repuls'd, who revniting themselues fought against the Leginaries, and made head against them with great courage and vallour.

In the Night the brauest of them turning about recouered the top. and the piaces lying behind. The which the Barbarians feeing, and studdainly amazed, they turned head. The King is very carefull to restraine the fury of his Souldiers pursuing the Enemy, causing a re- B treare to be founded, defiring they should enter into Hyrcania vnited and in good order. This kinde of march being ordained according to his will, hee comes to the City of Tambrace, destitute of Walles. yet having a royall and large Pallace: where hee campt and befreged it. But when as many, as well Souldiers as of the Countrey had retired to the City of Syringe, (it was not farre from Tambrace, and was as it were the Capitali of Hyrcania, as well for its fortification

as for its wealth) hee resolued to rune it by sorce.

Marching therefore with his power, and planting his Campe about it, he belieged the Citie. The greatest part of his worke was to C make platformes in the fashion of a Tortoise. . The Ditches were triple, being about seuen Fathome and a halfe broad, and soure deepe. Vponeither banke there was a double Pallifadoe with a strong outwall. There were continuall Skirmishes whilest they wrought: from whence they carried from either fide men flaine and hurt: for that they fought very valiantly, not onely aponthe ground, but also vnder it in the Mines. But by reason of the multitude of Pyoners and the Kings diligence, it happened that the Ditches were suddainly fill'd vp, and the Walles fell being shaken with the Mines. This done, the Barbarsans being confounded, and much terrified and a-D mazed with feare, they kill the Grecians which were in the City, and taking their richest stuffe retire by Night. The King seeing this, fends Hyparbase with the Mercenaries: with whom the Barbarians fighting, and in the end abandoning the Baggage, retire againe into the City. But when the Targeteers prest them valiantly, not able to beare the burthen being so grieuous, they presently yeeld having no

Springebelie-

ged by Antio-

The City of Tambrace.

Syringe taken

A defect in the

Text.

The Commanders of the Army being desirous to see the Enemies

higher then they, they prepare themselves and march crosse the Hill, and casting themselves betwirt them and their Campe, they shut them claudius Marin and take them. Claudius Marcellus the Confull was at the first collus marcharge wounded, and taken with some others, forcing the rest being and taken. wounded to flye into Caues and Pits. The which they of the Campe feeing, they could not relieue them in this danger. For whilest they cryed out and wondred at this accident, and that some bridled their Horses, and others arm'd themselves, the Execution was ended. The Sonne of Chadias faued himfelfe with difficulty, and contrary to all hope being wounded. Finally, Claudius fell into thefe dangers mote through simplicity then by any true judgement of a Captaine. For my part I am forced to admonish the Reader of these kind of aduentures through the whole tract of our Worke, where I fee not onely B ordinary Souldiers, but even Captaines themselves to have erred by ma-

Of the History of POLYBIVS.

Troupes enuironed on the Hill, they command those which were in the

Pallisadoe not to budge: in regard of themselves they goe to view the

places, being accompanied with two Troupes of Horle, and some Foot-

men lightly armed, with thirty executioners of luftice. Certaine Numidiana accustomed to Darts, comming out of the Buemies Fort to lye

in Ambath, they had by chance ftolne from the Hills: who having notice given them by a Spye, that some were on the top of the Hill

force them to attempt a thing, that a great part of the Troupes must perish before the Commanders feele it . The tryall must be suddainly made not by the Commander. That which they vivally fay, I did not Common exthinke it : and who would euer haue thought that should have hap cules of ignopened ? Seemes to be a great argument of ignorance, and of a weake rance and neg-

nifest ignorance. What profit can a Prince or Commander reape, which

hath northe knowledge of dangers which hee must avoide, lest the

whole Army perish with him ? Who knowes not that if necessity doth

iudgement in the Commander.

Lib. 10.

C For this cause I hold Hannibal among the good Captaines for many reasons, and which may herein be commended, who hath imployed much time in the profession of Armes, and who making vse of judge. ment in many and divers occasions, hath many times by his industry frustrated the Enemies in particular encounters, and was neuer circumuented in such great Battailes: who as it appeares hath preserued himfelfe with great prouidence. And that with good reason. For the Commander being safe, although all the rest perish. Fortune produceth many occasions by the which the damages received by those miserable accidents may be repaired : But if he perish like vnto a Pilot in a ship, there growes no profit, although that Fortune give the Victory to the rest against the Enemy: For that the hope of all depends vpon the Commander. I speake these things against those who by a glorious prefumption, or a youthfull humour, or by stupidity, or disdaine, fall into this inconfideration. One of the faid things must of necessity be the cause of these misfortunes.



Of Public Scipic and of the V.Varre of the Romans against the Cartbaginians.

S Publias Scipio Generall of the Romans in Spaine, being in the Region of Tarracona, had first drawne the Spanis ards to his Priendship, and made them faithfull, for that he had restored them their hostages . he had in this action Edecen, a powerfull Prince for a voluntary affiftance: who B

fuddainly after the taking of Carthage, and his Wife and Children reduced ynder the power of Publius, confidering the alteration of the Spawiards towards him, he refolued in the beginning to be the Authour, beleeuing confidently that by this meaner he might recouer his Wife and Children, and that hee should seeme to joyne unto the Romans willingly, and not through necessity: The which succeeded accordingly. For when the Army had beene newly fent to winter, he came to

Tarracona accompanied with his Friends.

A Remen-Grance of Ede.

374

Being admitted to the speech of Pablim, he sayd, that he was wonderfully bound vnto the Gods, that before all the Pringes and Potens tates of the Countrey, he had retired himselfe vato him a and that of C the rest, some sent and depended on the Carthaginians, and in the meane sime they fued vnto the Romans with ioyned hands: and that for his part he was come not onely to yeeld himfelfe but also his Friends. Wherefore if he received him into his Friendship and alliance, he was confident that he should be able, not onely for the present, but also for the future to doe him great service. For as soone as the Spaniards should fee him admitted to his Friendship, and to have obtained his demands, they will likewife come all to recouer their Friends, and to purchase the alliance of the Romans: and that for the future they would imploy themselues with emulation in his other affaires, if their hearts were once possess with this honour and humanity. He required to have his Wife and Children, and that being admitted into Friendship, he might returne to his house, where having found some good occasion, hee might shew his affection, and that of his Friends towards him and the Roman Common-weale. This Speech being ended. Edecon was filent. As Publims had long expected this, and confidered of Edecons reasons, he delinered him his Wife and Children, granting the alliance. More-

ouer during his presence, the drawes the Spaniard by many meanes to his Deuotion, and imprinted in his followers a great hope for the future. fending him backe to his House. When this accident was divulged . all the Spaniards lahabiting within the River (being formerly no friends to the Romans) followed their party in a manner with one accord. These things fell out to the content of Publius Scipio. After their departure hee fent backe the maritine Bands, feeing no shewe of danger at Sea. Yet he made choise of those that were most servicea. ble, and divides them among the Enfignes, to the end he might make

the Bands of toot-men the more compleat.

Lib. 10.

Andomale and Mandonin, men at that time of great power among the Spaniards, attended a fit occasion, trauing long carried a secret ha- andomale and tred in their hearts against the Carrbaginians, although they helde Mandonin. them for their trufty and confident friends : For that A Carubals men (making thew to have no great confidence in them) they had exacted a great summe of money, and their Wives and Children for Hostages. whereof wee have formerly spoken. When as then they immagined they had found a fit opportunity, they retire their Bands from the Carthaginian Campe, and in the Night recovered certaine places of great ftrength, where they might remaine free from all danger. This done, many other Spaniards abandoned Afdrubal, having beene long difcontented with the pride of the Carthaginians : Hauing recoured this Afdrubalabanfirst occasion to shew what friendship they bare them: the which many spaniards, others had done.

You must understand that the Execution of great matters, and a Vi-Gory gotten by force vpon the Enemy, be of great confequence, vet there is required great prudence and Wisedome, to make good vie of things decided by Armes. So as there are more that enjoy Prerogatives. then they which vie them well: The which happened to the Carthagi-C mians. For after they had defeated the Roman forces, and flaine Publine and Caim Scipio, father and Vnckle of this Publime, of whom we now Treat : thinking that Spaine was then in no more danger of Warre, they intreated the Inhabitants roughly. For this cause in steed of friends and Allies, their Subiects were incensed and deadly Enemies. The which fell out iuftly. They had an humour that the meanes to Conquer Principallities, diffred from that of preferuing them. They were ignorant that they keepe their preheminence well, which observe the fame will and humour, wherewith principallities have beene first Conquered.

It is manifest and observed in many that men are of that Nature that whereas prosperity offers it selfe, they shewe themselves kinde to their Neighbours, promising hopefull things. But when they have attained to their defires, then they deale wickedly, and raigne over their Subjects as ouer flaues. Wherefore not without reason the affections of Subjects, change with the alteration of their Princes: The which hapned to the Carthaginians. Afdrubal takes much aduice vpon this accident for the euent of things. The retreate of Andomale troubled him. So did the hatred and abandoning of the other Commaunders.

Finally,

Lib. 10.

The aduice of Aldrubal for the Warre.

376

Finally, hee was discontented at the comming of Publim, whom hee still expected to come against him with his Army. When he saw himfelfe abandoned by the Spaniards, and that all in one League retired to the Romans, he tooke this aduice. He refolued that in making preparation of a good Army, hee would fight with the Enemy. If tho. rough the fauour of Fortune he had the Victory, he would then confider safely and wisely of the rest, but if it should be auerse vnto him in fighting, hee would retire into Gaule with the remainders of the Battaile, and from thence with a multitude of Barbarians draw into Italy, A and iowne with his brother Hannibal vnder the same hope. Astrubal being of this aduise prepares himselfe. Public having received Caire Lelvis. and vnderstood the decrees of the Senate, marcheth, having retired his Army out of the Garrisons: To whom the Spaniards come at the passage, and march with him with willing and joyfull hearts. Andobale had before fent vnto Pabline, but when he approached neere vnto this Country, he came vnto him accompanied with his friends: Where after he had spoken vnto him, hee concluded the League of Andshalelpeaks friendship which he formerly had with the Carthaginians, giving him to understand what service and loyalty hee had observed towards him; B and finally he exposeth the outrages and injuries which hee and his had fuffered, intreating him to be the ludge of that which he fayd: And if he seemed to accuse the Carthaginians vaiually, hee might certainly know that he would never keepe his faith to the Romans : If being forced for the necessary respect of many injuries, hee had desisted from his affection, yet he had good hope that io yning to the Romans to keep his faith firme with them. After he had vied many fuch Speeches, he made an end.

to Publius

Scipio.

To whom Publiss answering, sayd, that he believed it, and had vilderstood the outrages of the Carthaginians, which they had vsed to o. ther Spaniards, and their lasciuiousnesse towards their Wives and C daughters. Of whom notwithstanding he having taken many reduced rather into the estate of Captives and flaves, then Hostages, hee hath kept them with such honesty, as the Parents themselues could not have done. And when as Andobale and his Company confest it, and making an obeifance vnto him, they faluted him as King the affiftants ob-Publius fainted ferued those words. Publius blushing, commands them to be of good hope, promising them they should finde curtesie and fauour with the Romans, and presently delivers them their Daughters: and the day following makes an accord with them. The principall Articles of their The Spanlards Accord was, that they should follow the Roman Princes and obey D them willingly.

These things thus concluded, they returne vnto their Campe, and come with their Army to that of Publiss, and making Warre with the Romans, they march with them against Afdrabal. The Commaunder of the Carthaginians staying neere to Catologue, fast by the City of Babylis, and neere vnto the Mines of Gold and Silver, he changed his Campe when he was aduertised of the comming of the Romans, so as he had the Riuer at his backe in manner of a Rampire: and in front and

on the sides a Palliladoe with a sufficient depth for the Fortification: there was finally a length in the Vallies sufficient to put them in battaile. And as for the fide of the Hill there were viually men. When as Fulliss approache, he was ready to hazard the Combate : although hee were in doubt feeing the advantage and force of the places, where the Enemy lay in Campe. But when he had contained himselfe two dales, and was in feare that Mago and Afdrabatthe forme of Gefcon comming, he might be incironed round, he resolued to fight and to hazard a bartaile : Miking therefore another Army; he labours to gaine the Pal-A lisado. In regard of those that were lightly armed and the choise footmen, he fends them to the fide of a Hill; giving them charge to affaile, and to view the Enemies forces.

And when that this was done with great Courage, the Commander of the Carthaginians attends the event from the beginning. But when he faw his men prest, and in danger by the courage of the Romans, he drawes his Army into the field, and plants it neere the fide of the Hill. relying vpon the opportunitie of the place. At the fathe time Publish fends his brauest men to succour those that were in danger; and stayed the rest ready: He takes the one halfe and assailes the Hill vpon the left B side of the Enemy, fighting against the Carthaginians: And delivers the rest to Lelyus, giving him charge to affaile the Enemy on the right hand. When this was done; Afarubal drawes his Army out of the Fort. He had hitherto kept it, relying vponthe fortified places, hauling ans affailed by an opinion that the Enemies durst not affaile him. But for that this the Romans, charge of the Romans came vnexpected, hee purs his Army into Battaile later then was needfull.

The Romans undergoing the danger of the fight, whilest that the Enemies were not yet vpon the Wings, they not only affailed the Hill without danger, but in approaching flew those which cross them, C whilest that the Enemies made ready their battaile : forcing those to turne which prepared themselnes and made head against them. When as Afdrubal, according to his first resolution, saw his Army give backe and shamefully repuls'd, hee had no will to fight vnto the last gaspe. Taking therefore the Treasure and the Elephants, and all those hee The defeate could draw together in the flight, he retires to the River of Tagna, and of Afdribal, to the Hills of the Perinee Mountaines, and to the Gaules inhabiting there. Scipio held it not fit to pursue the Victorie suddainly, doubting the comming of the other Commaunders: Finally, he gave the bootie of the Fort to the Souldiers,

The day following, he drawes together all the Prisoners, whereof there wereten Thousand foote, and two Thousand horse, to dispose of them. All the Spaniards of that Countrey which were allied vinto scipio foliated the Carthaginians, come and submit themselves to the favour of the king of the Romans. And when he had given them andience, they faluted Scipio Spaniards. as King. The which Edecon beganne when he did his obeifance; and after him Andobale with his friends. Scipio at that time regarded not their words but was filent : But when after the Battaile all faluted him as King, he was mooned therewith, so as hee forbad it. Drawing

378

all the Spaniards together, he told them that he would be truely Rovall, and so held; but hee would not be called a King by no man living. This done, hee ordained they fhould call him Chiefe or Commaunder. The Common- It is not without cause, that we may justly commend the magnanimity us Cornelius of this man: By the which being yet young, having the fauour of Fortune such, as all the Subieces had him in so great esteeme, as they saluted him by so excellent a name, yet hee was alwaies so continent, as hee would not accept of this will and humour of the Subjects. But he will wonder much more at the excellency of his magnanimitie, if hee A lookes to the last daies of his life: when besides the valiant exploits which hee hath done in Spaine, hee hath ruined the Carthaginians, and made subject vinto the Romans many good Countries in Lybia, from the Philenin Altars, to the pillars of Hercules. Hee hath also ruined Afia, and the Affirian Kings. Finally, hee hath reduced to the obedience of the Romans the best and greatest part of the World. And therefore if hee had pleased hee might well have imbraced the opportunity to vfurpe a royall power, in these Countries which hee bath inuaded and taken. The disdaine of such things (as Scipio hath wisely done) surpaffeth not onely humane nature, but a divine. This magnanimity doth a To much excell other men, as no man would demaund of the Gods a greater fanour: Imcane then a Crowne, the which hee hath so often refused, being deliuered vnto him by fortune, and hath had his Country in more esteeme, and his owne honour then the great command of a royall power. Hee gaue leaue to all the Spaniards, being fet a part, to returne into their Country without ransom, except three hundred horse whereof hee gaue the choise to Andebale, giving the rest to those which had not any. Finally, being now feazed on the Carthaginians Campe. hee staved there in regard of the firtility of the Country, expecting the Carthaginian Commanders which were remaining: hee allo fent forces to the topps of the Perence Mountaines to watch Afdruball, and then when the feafon was come hee retired to Tarracona, to winter his Army there.

Hee returnes to the History of the Grecians.

S the Etoliens lifted up their hornes for the new hope and confidence they had in the Romans, and the arrivall of Attalus, they amazed all the world, making Warre by Land a s Attalus and Publius did by Sea, for this cause the Acheins intreate Phillip to succour them, for in truth they not onely feared the Etoliens, but also D Machains, for that he had feaz'd vpon the Argine Mountaines with an Army, the Beosians fearing the enemies Army at Sea, require a commander and fuccours. The Negrepontins demanded instantly some provision against the enemy, the like did the Acarmanians, there was also an Embassadour from the Epirotes, they said likewise that Scerdilaide and Pleurate affembled their Armies, and that moreover the Thracians, who confine upon Macedony Would indeauour to affaile it if the King should retire from thence, in regard of the Etoliens, they had seazed

voon the straights of Thermopiles, and fortified them with Ditches. Pallisadoes, and a great Garrison, hoping they should be able to keep in Philip, and wholy to stoppe up the passage in succouring his Allies within Pries.

These aducatures seemes worthy of Consideration,) and not without reason) by the Readers, in the which is the true Experience and practife of Princes according vnto their Corporall power. For as in Hunting Beasts are mooned with their Forces and Power, when they are ingaged in an apparent danger, fo it befals Princes: the which they A might then discouer in Philip. Hee dismisseth all the Embassadours, Attalus against promifing them to doe what possibly hee could. His whole inclinati- Philip by Sea. on was the Warre, expecting by what meanes and against whom hee should first beginne. But when the forces of Attalus were come against him, and had affailed the Iland of Peparethon, hee sends men

to guard the Citty: And dispatcheth Polyphantes with a small Army towards Phoces and Beocia, and Menippus to Chalcis, and the other Negrepont, with a thousand Targetteers, and five hundred Agrians. In regard of himselfe, hee went to Scotuse, whether he Commanded

the Macedonians to repaire.

Lib. 10.

When he had newes that Attalus Army had taken the route of Nicea, and that the Chiefe of the Etoliens affembled at Heraclea, to conferre of the Affaires of the Warre, hee parts from Scotuse with his Army, and made hast to dissolve their Assembly. Hee arrived too late, yet hee wasted their Corne, and after that hee had spoiled the Inhabitants about the Gulfe of Ence, he returned, leaving his Army at Sco. tuse, and taking his way to the Demetriade . With his ablest men and the royall Wing, hee stayed there expecting the comming of the Enemy. And to the end nothing should bee vnknowne vnto him, hee fends to the Peparethiens, and Phociens, and likewife to the Negrepon-C sins, giving them charge to make him a figne by fire of all things that should be done, vpon the Tifee which is a Mountaine in Theff aly, which in regard of the places is very commodiously scituated. But as this manner of signe by fire, is of great commodity for the Warre, and hath formerly not beene vsed, I doe not hold it good to passe it, but in this passage to make some reasonable mention. No man is ignorant that opportunity and occasion are the principall parts in all things : But much more in the profession of Warre, to bring enterprises to an end : Advertisements But among those things which are vsefull, fires are of great efficacy, by fire.

They vie them at this day, and are the cause of some opportunities, to D be able to aduertise him who hath the care of that which is done, although it be three or foure dayes distant, or more: To the end that by the figne of fire, they may suddainly give succours voto them that demaund it, although that in former times they have held it of small moment, for that the most part knew not how to vie it. But the vie ought to bee ordered and settled uppon certaine and determinate agree. ments. Bus whereas things which they will fignifie are not refolutely fet downe, they cannot make vie of these fires, as those are whereof weg

will speake.

. . .

Ιf

The aduite of fignes by fire.

380

If the Army at Sea were come to Orea, or Peparethon, or Chalcis, they might fignific it to those, with whom this hath beene resolued. But if any of the Cittizens will turne their Coates, or practife a Treafon or Murther within the Citty, or any such thing as hath vsually hapned, and yet cannot be divined (matters which happen fuddainly and vnlookt for, have neede according to the occasion, of Counsell and aide) yet it may be fignified by fire. For of those which consideration cannot preuent, they cannot make any Conclusion. Eneas feeking to correct this kinde of doubt and perplexitie, bath in few words made A Energy touching the Commentaries, of the institution of the heads: And hath abundantly comprehended for the vnderstanding, the summe of those things which are required; the which may eafily be discouered by this speech, faving: That they which will give notice by the advertisement of fire of any of great and preffing businesse, must make prouision of pots of earth, whose breadth and depth must be equall, and they must have three foote in depth, and one and a halfe in breadth: Then hee must make stender Corkes in the mouth of it; in the middest whereof hee must tie them in equal parts of three fingers distant; and in every part a great Circumference, in the which are also painted the most vulgar and generall things which happen in the profession of Warre. As by the first, that Horse-men are suddainly entred the Countrie: In the second, that foote men armed; in the third, that men lightly armed: And consequently in others, that foote and Horse-men, or an Army at Sea, and that there is Corne. You must in this fort paint the things which do viually happen in Regions, according to the providence and time of the motions of Warre.

This being done hee Commaunds to observe dilligently the pots of the one and the other, to as the pipes may bee equal and runne cqually: And when the pots shalbe full of Water, they must put in the Corkes with flickes; and then let the pipes runne together. This haphing it is apparent, that all being equall, the Corkes of necessity abate as the Water rupnes, and the stickes hide themselves in the Vessells. When thefe things are equally ordered, and they are to vie them, then they must transport them to the places, where the one and the other ate to observe the fires, and then must set them on either side vpon the Veffels. Finally, in what thing foeuer that any portraite of the sticke shall fall, hee ordaines they should fet up a light which must continue with the Deputies answere him with the same. And when both fires are discoucred, then hee must take them away and suffer the pipes so runne. But as for the falling of the Corke and the Ricke, that which n of the Images shall approach vnto the brinke of the pot which wee will let you fee, hee orders that they shall fet up a light : and that they should stoppe the pipes, and see what image of those which are figured vpon the sticke, comes to the brinke.

This may be done when as all the things which they manifest, are of either fide mooued with the same dilligence. The which may bee in some fort by a light set up by agreement to serue for an advertise ment, vileffe they be videtermined : For it is impossible to see fu:

future things, or that that bee figured vpon the sticke which wee forefee. Finally if by Fortune any vnexpeded accident happens, it is certaine that it cannot be declared by this invention . Nor any thing of that which is figured in the Ricke be determined. They cannot give aduertisement of the number of Horse-men or of foot, or of ships, nor of the quantitie of Corne. For wee cannot dispose of things, whereof the knowledge cannot be made before they be done. And by confequence how can any man resolue of succours, if he knowes not the multitude A of the Enemies, and the place where they are ? How can a man worke Another kinds fafely, or otherwife : Or how can hee plot any Enterprize, which of advertise. knowes not the number of the Enemies, northe quantity of Corne ment by fireinwhich is come vnto them from their Allies?

A latter kinde hath beene invented by Cleomenes and Democrites. In mocites. regard of that which is vulgar and of ready vie, we have determined: the which may advertise exactly all that which is necessary to bee knowne. The vie whereof requires dilligence, and an exact obseruation : and it is in this manner. You must divide the Letters according to their order in fine parts, every one confisting of fine: But in the ende there shall want one, which is no matter of Consequence. And when as they which shall make vie of lights for an advertisement, shall prepare fine little Tables, and write vpon either of them the parties according to their order, and then they agree together, that hee which giues the aduertisement, thall fet up the first lights and two together. which shall not bee taken away vntill the other hath answered in like manner. This ferues to the end that by this light they may understand. that they are disconered. These others being taken away, they must shew the first which are on the left hand, and declare by the Table the things whereumo they must have a care. As if the first Table he lifted vp, it fignifies one: if the second two; and so consequently. They must alfo lift up those which are on the right hand, after the same manner, to advertise what letters he shall write that takes the light. When they which have agreed together vpon these matter, come vnto the place, they must first have a Dioptre, hatting two Cauels: to the end that hee that is to lift up the light right against it, may see the place both on the right hand and left.

The Tables must bee fixed straight and by order, neere vnto the Dioptre, and the places on the right hand and the left must bee separated ten foore, aud the height of a man. Moreouer they must be carefull that the lights may be visible when they fet them vp, and likewise D hidden when they take them downe. These things being thus prepared on eyther fide, and that they have an intent to give some advertisment. as that a bundred Souldiers are retired to the Enemy, they must fire vse the Dictions which by the small Letters may fignifie that which we haue faid; as that a hundred (Candyots) haue abandoned vs. Theletters Kifftis. now are lesse, and yet that is signified. This which is written in the Table will showe it selfe thus. The first letter is thus a, the which is in the second part and second Table: they must also set up the lights upon the left hand, to the end that he which hath the charge, may vnder-

382

stand that he must looke to the other Table. Then on the right hand he must set up fire, to let him know that this z is the fifth Letter on the right hand, the which hee which observes the lights, must write in the Table. Then e wherefore hee must lift vp two on the right hand, which fignifies the second of the fourth part : For this cause hee that observes the Lights, writes the letter and so consequently of the rest. By this meanes whatfocuer happens, it may be certainly knowne, following this invention. Moreover they must have many lights, for that there must be two to sucry Letter. And if any one doth duly obserue A these things, which serve to this vie, that which is required may bee done. Moreouer, they which make vie of these two inventions, must giue order when as they will viethem, to be able to giue full and certaine fignes. Whofocuer pleafeth, may cafily know in many kinds how great focuer the difference of the fayd things make shew of, and which they have beene accustomed to observe. For many things not onely difficult, but which seeme impossible having gotten the succession of time and custome, become most casie.

There are many and divers examples which deserve credite; but the most excellent is that which happens in the Arte of reading. If any B one instructs a man without Experience, and not accustomed to read, although hee be industrious, and that finally hee produceth an infant bred vp to it, and that a Booke being given him hee appoints him to read the Contents, it is manifest that the other will not believe, that hee can know first how hee may by the looking of it read enery letter, know their powers, and how they ought to be loyned; forth at either of the said things require much time. Wherefore when he hath not attained this Art, and sees this little Boy continue with one breath five or fixe lines, he would neuer eafily beleene, but that hee hath formerly read the Booke. And if moreover he hath a good pronunciation, and observes the points, aspirations, and pauses, he will not be perswaded

and beleeue no more: Wherefore wee must not disclaime any thing that is profitable, in regard of the euident difficulty: But we must apply our selues to that which makes all good things comprehensible to men, and namely in those wherein most commonly the supreame safetie doth consist. Wee haue undertakento speake these things, according unto that which we have promised in the beginning. For wee have said that all Speculations have so prevailed with vs, as for the most part they are methodicall Sciences. Wherefore it is a very profitable portion of a well D composed History.

Of Antiochus.



Lib.10.

He Aspassens dwell betwixt oxus and Tanais: Of which Rivers, the one fals into the Hyrcanian Sea, and Tanais into the Lake of Meotis. They are Nauigable for their greatnesse: So it seemes wonderfull how the Tartarians passing Oxus aswell by sooteas Horse-backe, come into Hyrcania. There are two opinions con-

ceiued : The one is credible, the other strange although possible. Oxus drawes his Springs from Mount Concasus, but augmented much in Bactria by the descent of smaller Rivers, it passeth by a violent Course by the Country of Pedia. There it fals into a Defart, and runs with B a violent streame, thorough certaine Rockes and Pits, for the great number and vehement beating of the places lying under it, fo as its violence ouer flowes the Rocke in the lower Countries aboue a Furlong. By this place neere vnto the Rocke the Afpafiens, as they fay, paffing the River both on Foot and Horse-backe, descend into Hyrcania. The other opinion hath a more propable reason, saying, that for that place hath great Ditches, into the which this Riner fals with its force, thec makes hollow and opens the bottome by the violence of her Course: And by this meanes the River takes its course vnder ground, for a small space, and then rifeth againe. The Barbarians having experience here-C of, passe there on Horse backe into Hyrcania.

When as Antiochiu was advertised, that Euthideme was about Tagure with an Army, and that a thousand Horse kept the passage of the River of Aria, hee proceedes and resolves to besiege it having no more confidence in his resolution. And when he was within three daies iourney of the River, he marcht the two first slowly: And on the third having fed his men, hee causes his Campe to march at the breake of day: Then taking the Horse-men and his strongest souldiers, with a thousand Targetteers, he makes hast in the night. Hee had vnderfood that the enemies Cauallery was at the guard of the River in the day time, but at night they retired to a City some twenty Furlongs off. When hee had performed the rest of the way in the night (for those Countries were convenient for Horsemen) he past the River at the break of day with the greatest part of his Army. The Bactrian Horse men being aduertised by their Scouts, crie out and fight with the Enemy vp. on the way.

The King seeing that hee was to maintaine their first Charge, gives Courage to those which had beene accustomed to accompany him in Sf2

В

C

D

384

fuch encounters, which were two thousand Horse: and commands the reft to cast themselves betwixt both, with their Troupes put into battaile as of custome. Finally, hee fights with the Ballrian Horse which presented themselues. Antiochus seemed in this danger to haue fought with antiochen more valiantly then his men: so as many perished on either side. Yet the Kings men defeated the first troupe of Horse: But when the second and the third charged them, they were repuls'd turning their heads basely. But when as Esole had given charge to the great power of the Horse to march in Battaile, he freed the King and his Company, terrifying the Bastrians who were in disorder, and put them to flight. A Wherefore when they were charged by all the Etoliens, they cealed not to flie vntill having make a great loffe they were joyned vnto Enthideme. And when as the Kings Horse-men had made a great slaughter, and taken many in the Citty, they presently retired, and planted their Campe necre the River. It happened that in this same Combate Menippe was wounded and dyed, looking some of his Teeth with a blow: Finally, hee purchased a renowne of Valour. After this Combate Euthideme retired with his

Army to Zariaspe a Citty of the Bactrians.



A PARCELL OF the Eleventh Booke of the

History of POLYBIVS.



Lib. II.

Sdrubal did not allow of any of these things. But (feeing the Enemies march in Battaile) when as matters changed not, hee caused the Spaniards and Gaules that were with him to fight. Setting the Elephants in Front, beeing ten in number, and after hee had joyned the Bartalions close, vnited, and in length, and had put all the Army in battaile in a short time, casting himselfe in the middest of the Ordonance neere to the Ele. phants, hee affailes the Enemy vpon the left flancke, having refolued to

to the enemy, and in charging fights valiantly with his troupes. Claudius Nero one of the Confuls, appointed for the right fide could not iovne with the enemy, nor yet inclose them, for the vneuennesse of the ground: A Battaile bewherein Aldrubal trusting, he had charged the enemy on the left hand. and the Romans D Wherefore as he was perplexed and in doubt, for that he loft time, hee in Italy. learned what he had to doc. Taking therefore the Souldiers of the right wing, he goes beyond his Campe neere vnto a passage behind the Battaile and on the left hand, and gives a charge vnto the Carthae inians. neere vnto the wing where the Elephants had their station. At that time the Victory wavered. For in truth the danger was equall of both fides, confidering that neither Romans, Spaniards, nor Carthaginians had any hope of fafety remaining, if they were frustrated of their intention. Finally, the Elephants were of vse to both of them in the fight: For

die in that battaile. The Lybian presents himselfe with great Courage

Lib. 1'1.

when they were inclosed in the middelt, and affailed with Darts they as well brake the rankes of the Spaniards, as of the Romans. But when as Claudius Troupe had charged the enemy in the seare, the Combate was vnequall, for the charge given into the Spaniards both in Front and behind. So as it happened that in the beginning of the Combate, there was a great flaughter made of Spaniards : So likewise there were fixe Elephants slaine by the force of the men'they carried; the other fourebrake their ranckes: being alone and destitute of their Indians they were taken.

Asdrubal biother to Hannibal flaine.

And when as Afdrabal had beene formerly and unto his ende an able A man, hee lost in fighting valiantly his life, worthy to be commended. Hee was brother to Hannibal, who vndertaking the Voyage of Italy, gaue him the Conduct of the Warres of Spane. And afterwards being practifed by many encounters against the Romans, hee hath indured many and variable Fortunes : And in this also that the Carthaginians sent Commaunders to succeede him, hee alwaies carried himselte like a man worthy of his Father Barca, bearing vnto the ende like a man of - Courage all disgraces and losses. Wee have declared these things in regard of the precedent. But now we will decide the last Combats, in that which seemes worthy of Consideration.

Seeing before our eyes many Kings and Commanders which having great Combates concerning their whole estates, haue alwayes cast their eyes vpon the most excellent Actions, and of Consequence; and who often enquire and Discourse how they shall helpe themselves in euery good Fortune: And who moreouer care not for mischances, not consider of the meanes, nor that which they are to doe in enery action and event : For that this other is in their hands, and this requires a great preparation. And therefore many having beene vanquished, carry themselues poorely by their basenesse and inconsiderations : Although that the Souldiers have many times fought valiantly, and with C good direction: And have by this meanes dishonoured their precedent actions, making the reft of their Liues infamous. It is an easie thing for him that will know how many Commaunders faile, and are frustrated heerein, and that there is much difference betwixt man and man. Precedent times have affoorded many examples in these things. In regard of Asarabal he was no lesse prouident in dangers, then for his fafety, whileft he had any hope conformable to reason, to be able to do any thing worthy of his Predeceffours. But when as Fortune had deprived him of all hope for the future, and had concluded him to his last end : omitting nothing for the Victory, nor that which concerned n the preparation and danger, hee carried himselfe like a man of proutdence : And although that all was in danger, yet hee obeyed the present time, neither did he suffer any thing vnworthy of his Predecessors. Behold the reason which I have delivered concerning those which apply themselues to the mannaging of Warre: to the ende that vindertaking dangers rashly, they draw not them into despaire which are under their Charge, nor by defire of an infamous life, they make their deaths difhonorable and blame worthy. The The

The Romans having gotten the Victory by force, presently breake the Pallifadoe of the Enemy, and kill like Sacrifices many Celts fleeping The Celts in Drunkennesse vpontheir Mattresses, andassemble together the rest staine steepings of the Priloners: By the which there did accrew nine core thouland Crownes to the Common weale. There died in this Battaile as well of The number of Carthaginians as Gaules, neare ten thousand men, and about two thous the dead, fand Romans. Some Nobles among the Carthaginians were taken, the rest were flaine. When this Newes came to Rome, they were scarce beleened for that they defired wonderfully to fee it done, but as there A came many men declaring not onely what had beene done, but every thing in particular, then the City entred into an immoderate ioy : all the Temples were adorned, and fill'd with Sacrifices and Oblations: Finally, they grew fo confident and affured, as at that time they did not thinke that Hannibal (whom they had formerly fo much feafed) was

Of the History of POLYBIVS.



An Oration to the Etoliens of the Warres of Greece.

Masters the Etoliens, I thinke it is very manifest that King Ptolomy, the Cirizens of Rhodes and Constantinople. with those of Chie and Miteline make no great accompt of your League. It is not the first nor the second time that wee have treated with you of Peace : But even at that time when you moued Warre, applying your selfe vnto it, and imbracing all occasions, wee have not ceas'd to admonish you. Now we conjecture the ruine of your felues and the Macedonians, and for the future we are in care for your health and for all Greece. As fire thrust into a Forrest is no more in his power that hath kindled it, but consumes all that it encounters : Being moreouer gouerned by the Winds, and by the consumption of the Forrest, and that mahy times it sweepes a-D way laddainly the Incendiary himselfe : so the Warre being once inflamed by fome, ruines them first : Then it runnes withour reason, destroying all things it encounters, agitated by rashnesse, and the beastlineffe of those which kindle it, as it were driven by the Winds. Wherefore my Masters the Etoliens, seeing that the Handers, and the Grecians which inhabite Asia, doe often sue unto you, that disdaining Warre, vou would make choise of Peace, for that the case concernes you : refume your fences, confenting with those who with reuerence admonish vou. If with some good forrune you did mannage a Warre which Etoliens.

388

were profitable, commodious, and glorious (it is that vndoubtedly which they exped most therein) according to your first intention and deligne of euents, they might with reason pardon you as men of great courage. This Warre is altogether infamous, full of ignominy, and curfed, is it not necessary to stay and deferre it? Aduice without doubt should be freely given, you will heare (if you be wife) my words patiently. It is much better for you to be preserved with a commodious reprehention, then in hearing pleasing words, to perish the first foone after : and then subsequently the rest of Greece, set your ignorance A before your eyes. You say you make Warre against Philip for Greece, to the end that being preserved they should not obey his Commandments: But in truth you make Warre to its ruine and defeate. It is that which your accord with the Romans declare, the which in the beginning confifted in writing, but now they are feene in actions. The letters were then dishonourable vnto you, but at this day they are vifible to the eye, and manifest by your workes. Finally, Philip carries the Name, and is made the colour of this Warre: although hee suffers nothing that is grieuous: But as he hath many Allies in Morea, as the Beocians, Negrepontins, Phociens , Locrines, Theffelians and Epirotes , you haue concluded against them vnder conditions, that the bodies and B moueable goods should belong to the Romans, and the Cities and Countries to the Etoliens.

But as you are Lords of this City, you would not endure they should offend any Free-man, nor fet fire of your City, holding fuch actions cruell and barbarous : and yet you have made a League, according to the which you have delivered the rest of Greece to Barbarians as your owne by gift, by an outrage and a most ignominious iniustice. These are the things which in the beginning you understood not: But at this day you are made manifest unto the World by the misery of the poore Oretins and Eginetes, for that Fortune hath of purpole rais'd your ignorance vpon a Theater. The beginning of this Warre and of the action ons which happen are such. But what can wee expect more, if in the end all things fucceed according to your defire : shall it not be a beginning of great miseries to all the Grecians ? Beleeue me, that after the Romans have ended the Warre in Italy (the which will soone happen, Hannibal being shur vp in a Corner of Bratia) they will imploy all their forces against Greece, vnder colour to giue succours to the Etoliens against Philip, but the truth is to make all Greece subject: the which will soone be manifest. For whether they are resolued to carry themselues like honest and honourable persons, having the Victory, the thankes D shall be theirs: If otherwise they shall hauethe profits of the Defeates. and the power over them that escape. Then you will call vpon the Gods, when as none of them or any man will offer to affift you. You should then in the beginning fore-see all things: This was lawfull for you. But as many future things are out of humane providence, now at the least you should take a better aduice, shauing seene the event of this Warre. I intreate you and exhort you not to enuy your owne fafety and liberty, nor that of the rest of Greece. And

Lib.II. Of the History of POLYBIVS.

And when by his Speech (as he conceived) fomewhat moved the opinions of many, Philips Embassadour entred: who leaving the things which might be spoken in particular, he sayd, that he had two points in charge: That if the Etoliens brake the peace, he was ready to appeale vnto the Gods, and to the Grecian Embaffadours there present, that they were to be held for the Authors of those things which hereafter should fail vpon Greece, and nor Philip. Glory saith he, doth much amaze the Enemy, but a reasonable preparation of Armes is of greater service for necessity. Then they should doe that which is necessiry, A if they transferre the diligence and care which they have at this day for their apparrell, to the preparation of their Armes, observing in their apparrell the ancient negligence. For by this meanes they may giue order for their private course of life, and preserve their Common-wealth. And therefore (faith he) it is not needfull that he which gives himfelfe to Armes, and to the profession of Warre, should looke when he puts on his Boots, whether they be handsome, and if his strops and pantables be braue : nor whether his Cloake and lacket be rich, when he must pur on a Head-peece. Beleeue me, the danger is manifest which they must expect, which have an exteriour shew in more recompsendation then things necessary. Finally, it were fit they should confider, that this curiofity in habits fauoured of a woman, I meane that is not much chast : whereas the charges in Armes and severity, restraine a

good man, desiring to preserve himselfe and his Countrey. All the affiftants found this Speech fo good, in wondring at the adnice of this remonstrance, that after they were gone out of the Court, they pointed at those that were richly clad; forcing some to leave the place : and finally, they prepared themselves to Armes and to make Warre accordingly. Behold how one fole Oration pronounced by a man of esteeme and in season, not onely retires men from great vices, C but also incites them to great Enterprizes. But if he which gives good advice, leads a life answerable to his words, it is necessary that his councell should purchase credit : the which happened in this man. He was lober and simple in his apparrell and living, and in the vlage of his body. Finally, he was of a pleating speech without enuy and rancour. He findied wonderfully to be found veritable in all his life, and therefore when he vsed any ordinary speech, the Auditors gaue him great credit. And as his life serued for an example in all things, so the Auditors had no great neede of any long Discourse. Wherefore he hath often in few words, by his credit and knowledge in things, ouerthrowne the D long speeches which seemed to have beene deliuered sufficiently by the Enemies. When the Councell was ended, every man retired to his Countrey: And in commending as well the man as his words, they had a conceite that they could not doe amisse under his gouernment.

Finally, Philopemen went speedily to the Cities to make preparation for the Warre. Then he trained vp a multitude affembled: and when he had not imployed eight Moneths in the preparation of these Phylogenen forces, he leads his Army to Mantinea to fight with the Tyrant for against Machathe liberty of all Morea. Machanides likewise taking courage, and nides, Tyrant

thinking of Lacedemon.

Lib.11.

thinking to prevaile over the Acheins at his pleasure; gives the Lacedemonians to understand the things that were then necessary, as soone as hee was aduertised of the assembly of the Tegeans at Mantinia : Thenfuddainly the next day at Sun-rifing hee takes his way towards Mantinia, marching on the right wing with the Legionaries, and placing the Mercenaries on the right and left, going a flow pace in the beginning of his voyage: He addes moreouer Charlots carrying a great abundance of instruments of Warre and Cros-bowes.

The order of Philopomens Battaile.

Machanides Ar.

390

At the same time Philopomen having divided his Army into three, A he caused the Sclauonians and Corslets to goe forth by the Gate which tends to the Temple of Neptune, and withall the ftrangers and ftrong men: then by that which lookes to the West, the Legionaries: and the Horse-men of the Ciry by the next. Moreouer, he seazed (with the best of his aduenturers) of a little Hill lying right against the City, the which extends upon the way of strangers and the Temple of Neptune. And ioyning the Corflets, he lodgeth them on the South, ordring the Sclauoniaus in a place neare vnto them. Then casting the Legionaries behind them in a round, he lodgeth them in the space neare the Ditch which drawes to Neptunes Temple, by the midft of the Mantinians Plaine, and ioynes vpon the Mountaines neare vnto Elif B fasiens. He orders moreouer voon the right wing the Acheian Horsmen, of which Aristonete of Dymee had the leading : and voon the hee had all the Strangers, having their distinct Ordonance amongst them.

When the Enemies Army approacht, he comes to the Legionaries, admonishing them in few words, but with the efficacy of the present danger. But most part of his words were not heard: for the multitude prest the cause so much for the affection they barehim, and the impetuofity of the people, that the Army as it were moued with a certaine divine fury, perswaded him to worke without searc. Finally, C he endeauoured (iftime would have permitted him) to declare vnto them diligently, how this present danger concerned some in regard of infamy and a base seruitude, and others in regard of liberty alwayes memorable and glorious. Moreouer, Machanides instructs first the Battalion of the Legionaries which they call Orthie, that it should fight with the right wing of the Enemies. Then he marcheth, and after he had gain'd a meane space, makes the forme of a Snaile, and drawes his Army in length, putting his right wing in Front to the left of the Acheins. In regard of the Targetteers, he placeth them before the whole Army with some space.

Philopomen seeing his attempt, who thought by the Targeteers to glue a Charge to the Legionary Bands which offended the Souldiers. and caused a great alarum in the Army, so as hee delayed no longer. making vie in effect of the Tarrentins at the beginning of the Combate neare to Neptunes Temple, vpon the Plaine which was commodious for Horse-men. Machanides seeing this, is forced to doe the like, and to cause the Tarrentins (which were with him) to march. Finally, they fought valiantly in the beginning. But when those that were lightly

lightly armed, prevailed fomething over them that were weaker, it fell out in a short time that the Combate began of either side betwixt the forreine Souldiers. And when as they had joyned together, and had fought long like braue men, the danger was equall, fo as the reft of the Armies, expecting the issue of the Battaile, could not fight there. for that many times both the one and the other in fighting, exceeded their first station. Yet the Tyrants souldiers had for a time the better. confidering their multitude and dexterity, with their Armes and Experience. The which did not happen without cause. For as the mul-A titude in Comminalties, is more cheerefull in Combats in Warre, then the Subjects which are Enemies to Tyrants, fo strange Souldiers taking pay of Monarches, excell those of Common-weales. And as forme Subjects fight for liberty, and some are in danger of seruitude. some also of the Mercenaries fight for a certaine profit, others for the defence of their Lines. But a popular power puts not her liberty into the hands of Mercenaries, after they have defeated their Enemies: Whereas a Tyrant the greater Enterprize he makes, the more fouldiers he hath need off. For as he doth more outrages, so he hath more watchers ouer his life.

Of the History of POLYBISV.

The fafety then of Monarches confifts in the good affection, and B forces of his forreine Souldiers. Wherefore then it hapned that the The fafety of Monarches. forreine Souldiers fought with fuch great Courage and Resolution, as the Sclauenians and Horacites being in front of them could not indure their Charge: Aying all as repuls'd towards Mantinia, feauen Furlongs distant. Then that which some men held in doubt was made plaine and certaine. It is manifest that many actions in Warre breed Experience of things. fo do they ignorance. It is a great matter for him that hath purchased Authority in the beginning, to extend it farther: But it is a farre greater matter to fixe vpon him whose first attempts have not beene successefull : and to consider the indiscretion of the vn-

C fortunate, and to observe their faults. You shall oftentimes see that they which seeme to have the better. are within a short space frustrated of all in generall: And againe, they which at the first were beaten, have by their industry restored all: the which appeared then betwixt these two Princes. For when the bands of Souldiers which the Acheins had wavered, and that the left wing

was broken. Machanides leaving his good Fortune and the Victory of those of the Wing, and to affaile the others in Front, and finally to attend the Victory, he did nothing of all this, but scattred with the Mercenaries, without order like a young man, he pursued the Chase, as if feare had not beene able to purfue those which fled vnto the Gates. The Chiefe of the Acheins imployed all his power to flav the Mercenaries with cries and perswasions, calling to the rest of their Commaunders. But when he faw them forcibly repuls'd, he was not amazed if they turned head, or despairing, abandoned the place, but he with drew the Wing which charged and pursued them. And when the place where the danger was, was abandoned, he fent prefently to the first Legionaries, that they should couer themselves with

their Targets: and in keeping order he went speedily before. Being come suddainly to the place abandoned, hee defeated the pursuers, having great advantage upon the Enemies battailion. Hee likewise perswaded the Legionaries to have a good Coarage and resolution, and not to budge, vntill hee gauethem order to march close in Battaile against the Enemy. And as for Polybins the Megalopolitaine, having gathered together the remainder of the Solanonians which had turned Head, with the armed men and the Strangers, he enioynes him to haue a great care to keepe the Battallion in good order, and to looke to those which were retired from the Chase. The Lacedemonians A likewise resuming Courage and strength, for that they were esteemed the most valiant, charged the Enemies with their lauelings without

And as in this pursuite they were come vnto the brinke of the Ditch, and had no more time to returne, for that they were in the Enemies hands, and that finally they fotfooke and disdained the Dirch, for that it had many descents, and was drie and without Trees, they ranne into it without any discretion. As this occasion offers it selfe against the Enemy, Phylopomen having fore-seene it long before, he then Commaunded all the Legionaties to advance with their Iaue. B lings. And when as all the Acheins with one resolution had cash themselues upon the Enemies with horrible cries, having formerly broken the battalion of the Lacedemonians, descending into the Ditch, they turne Head with great Courage against the Enemy which held the higher ground. It is true, that a great part was defeated afwell by the Asbeins as their owne men. That which I have spoken happens not by chance, but by the prouidence of the Commaunder, who had fuddainly made this Dirch. Philopomen fled not from the Battaile as some had conceived: But considering and advising dilligently like a good Commaunder of all things in particular, that if C Machanides should lead his Army thither, it would happen that by ignorance of the Ditch, he would fall into danger with his Battalion, as it succeeded in Effect. And if considering the difficulty of the Ditch, hee should seeme to feare and turne Head, hee should then be wonderfully frustrated of his Enterprize and Designe, for that hee should have the Victory without fight, Machanides beeing defeated by a unfortunate disaster. It had happened to many which had undertaken a Battaile, that finding themselves insufficient to ioyne with the Enemy, some in regard of the disaduantage of places, others for the multitude, and some for other causes, and by this same meanes D shewing and expressing themselves in their slight to bee of little Experience, some hoping to be ftronger upon the Reare, and others that they might escape the Enemy safely. Among the which were these Commaunders.

But Philopomen was not deceived in his fore-fight: by whose endeauour it happened, that the Lacedemonians made a speedy flight. And when hee faw his Legions to yanquish, hee laboured to bring that vnto an ende which remained of an absolute Victory. Which

was, that Machanides should not escape, and therefore know. ing him to be at the pursuite of the Chase, on that side of the Ditch which lay rowards the City with his Mercenaries, had not beene rerired and with drawne, he arrends his comming. But when as Macha. nides flying after the Chafe, faw his Army turne head, and hearing that all hope was loft for him, he laboured with his forreine Souldiers in turning head, to escape thorough the Enemies dispersed, and scattred in their Chase. Whereunto they likewise having regard, stayed with him in the beginning, feeding themselves with the same hope of safety. A But when as at their comming they faw the Acheins keepe the Bridge vpon the Ditch, then all amazed they abandon him and fled, energy man looking to his owne preservation. And when the Tyrant despaired of the passage of the Bridge, he went directly to the Ditch, and

Of the History of POLYBIVS.

endeauours to finde a pallage.

Lib.II.

Philopomen knowing the Tyrant by his purple Robe, and the caparrisson of his Horse-leaves Polybim there, and gives him charge to keepe the passage carefully, not sparing any of the Mercenaries, for that most commonly they favour and support the Tyrant of Lacedemon. In regard of himselfe, he takes Polyene, Cyparissee, and Simie, of whom he then madevie, marching against the Tyrant and his Company on B the other fide of the Ditch. Machanides had atthat time two men with him, that is to fay, Anaxidamus and a strange Souldier: When hee prest his Horse to take a certaine commodious passage of the Ditch, Philopomen doubling vpon him, gaue him a mortall wound with a laueling, and soone after another, killing the Tyrant valiantly. The like flane. happened to Anaxidamus by the Horfe-men which marcht with him. Anaxidamus The third man despairing of the passage, escaped the danger by slight, slaine. whilest they slew the other two. After their death Similes Company stript them, and brought away the Head and Armes of the Tyrant, to make his death knowne vnto the Troupes: whereby they might with C more diligence pursue the Enemies into their City: the which served much to moue the Commons. For by this meanes they reduced the City of Teges under their obedience : after which prize they camped Teges when neare vnto the River of Erota, after they had made themselves Maisters of the Champion Countrey. And as they could not chase the Enemy out of their Countrey for a long time, they then wasted all the La. cedemonian Provinces without feare, having lost few men in Battaile, and the Lacedemonians aboue foure thousand, besides many Prisoners, and the taking of all their Baggage and Armes.

D



Of Hannibal and the Carthaginians.

A

Lib.II.

of Hannibal.

ding of Hanni-

Nd therefore who will not wonder at the gouernment, vertue and power of this man, in his valiant exploits of War decided in Field, having regard to the length of time, and knowlng Hannibal as well in Bartailee as fieges of Townes, alterations, and euents of times, and

in the fulnesse of all the Enterprizes and resolutions, according to the which hee hath made Warre in Italy against the Romans for the space ofseuenteene yeares, and hauing neuer broken vp his Campe, but kept it still entire as vader a good Leader, and commanded so great a B multitude either without mutiny towards him or among themselues, although he did not imploy in his Army men of one Nation, nor of one Bivers Nations Race. He had under his command Lybians, Spaniards, Phenicians, under the lea- Italians, and Grecians: among the which the Lawes nor customes, nor the Language had any thing common. But the industry of the Commander made this great multitude of different Nations obedient to the Commandments of one man, according to his defire although the Euents were not alwayes answerable, but divers: and that many times Fortune smiled vpon him, and was sometimes opposite. These things confidered, you may fafely fay (in wondring at the vertue of this Commander, in that which concernes this point) that if hee had C first assailed the other Countries of the World, and then the Remans, he would have prevailed in all that he had attempted. But feeing at this day hee hath begun the Warre against those which hee should have affailed last, here hath made both the beginning and the ending.

accreto E-

my together.

As farubal having drawne together the Souldiers from those places where they had wintred, prepares for his voyage, and campes neare vnto a City called Elinge, building a Pallisadoe on the side of the Mountaine, with plaine spaces before, fit for skirmishes and encounters. Hee had three score and ten thousand Foote, source thousand Horse, and two and thirty Elephants. Publims Scipio on the other fide fends Marcus Iunius to Lochis to receive the Bands which hee drawes his Ar- had levied: being three thousand Foote and fine hundred Horse. In regard of the other Allies, he accompanies them, taking his way to the place appointed.

When hee was come to Capalongne, and to the places which were about Becyle, and had iouned his Army with Marcus, and

with the Troupes of Colichante, he fell into a great perplexity for the apparent dangers. For in truth he had not a sufficient Roman Army without the forces of the Allies to hazard a Battaile. It feemed an vinfafething, foolish, and rash for those which put their hope in the forces of their Allies to hazard a Battaile. But as he was for a time in suspence, and that the affaires concluded that he must vie the Allies; he came to fight with the Spaniards: to the end that by this meanes he might make the Enemy imagine that hee fought with his whole Army.

A This being refolu'd, he marches with all his Troups, being forty five thousand Foot, and about three thousand Horse. And when he was neare the Carthaginians, fo as he might well be discouered, he camps about certaine little Hils right against the Enemy. Asdrubal think Asdrubal charing to have found a fit time to charge the Romans in Camping, he mans. fell vpon their Campe with the greatest part of his Horse-men, and Massanissa with the Numades, having a conceite to surprize Scipio fuddainly. But he having formerly fore-seene the suture, he layd an A suddaine Ambush of Horse-men behinde a certaine Hill, equall in number to charge of the those of the Carthaginians : who charging by surprize, many in the Romans against B beginning turning head, in regard of this vnexpected Charge of the Ro-the carthaging. mans, fell from their Horses, others affronting the Enemies fought va. au. liantly. But for the dexterity of the Roman Horse men in fighting; the Carthaginians being troubled and discontented, after some little refistance gaue backe, retiring in the beginning in good order : But when the Romans pursued them, they tooke their flight under the Campe. This done, the Romans affure themselves the more to vudergoe the danger: and the Carthaginians did the contrary. The dayes following they drawtheir Armies into the Plaine which law betwixt them, and making skirmishes as well of Horse-men, as of C their most valiant Foote, and trying one another they resolved to

It feemed then that Scipio had practifed a double ftratagem. For when he faw Afdrubal flow in ordring of his forces, and to put the Lybians in the midft; and the Elephants vpon the two wings: Then as hee was accustomed to observe the opportunity of the time, and The double por to make head against the Lybians by Romans, and to mingle the Spa-lier of Sopie. niards upon the wings, on the day which hee resolved to fight, hee doth now the contrary, giving by this meanes great comfort to his forces for the Victory, and weakning the Enemy. Presently at the Sunne-rifing he gives all the Souldiers notice by men appointed, that all they which were to fight armed, should stand before the Pallifadoe. This done, when they had obeyed him cheerefully, for the hope they had conceived for the future, he fends the Horse-men bea fore, and the ablest Souldiers, giving them charge to approach the Enemies Campe, and that in skirmlifting couragiously they should begin the Battaile. For his part, he marcheth at Sun-rilling with the Footmen. And being come into the midst of the field, he drew his Army in-Battaile after another forme then he had bin accultomed. For he put the main battaile

Spaniards

By

Lib.II.

Spaniards in the midft, and the Romans upon the wings. When as the Horse-men approacht the Pallisadoe, and that the rest of the Army was in fight and ready, the Carebaginians had scarce time

396

Asarubal being then forced to drawe the valiantest of his men to field Afdrubalputs against the Romans, being yet fasting without preparation and in haste his men in Bat- both the Foot-men and Horse-men : and to plant his Army of Footmen not farre from the Mountaines, and the Ordonance in the Plaine as they had been accustomed. The Romans stayed some time: but for that the day was well advanced, and that the Combat of either fide A was vncertaine and equall, and that there was danger that they which should be prest, turning head, would retire vpon their Battalions, then Scipio retiring the Skirmishers by the space betwirt the Ensignes, he divides them upon the wings after those which had beene formerly appointed. Then he gives order to affaile the Enemy in Front, first to the lauelings, and then with Horse-men: and being a Furlong from the Enemy, he commands the Spaniards which were in Battaile, to maich in the same order, and that they should turne the Ensignes vpon the right hand, and they of the left doing the contrary. And when he began on the right fide, Lucius Mareus and Mareus lunius led three B braue Troups of Horse-men on the left hand, and before were those which were lightly armed and accustomed to the Warre, with three Bands of Foot men (the Ramans call a Band of Foot-men a Cohort) to whom the Targetteers ioyned on the one fide, and the Archers on the other.

In this fort they marched against the Enemy, making by this meanes an attempt with effect, confidering the continuall repaire of those which loyned with them by files. As by chance these men were not farre from the Enemy, and that the Spaniards which were on the wing were farther off, as they which marched a flow pace, they C make an attempt vpon the two Battalions of the Enemy, drawne in length with the Roman forces, according to that which had beene refolged in the beginning. The following alterations (by the meanes whereof it happened that they which followed, joyned with the former, encountring the Enemies in a direct line, had betwixt them diuers orders) fo as the right Battalion had on the left fide the Footmen mingled with the Horse. For the Horse men which were on the right wing, mingling with the lauelings of the Foot lightly armed, laboured to inclose the Enemies. The Foot-men on the other fide covered themselves with their Targets. They which on the left D hand were in the Troups charged with their Iauelings, and the Horfmen accompanied with the Archers with their full speed. By this motion there was a left wing made of the right wing of the Horse-men, and of the most valiant Souldiers of the two Battalions : But the Commander made no great accompt, being more carefull to vanquish the enemy with the other Battalion: wherein he had good judgement. We mult know things as they are done, and vie a fit observation according to the occasion offred.

By the charge of these men the Elephants affailed by the Archers, A disorder by and the Horse-men with Darts and lauelings, and tormented of all the Elephanis. fides were wounded, making as great a spoile of their Friends as of their Enemies. For they ran vp and downe and ouer-threw men of all sides, breaking the Carthaginian Battalions. In regard of that of the Lybians which held the middle part, and was of great service, it stood idle voto the end. For not able to succour those which on the wings abandoned the place, by reason of the Spaniards charge: nor remaining in their station, doe that which necessity required : for that A the Enemies which they had in Front did not give them Battaile.

It is true that the wings fought for a time valiantly : Confidering that all was in danger. And as the heate was vehement, the Carthagimians brake, feeing that the end of the Combate succeeded not according to their defire, and that their chiefest preparation washindred: The Romans on the other fide had the advantage both in force and courage: and in that principally, that by the prouidence of the Generall the best furnished among the Carthaginians were made unprofitable. Wherefore Astrabal being thus prest, retired in the beginning with a flow pace from the Battaile: Then turning in Troupe, he recovered the neighbour Mountaines. And when as the Romans purfued them neare, B they posted to their Pallisadoe. If some God had not preserved them, they had suddainly lost their Fort. But for that the disposition of the Aire changed, and the raine fell continually with violence, the Romans could hardly recouer their Fort.

And although that Publius Scipio had sufficient experience of the A defect in the Warre, yet he neuer fell into fo great a doubt and perplexity, the Text. which happened not without reason. For as wee may fore-see and pre- A good Come uent exteriour causes and discommodities of the Body, as cold, heare, parison, labour, and wounds, before they happen : and cure them when they

come : being on the other fide difficult to fore fee those which proceed C from the Body, and are hardly cureable when they happen: we must sudge the same of policies and Armies. It is true, there is a speedy meanes and helpe to preuent the Warres and Ambushes of Strangers when they are contriued : But against those which the Enemy doth practife in the State, as seditions and mutinies, the Phisicke is difficult, and requires a great dexterity and fingular industry in the gouernment of affaires. But in my opinion one aduice is necessary for all Armies. Cities, and bodies politique : which is, that in that which concernes the things about mentioned, they never fuffer too much floth D and idlenesse: especially in time of prosperity, and the abundance of all things necessary.

Scipio as a man of excellent diligence, and confequently industrious The wifedoms and active to mannage great affaires, propounded a certaine course of scipio. décide the present combustions, after he had affembled the Captaines of thousands. He gaue order that they should promise vnto the Souli diers the restitution of the victuals and taxes : and to give credit to his promile, they should levie the ordinary taxes ordained in Cities diligently and openly for the reliefe of the whole Army, to the end

it might be apparent that this preparation was made for the institution of their Victuals. And that moreouer, the Milleniers should command the Commissaries of the Victuals, and admonish them to have a care, and to take charge of the Victuals: and that conferring among themselves, they should make knowne, if part of them or altogether would undertake it. He sayd, that they must consider of that which was to be done. The others thinking of the same things, had a care of the Treasure. And when as the Milleniers had made knowne the things which had beene ordayned. Scipio being advertised, imparted vn to the Conneell that which was to be done. They concluded that A they should resolue on the day when they were to appeare: So as the people should be sent backe, and the Authors severely punished: who were to the number of fine and thirty.

And when the Day was come, and the Rebelsthere present. as well to obtaine pardon, as for their Victuals, Scipio secretly commands the Captaines Milleniers, that they should goe and meete with the Rebels, and in choosing fine of the chiefe of the Mutiny (energ man carrying himselfe courteously at their encounter) they should bring them to his Pauillion: if this could not be done, yet at the least they should convay them to the Banquet, and to this kind of assembly. B And as for the Army which was with him., he gaue them notice three dayes before, to make provision of Victuals for a long time : as if Marcue should goe to andebale to fight : whereof the Rebels being aduertized, they were the more affured. They expected to eniov a great power, if (the rest of the Army being separated) they were admitted about a Commander, when they approacht nearethe City, he commands the other Souldiers, that being prepared the day following, they should come forthat the breake of day. In regard of the Milleniers and Captaines, he gives them charge that after their comming forth of the City, they should stay the Souldiers in Armes at the Gate, ha- C ning first lodg d the Baggage : and that afterwardsthey should divide themselves by the Gates, and have a care that none of the Rebels should escape. They which were appointed to receive them, iov. ning to those which came voto them, entertained the offendors courtroughy according vato that which had beene enjoyeed them. Their charge was to feaze voon thefe men, at fuch time as they should be fet at the Banquet, and to keepe them bound : So as not any of the Company being within should goe forth, but onely he that should advertize the Commander what had beene done, Wherefore when the Milleniers had performed their Charge, the Generall feeing in the D Morning following those to be affembled in the place which were arrined he causeth an Assembly to be called. When the advertisement was giuen, they all came running as of custome, whether it were with a delire to see the Commander, or to heare those things which were to be spoken of the present affaires. Scipie sends to the Milleniers which were at the Gates, and commands them to bring the Souldiers that were armed, and to enuiron the whole affembly : Then marching forth, he amazeth them all ar the first fight. A great number in truth

Publius Scipio assembles his

398

thought that he was not well disposed: But when contrary vnto their opinions they found him found and fafe, they were amazed at his prefence. Finally, hee vsed this Speech vnto them, saying, that hee wondred for what cause some of them were offended, or vinder what colour they were mooued to attempt a Rebellion.

Lib.II.

There are three causes for the which men presume to fall into a mu. Three causes tiny against their Princes and Countrey : VVhich are, when as they of the peoples blame their Gouernour, and indure them vnwillingly; or when they mutiny against are offended with the present Gouernment; or vpon a conception in A their opinions of a greater and better hope. I demaund of you, fayth he, which of these three hath mooned you. Are you angry with me that I have not delivered you Victualls . It is not my fault. For you haue not wanted any Victuals under my Leading. It is the errour of the Romans which have not yeilded that vinto you now, which hath beene formerly due vato you? Should you then accuse your Country. fo as you should Rebell and become its Enemy, then being present to speake vnto me, and to intreate your friends to assist you? The which in my opinion had beene much better. It is true, a pardon may bee ginen vnto Mercenaries, if they abandon those from whom they receive B pay: But it is not fit to pardon such as carry Armes for themselues, their Wines, and their Children. For it is euen like as a man should come vnto his Father, and charge him that he had villanously cozened him in matters of money, and kill him from whom hee holds his life. Haue I opprest you more with toiles and dangers then the rest; giving them more Commodities and profites then vitto you? In trueth you dare not speake it, neither can you contince me although you durst attempt it.

I cannot conice ure the cause for the which being incensed against me, you have attempted this Rebellion. I would understand the oc-C casion from your selves. I thinke there is not any man among you that can alledge or pretend any thing. You cannot, in tructh, be fad for the present. When was there over greater abundance of all things, nor more prerogatiues of the Citty of Rome? When was there ever greater hope for Souldiers then there is at this day? Peradacuture some one of these desperate men will thinke that at this day the profits are greater in shew, and the Hope better and more firme with the Encmy. Which are they : Is it andobale and Mandonin: Which of you doth not know that as they first fallified their Faith with the Carthagi. mians comming to vs? And that now against hey declared themselves our Enemies, inviolating their oath and Faith. Were is not an honest and commendable thing, that in giving them your Faith, you should become Enemies to your owne Country? And yet you have no hope in them to enjoy Spaine. You were not sufficient being joyned to Andebale to fight with vs, neither yet alone. Whereto then did you

I would know it from your felues, if you have put your confidence in the Experience and Vertue of the Captaines which now are appointed you, or in the Rods and Maces which march before them, where-

Tt 4

400

of there is no honesty to yie any longer Discourse. But in truth there is nothing of all this; neither can you invent any thing against me nor your Countrey. Wherefore I will answere for Rome and my selfe, propounding those things which seeme reasonable to all men, which is this, the People and all the Commons are such as they are easily de-The inconstan- ceiued and moued to any thing. Wherefore it happens to them as to the Sea. For as the Sea of it selfe is without offence, and safe to those which make vie of it : And if it be tormented with the violence of the Winds, it is such vnto Saylers as are the Winds wherewith it is beaten: The Commons in like manner are made like vnto those which gouerne them, which are their Commanders and Councellors. And therefore now I fuffer all your Leaders unpunished, promiting that hereafter I will quit all revenge: But as for those which have beene the Authors of the Rebellion, I beare them an implacable hatred; for this cause we will punish them conveniently for the crimes which they have committed against their Countrey and vs.

And when he had vied this Speech, the Souldiers that were in Armes and round about, made a great noise with their Swords in the Porches, and prefently the Authors of the mutiny were brought in naked and bound. Finally, the multitude grew into a great amazement B Apunithment for the horror of the Executions which were done in their fight : fo of the Mutines. as when as some were whipt, and others executed, they moved not an eve, nor any man spake a word, remaining all amazed and terrified by there accidents. The Authors of there mischiefes being whipt and flaine, and drawne through the midst of them: the rest were assured in common by the Commander and Princes, that no man hereafter should be punished by any man for the remembrance of this fact: Wherefore they came all to the Milleniers, and weare absolutely to obey the Commandments of the Princes, and not to confent to any

thing against the City of Rome.

When as Scipio had corrected the Mischiefe newly growne, hee C fettles his Army in its former estate. Then suddainly drawing it together within Carthage he made his complaints of the rathnesse and wiekednesse of Andobale towards them : and after he had made a long speech of his disloyalty, he incensed the hearts of many against the fayd Potentate. Finally, he put them in minde of their encounters against the Spaniards and Carsbaginians, whileft they were under the Carthaginian Commanders : Of whom (as they had beene alwayes victorious) there was no cause he sayd, to be in doubt or feare, but that comming againe to fight with the Spaniards vnder Andebale, they would D be defeated. Wherefore he fayd he would make no more vie of the Spaniards to fight, and that hee would undergoe the danger with the Romans alone: to the end it may be manifest to all the world, that wee have not chased the Carshaginians out of Spaine with the helpe of Spaniards: but by a Roman vertue, and that by our owne dexterity wee have vanquished them with the Celtiberians.

This Speech being ended, hee perswaded them to live in Concord, and that they would vindertake this prefent danger, if ever they under-

tooke any with great affurance. In regard of the meanes of the victorv. he affures them that with the helpe of the Gods he will take order. The Commons conceived so great a courage and confidence, as all of them carryed a countenance like vnto those which behold their Enemies, and prepare to fight. His words being ended, hee fent backe the affembly. The next day hee raiseth his Campe and marcheth: and being come on the tenth day to a River, he passeth it foure dayes after: then he plants himselfe before the Enemies, having recovered batte for the a certaine Plaine betwixt his Campe and theirs. The day following he Enemy, A fent forth towards the Enemy vpon the Plaine, some Cattell which followed the Army : and commands Caises to keepe certaine Horse-men in a readinesse, and to the Chiefe of the Milleniers, to prepare Ar.

chers and Slingers.

Lib.II.

When the Spaniards had fallen suddainly ypon the Cattell, he sent certaine Souldiers that were Archers. The Combat beginning, and the Souldiers running vnto it on either fide in good numbers, there grew a great Skirmish of Foot-men neare vnto the Plaine. When a fit occasion was offred to affaile the Enemy, and that Caim had his Horse-men ready as he had commanded him, he chargeth the Footmen, and repulseth them from the Plaine, to the places neare vnto the Mountaines, to the end they might be scattred, and slaine in great numbers. When this happened, the Barbarians were moued, fearing that being vanquished in skirmish before they came to the Battaile, they put themselves should seeme to have fainted, wherefore at the Sun-rising they drew in Battaile, their Army in good order to Field, preparing for the Battaile. Pub. lius Scipio was ready to giue it : But when hee faw the Spaniards defeend without reason into the Plaine, and not onely to put their Horsmen in order, but also their Foot, hestayed, to the end that a greater number might affemble in this order of Battaile, having confidence in C his Cauallery, and much more in his Foot-men, for that they should come to an equal Combat, and fight hand to hand : and that the Armes and men which he had, were more excellent then the Spaniards. But for that it seemes necessity prest him, he directed his Army against But for that it feemes necessity press nim, he uneceed his rating against the Mountaine; drawing foure Scipio Base Cohorts out of the Campe towards those that were descended into talled the Plaine.

Finally, Caim Lelyus led his Horse-men against the Enemy, by the Hils which come from the Campe vnto the Plaine, and chargeth the Spaniards Horse in the Reare, and in fighting stayes them, to the end they should not succour their Foot. The Enemies Foot being destitute of the helpe of their Cauallery, in whom having put their trust, they had descended into the Plaine, were forced and annoyed in the Combate; the which likewise happened to the Horse-men. For when as (inclosed in the streight) they could not fight at scale, their defeare was greater then that of the Enemy : for that their Foot men were on the fide, and their Enemies in Front, and their Horse men were charged in the Reare. The Combat being after this manner, they which descended were in a manner all descared: They which were loyning

Spanjards.

. #G 27 57

vnto the Mountaine fled. They were the most valiant and the third part of the Army: with whom Andebale escaped, recouering a certaine Fort. Scipio having ended the Warres of Spaine, drew to Tarrasona, A'defeate of the to carry a great triumph of ioy, and a glorious Victory to his Countrey. Desiring them to be present at the Creation of Consuls, hee favles to Rome being accompanied by Caius, deliuering the Army to Innius and Marcus, having given order for all the affaires of



Of King Antiochus.

T was in truth Europdemes Magnes to whom he answered, B faying that Antiochus laboured to chase him Kingdome vniustly: and that he had not rebelled, to the end he might enioy the Principality of the Bacterians. And when he had vsed a long speech tending to that end, hee

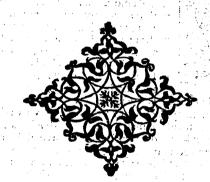
intreated Teless that by his meanes he might obtaine a truce, and that he would informe Antiochin, that hee did not enuy his royall Name ? For that if he did not yeeld to his accords, neither of them should live in safety. For there was a great descent of Tartariens, which would be dangerous to either of them : and if they entred the Region, it would vindoubtedly be reduced vinder the subjection of Barbarians. These words being ended, hee sends Telens to King Antiochus. When the King had long ruminated to what end this bufineffe would rend, he heard the propolition which was made by Telens contruce.

When Teleus was returned, going and comming often from the one to the other, Euthydemes in the end fent his Sonne Demetrius to confirme the Accord. Whom when the King had received gracioully, and holding the Young man worthy to reigne, as well for his outward thew as for his excellent dexterity of Eloquence, hee first promiseth to give him one of his Daughters, and to his Father n the Name of King: Finally, after hee had past in writing the Pactions and Accords sworne, he raiseth his Campe, and sends Victuals freely to his Army.

When hee had received the Elephants which Enthydemes had fent, hee paffeth Mount Caucasus : and after that hee came into India, he renewed the League with Sophafine King of the Indies: where after he had received an hundred and fifty Elephants, and had againe given Victigals to all his Army, he marcheth with all his forces, Moreouer, Libit Of the History of POLYBIVS.

he sends Androsthenes the Cyzecenien to receive Gaza, which by the accord was deliuered vnto him by the King. And when hee had past drackefia, and the River of Brimanihus, he arrived in Carmenia by Dratigene : where he wintred, for that Winter approached. This was the end of Antiochin Voyage which he made by the high Countries, by the which he drew to his obedience not onely the Sarrapes and Couernours of the high Countries, But also the Marritine Cities, and the Potentates inhabiting neare voto Travis : Finally, he hath affured his Reigne, making by his confidence and good industry

all his Subjects amazed. For he seemed by this Voyage worthy to reigne not onely ouer the Affatiques, but also over the Europians.



Α



A PARCELL O the Twelfth Booke of the

History of POLYBIVS.



Ho will wholly commend the Excellency of this Region. In regard of Tymew, thou maist with reason terme him ignorant, not onely of things concerning Lybia: but also a Child and without ynderstanding, and also subject to a foolish ancient report, according to the which we have heard that Lybia is all fandy, dry, and desarts. The like they sayd of Creatures: And vet it hath so great abundance of Horses, C

Sheepe, and Goats, as I know not where we may finde the like in the The manner of World: For that many people of Lybia make no vic of the fruits which proceede from the hands of man, but line with Mares Milke. Moreouer who doth not know the multitude and force of Elephants, Lyons, and Panthers, and consequently the beauty of Bugles or wilde Oxen, and the greatnesse of Ostridges: whereof there are none in Europe, and vet Lybia is full of such things : whereof Tymens being wholly ignorant.

he delivers as it were of purpose things contrary to truth.

As he hath lyed in matters concerning Lybia, to hath he done the The lland of cyrnon not well like of the lland of Cyrnon. Whereof making mention in his Second D cyruon not wen knowne by Ty-Booke, he faith, that it abounds in Goats, Sheepe, and wilde Oxen, and moreover in Stags, Hares, and Wolves, with some other Beafts and that the men are much giuen to Venery, and spend their whole liues therein. When as in the faid Iland there is neither wilde Goate, Oxe, Hare, Wolfe, nor Stagge, nor any fuch kinde of Beaft : Except Foxes, Conies, and wilde Geese. It is true, that a Coney scene a farre off, seemes like voto a Leueret : But when they hold it, it differs much, as well in fight as in tafte. It breeds and lives most commonly

Of the History of POLYBIVS. Lib.12.

in the ground. For this cause all the Beasts of this Iland seeme wilde, for that the Keepers cannot follow them, in regard this Iland is woody, hilly, and steepe: But when they will draw them together, staying in commodious places, they eall them by a Trumpet, and enery one runs to his owne. Finally, if sometimes they which come into the Iland, see Goats or Oxen feeding alone, and seeke to take them, they will not come at them, but flye from them as strangers and when the Keepers discouering those which come from the ships, sounds his Trumpe, they make hafte and runne voto him : which put ignorant men A inconceite, that the Beasts of this Iland are wilde, whereof Tymeus

hath made dreames, writing impertinently.

It is no great wonder, that they obey the found of the Trumpe. For they which breed Swine in *Italy*, have no Hogheards which follow breeding Swine them after the manner of Greece: but going before them a little space, in Italy. they found their Trumpes, and the Swine follow them behinde, running after the found. These Beasts are so accustomed every one to his Trumpe, as it is a wonder and in a manner incredible to those that shall heare speake of it. For it happens that for the abundance of Swine, and other things necessary, the troupes are in such great numbers in Itoly : especially in the ancient and among the Tyrrheins and Ganles: so as of one breeding there are sometimes aboue a thousand. Wherefore they fend them generally according to the age by troupes in the Night: So as many being sent together, they cannot keepe them according to their kinde, and they mingle as well going and passing, as in

For this cause they have invented the sound of the Trumpe, to the end that when the Swine mingle, they may separate them without difficulty. When as the Hogheards march one way, and the other another, in founding the Trumpe, the Swine part of themselues; enery one following his owne Trumpe with such great heate, as it C is impossible to stay them, or to hinder their course. But when in Greecethey mingle, hunting and running after Fruites, hee that hath the greatest number and retires soones, carries with his owne the next, and fornetimes steales shem, he that hath the charge not knowing how he hath lost them: for that the Swine stray far from their Hogheards whileft they run greedily after the Fruits of Trees, when as they begin newly to fall. But we have spoken sufficiently.

It hath often been my chance to goe to the City of the Lecrines, and The City of the to deliuer them that which was necessary. I have made them free Locines, from the Warre of Spaine and Dolmacia: to the which by accord they. were subject by Sea to the Romans. Wherefore they have done vs all D honour and courtesse, in acknowledging to be freed from this trouble,

danger, and charge. Wherefore I am more bound to praise the Locrines, then to doe the contrary. Finally, I have nor omitted to de-liner and write the History of the Collony, which hath given vs to vnderstand, that Aristotle is more veritable then that which Tymes The Collony of

reports. I am of their opinion which maintaine the tenowne of the Locrines acthis Collony to be ancient according to the laying of Aritolle, Aritotle,

the Labians li-

wing.

and not of Typeeus: for the which they produce these arguments: First that all things which have beene famous among them for their Predeceffors, are come from women and not from men: so as (by way of example) they are held amongst them for noble, which have taken their name from a hundred Families. These are the Families which the Lecrines made choise of before they went to make a Collony: whereby it might happen, that by Oraclesthey cast Lots upon the Virgins to fend them to Troy: Whereof some went in Collony, and their posterity was to bee held Noble, and termed of the hundred Families:

Againe, for that which concernes him whom they call Philephore, they have made this report. That when as they chased the Sicilians, who then inhabited that part of Italy, the Nobles and Chiefe men then honoured the Sacrifices, and tooke many of the customes of the Countrey: so as they hold nothing of their Paternall, in obseruing that from them : and in correcting they have ordained that they should not make any of their Sonnes Philephore, but onely a Virgine, in regard of the Nobility which came from Women. There was not, neither is it faid, that their hath beene any pactions or accords made betwixt the Locrines and the Grecians. In regard of the Sicilians, they had all that we have R made mention of. They say, that when they came first into Sicily, they which then held that Region where they now dwell, being amazed and receiving them with feare, made an accord with them : which was, that they should maintaine Friendship, and enioy the Countrey in common as long as they should tread voon the Earth, and carry a head vpon their shoulders. And when this kinde of Oath was made, they fay, that the Lecrines did put earth into their shooes, and secretly hid the heads of Garlicke : and having thus fworne, and finally cast the Earth out of their shooes, and likewife the heads of Garlicke, soone after they chast away the Sicilians out of the Countrey. This the Locrines did fav.

A defect in the

406

As a Rule although it hath leffe length and breadth, yet it retaines ftill the Name, if it hath that which is proper to a Rule : So they fay, if it be not straight and having the property of a Rule, it must rather be called by some other name then a Rule : In like manner they hold that if the Commentaries of Historiographers which failing either in Distionor vie, or in any other of the parts which are proper vnto them, observe the truth, they deserve the name of a History . But if that failes, they are no more worthy of that name. For my part, I confesse, that such Commentaries are to be held for true : and I am of D this opinion in enery part of our Worke, when I fay, that even as when the Bones are separated from a living Creature, it is made vn vsefull, fo is a History: For if thoutakest away the truth, the rest will bee but a vaine Narration. We have fayd, that there were two kinds of lies, the one through ignorance, the other which is delivered wittingly. The pardon is eafie for those which through ignorance firay from the truth. and they are to be hated deadly which lie willingly. As men of judgmene refoluing to revenge their enemies, doe not first observe what their Neighbour

Of the History of POLYBIVS. L1b.12.

Neighbour descrues, but father what they must doe: the like we must thinke concerning detracters, mot eating for that which the Enemies ought to heare, but to observe carefully what it is fit to speake. They which measure all things according to their choller and enuy, must of necessity faile in all and stray from reason, when they speake otherwife then is fitting. Wherefore we doe not feenit untilly to reproue the speeches which Tymens hath field against Deschares in truth Tymen reprehee neither descrues pardon nor credite with any man, for that in hensible. wronging him openly, hee straies from reason, in regard of his naturall bitterneffe. Neither doe the iniuries against Againetes please mee, although he were the most cruell man liping. I speake of those whereof hee makes mention in the end of his History, faying, that dga-Agatheles thocles had beene a publique Sodomite in his younger yeares, and abandoned to all infamous and vild perfons : and fo to other foule villanies which he addes.

Moreoner, hee fayth, that after his death his Wife lamented him in this manner: Why have not I thee, nor thou mee? In regard of the specches which he hath held of Demochares, some will not onely cry out, but wonder with reason at his excessive Rage. That Agatheoles had necessarily by Nature a great prerogative, it is manifest by the Dis-B course which Tymew hath held. Hee came to Sarragosse, Aying the Wheele, Smoake, and Clay, being eighteene yeares old: And when he was come for this cause, sometime after he was Lord of all Sirily : Hed also drew the Carthuginians into great extremities, and ended hislife with the Name of a King, after that he had growne old in this gouern, ment. It is not then necessary to say, that there had some things hap. pened to Agashocles which were great and excellent, and that hee had had great power, and great forces to execute all these things: And that a Historiographer must not onely deliuer vnto posterity those things which concerne the blame, and shew the accusation, but also those C which touch the praise of the man. This is the property of a History But this Childe blinded with his owne rancor, in his relation augments through hatred his offences, omitting wholy the vertues : being ignorant that it is no leffe blame worthy then a lye in those which write the Histories of Actions.

It happened faith he, that as two young men contended for a Ser. A parcell cor? uant, that he was somewhat long with a Friend: And when as the other rupted. two daves before came out of the Countrey, in the absence of the Mafter the Seruant retired speedily into the house: and that afterwards the other knowing he came thither, feazing on him, brought him into Queftion, faying, that the Maister of the house ought to give Caution. For Zaleucus the the Law of Zaleucus was, that he deserved a suite to whom he had made Law-giner. the retreate. And when as the other fayd, that according to the fame Law he had also made the retreate, for that the Body was parted to come vnto the Potentate : he faith, that the Princes were in doubt vpon this businesse, and called Cosmopole, referring themselues to him in this cause. Who interpreted this Law, saying that the retreat hath alwayes beene to him who had the last, or for a time possessed the thing debated

without

Two kinds of

A fcuere fen.

408

without contradiction. But if any one spoild another by force and had retired it, and that subsequently he which first enloyed it, termes himfelfe the maifter, this is no true policifion: And when as the Young man discontented arthis sentence, layd, that it was not the sense of the Law, Cofmepole pratefted, and afferd the Condition, if there were any man that would peake any thing touching the fentence or fense of the Lawestablished of Lalence, of the which is such, that the Captaines Milleniers being there appointed with Halters to hang men, they consulted upon the last of the Law: if any one drew the sentence of the Law to a bad fente. hee was firangled in the presence of the Mil-A leniers. This Speech being propounded by Cofmopole, the Young man antiwered what ahe Condition was visual action that Cofmopole had not about two or three yeares to line . I for hee was about fourescore and ten yeares old) and that he according to reason had the grea-A witty answer test part of his life remaining. For which witty and pleasant Speech hee escaped the senerity of the indecement : and the Princes indeed according to the advice of Comopole.

of a Young

Of the Voyage Califthenes

Wee will make mention of a certaine expedition of Warre, which hath beenevery famous, and decided in avery short time : lathe relation whereof Galshbenes hath errid in that which doth most import : B I speake of that which Alexander made into Gilleta against Darius. In the which he faith that Alexander had past the streights, which they call the Ports of Cilicia; and that Davis tooke his way by the Ports which they call Menides, and drew with his Army towards Citt-And when he understood by the Inhabitants, that Alexander tooke his course towards sprie, hee followed him : and when he approached vnto the freights, hee-Camped neare vnto the Riner of Pyre. Finally, that the compalle of that place was not aboue foureteene Furlongs from thence, and from the Senvoto the hilly Countreves, and that the fayd River falls into the Sea, transifing the C faid places: First by the fides of the Mountaine ending at the Plaine, and then by the Field having his Banks rough and not caffe to come vnto. These things supposed, he sayd, that when as Alexander turning

head, came neare voto Daviss, his advice and that of his Princes was to order his Battaile within his Campe as hee had formerly done, and to helpe himselve with this River as with a Rampire, for that it ran neare vitto his Campe. Finally, he ordred his Horse-men vp. on the Sea shoare, and upon their Reare the Mercenaries: so as neare vnto the River they were ioyned in one; and the Targetteers were placed in the Mountaines. It is a difficult thing to consider how hee n ordred these before the Battalion : seeing that the River past neare The reprehenvnto the Campe, the multiude likewise being so great. They were as Califibenes fayth, thirty thousand Horse and as many

Mercenaries.

It is an easie thing to know what space will containe these. For they order their Rankes according to the true vie of eight in a great Troupe of Horfe, euery one requiring afpace in Front, to the end they may turne easily. To eight hundred of which a Furlong sufficeth, and

ten to eight Thousand, and source to three Thousandsiue hundred: So as this space of foureteene furlongs, is fill'd with twelve Thousand Horfe. If then he hath ordred all this Troupe of Horfe in Battaile; it wants not much but being tripled, the order hath beene made without any space betwixt. In what place then hath he ordered the multisude of Souldiers, but in the Reare of the Horse men? But hee will fay no, and that they fought with the Macedonians at their first comming. Of necessitie there must be an uniting made, seeing that the order of the Horse menheld the moiety of the place towards the Sea, A the other towards the Mountaines being kept by the Mercenaries. Hereby we may inferre, how close the Horse men were vnited, and what space there must be from the River vnto the Campe. Then hee fayth, that when the Enemies approached, Darius being in the midst of his Armie, called vnto him the Mercenaries and their Wing. But we may doubt how this is spoken. For it is necessarie that the Horsemen and Mercenaries should be joyned about the middest of this same place. When as Darius was in the middest of his Mercenaries, how bath he call'd them ? Finally hee fayth, that the Horse-men of the right Wing fought with Alexander at his first comming : and that hee received them valliantly, and fought with them in front, and that B the Combate of cyther fide was very furious.

In regard of that which was spoken by him that the River was in the middeft (as a little before we haue deliuered) hee hath forgotten himselfe. Finally, he writes things of Alexander like vnto these. He faith that hee past into Afia, accompanied with fortie Thousand foot, and foure Thousand fine hundred Horse. And as he would have adnanced, there came vnto him out of Macedony other five Thousand foote, and eight hundred Horse: And although that for the affaires of his long absence, he had lest three thousand soote, and three hundred Horfe, yet he had fortie two thousand remaining. These things C presupposed, hee sayth that Alexander was advertised of Darius descent into Sicilia, fo hee was not aboue a hundred furlongs from him, and that he had alreadie past the streights of the Countrie, and for this cause turning head he repast them againe, putting the great Battalion in Front, then the Horse-men, and after all the rest of the bag-

gage of the Army.

And when he came afterwards into the plaine, that all the baggage being packt vp, hee commaunded that being mingled with the Battalion, they should make their rankes, containing first about two and thirtie in number, thenof fixteene, and of eight necre the Enemy. These Speeches have leffe reason then the former. For as the surlong containes in these spaces sixteene hundred men, when a rancke is of eighteenemen, so as they be every one separated a Fathome, it is manifest and doth plainly appeare that the ten will containe sixteene Thousand men, and twentie double the number. The which may easily appeare, for that when as Alexander ordred his Army by fixeteene men in a rancke, it was very necessary that the place should bee of twenty Furlongs, and yet all the Cauallerie remained and

fice of Catifibe

Lib.12.

 \mathbf{D}

410

ten thouland Foote. Finally, hee faith, that hee led his whole Army in Front against the Enemies, being yet forty Furlongs off. But that is fo strangesias wee can hardly imagine any thing more insensible. Where shall wee finde such spaces in the Champion Countrey euen in Cilicia, that a Battaile fet in order, holding twenty Furlangs in breadth, and forty in length, may march in the Front ? There are so many hinderances to order this forme of Battaile, as they can hardly be numbred. Moreover, the layings of Calisthenes glue no sufficient arguments to purchase credite. For hee sayth, that the Torrents which fall from the Mountaines, make so many and such great Moores and Fenns, as A he affures vs that a great number of Persians perished there in the flight. But would Darins suddainly shew himselfe against the Enemy? Is there nothing more easie then a Battalion broken and scattred in Front? But how much more easie is it to order a Battaile in a conuenient pasfage, then to leade an Army directly to fight, being broken and scattred in woody and crooked places . And therefore it were better to leade an Army close and voited, and double rather then Qua-

By this meanes it would not be impossible to finde the meanes to passe, and to put the Battaile in order, and with ease, if hee might by R his Scouts discouer the comming of the Enemy. But Califthenes besides the rest, orders not the Horse men in Battaile, when he led the Army in Field, being in Front, ordring the Foote-men equally. It is also a strange thing when hee faith, that Alexander being neare the Encmy, comprehended the order of his Battalion of eight for a Ranke : So it is manifest that necessarily the length of this Battalion contained the space of about forty Furlongs. But if they have beene (as the Po. et faid) close together, so as they have beene iovned one to another: Yet it would be necessary, that the place should containe Twenty Furlongs. And yet he faith, there were but foureteene : and that in fuch C fort, as one part was towards the Sea, and a moiety of the Army voon the right hand : and that indreouer all the armed men had place sufficient on the fide of the Mountaines, to the end they might not bee supprest by the Enemy holding the borders of the Hills.

Weeknow well that he makes a crooked order within . But we also leave out ten thousand Foote, which exceeds the meanes which he hath given : So as the length of this Battalion according to Califibenes, hath want of about twelve Furlongs, in the which it is necessary that thirty two thousand men, contayning arestraint of thirty in a Ranke being ioyned, have beene there comprehended. Hee fayth, n that this Battalion was ordred after the Rate of eight in a Ranker These errours doubtlesse cannot be desended, for that which is impossible in it selfe, is not worthy of credit. As often as wee have respect vnto the spaces due vnto euery man, and to the length of all the place, and to the number of men, the lye were not exculable. It were loffe of time to repeate all his fooleries.

He faith, that Alexander thirsted after a Battaile against Darius; and that Darius was of the same opinion in the beginning, and after-

wards chang'd his resolution. Hee doth not shew how they knew one another, nor what order they observed in their Army, nor whether Darius past r' Neither finally, how the Battalions came to the River fide, seeing it was crooked and hight. Without doubt wee cannot beleeue that Alexander committed fo groffe an errour : feeing that from his Infancy hee had gotten fo great experience and practife in Anexades of Alexander ye the Art of Warre. Wee must rather thinke that the Historiogra on califichers pher could not through ignorance differne things possible from the impossible in these affaires. But wee have spoken sufficient at this time of Ephorus and Califthenes.

First hee is of Opinion, that they must advertise those of the Councell, that the Trumpets awakes fleepers during the Warre, and Birds in the time of Peace. Finally, hee fayth, that Hercules instituted the Olympicke Combats, and the truce and abstinence from Warre: and that by this meanes hee hath shewed a fign of his will. In regard of those against whom hee made Warre, hee annoyed them all through necessity, and for Command : but hee was never witting, ly the Authour of any harme to man. Hee consequently brings in Inpieer angry with Mars, and faying,

> Most sure thou owest to meethe least good-will Of all the Gods that baunt Olympus Hill: Thou tak'st no pleasure but to warre and fight, In brawles and quarrels is thy chiefe delight.

Hee Writes likewise, that the Wisak of the Divine Gods saytla thus.

> Bad CitiZens who will not when they may, Stoppe civil frife : fall often to decay.

And that Euripides is of the same Opinion with this Poet, when hee faith.

> Blest Peace, the bell of Goddesses that be. Oh how much in my beart I honour thee! If thou deny thy presence by delay, I feare grim Death will [natch mee hence away. Haste then that I may futurely be blest With sports and reuels that adorne a Feast.

Hee fayth moreouer, that Warre is very like vnto a Difease, and The Warre like Peace to Health. The which doth comfort and recreate the ficke: vnto a Difease. whereas in the other the found perish. Finally, that old men are buried by young according to the order of Nature: But in the Warre the contrary happens. And that it is a strange thing, that there is no Vu 4

412

Homer.

fafety during the War no not in Cities, and that during peace it extends to the limits of the Country.

He delivers other things like vnto thefe. As ther by nature we have two, as it were Organs, by the which we conceine and confider, that is, hearing and feeing, and that the Eye is more certaine: According to the opinion of Heraclites (the Eies are more certaine then the Eares) Tymerus hath inquired of things by the one of them, which is the Tymem fpeakes Eare, although a proper object yet of leffe Effect. Hee hath beene wholly estranged from the testimony of the Eye. For this cause hee A vsurped that which depends on Hearing: The which hee hath had in fome fort by the Commentaries of others. In regard of that which he hath by inquisition, he hath erred grosly, as we have formerly de-

> It is an easie thing to Discouer the cause why hee fell into this opinion. For that doubtleffe fuch things may be fought for in Bookes without danger or trouble, if a man hath no other thing in recommendation, or if it be in some Citie abounding in the multitude of Commentaries. or may retire himselse to some neere Librarie. Finally the pursuit of this kudy, and the inquisition of that we seeke, R ioyning thereunto the judgement (without any bad affection of curiofitie) of auncient Historiographers, requires likewise great imployment and charge: But it is of great service, contaying the greatest part of a History, the which is apparent in those which Write Com-

Ephorus sayth, that if it had beene possible to bee present at all Actions, this Experience had beene more excellent then all the rest. Theopompus fayth, that hee is a very good Writer of the actions of the Warre, which hath had Experience of many dangers; and he a vehement Orator which hath deene partaker of many civil Controuersies. The like happens to Physitians and Pylots. The Poet more- C ouer speakes more properly of these things : For when hee desires to thew what he should be that is appointed for the Conduct of a Warre, he fayth, propounding in these termes the person of Visses.

Speake Muse of him, so wife to understand, Who fo farre Transil'd both by Sea and Land.

Then following:

Who bath feene many Cities, Townes, and Nations, And suffred much in his long Peregrinations.

Who after many dreadfull Battailes past. Neptunes rough fury did escape at last.

In my opinion the maiesty of a History requires such a man, Plato like wife faith, that men are then happy, when as Philosopheracciene of Kings play the Philosophers. For my part, I am of opinion that he of Kings play me Panolophers. For my part, I am of optimor married vigour of a Hiffory is then in force, when as they evidence to awrine Platfories, which are practical in the Warre, not lightly as it happens at this day, but holding their being increasions ill, things becelling another to archaeologically; or elic that here which while majoritoms in classes and actions in accordance to the process of the majoritoms of the control of the majoritoms in classes and actions in accordance to the writing of a liftery. If this were done, there found A not be found fo many things vaknowne in Historiographers, among the which Tymew hath had the least care in the World, having lived our of the Country poorely in a certaine place, and (as it were of purpole) distaining that which concernes both chill and warlike affaires, thee reapes a certaine glory by a naturall affectation of errour, fo as he hath puschased the prerogative of a Historiographer. And that he is such a one, it is easie to shew doing such things. For he saythin the Poeme of his Sixt Booke, that forme are of opinion that the Stile of a Demonstratiue or Historicall language, requires something of greater vnderstanding and more industry! Finally, he affirmes this opinion to be first attributed to Ephorus. But for that he cannot answere sufficiently to him that speakes these things. he strings by a conference to parralell a Hiftory

with demonstratine Orations: T



D

D



APARCELLO the Thirteenth Booke of

the History of POLYBIVS.



S the defires of fuch as are troubled with the Dropfie are neuer fatisfied, nor taken away by any exteriour humour, if the interiour disposition of the Body be not cured: So the concupifcence to have much is neuer fatisfied, if the vice which lies in the heart be not by some reason corrected. There falls out somewhich no man living will confesse to be royall: although that some at this day hold it necessary to mannage affaires by deceit for to reigne:

The Acheins avoide it much. For they were estranged from defree from fraud ceipts towards their Friends to advance their power, as they would not vanquish their Enemies : holding it neither noble nor firme, if they did not vanquish by prowesse and in open fight. Wherefore they ordained among themselues, that no man should make vse of hidden Armes, thinking that an open Combat hand to hand was the true determining of Warre. Finally, they declared themselues vnto their Enemies, and and fignified the Warre, when they are once resolued to undergoe the danger of a Battaile; the like they did of the places where they would decide it.

But at this day they fay, hee is no good Commander that executes any enterprize of Warre openly. There is yet remaining in the Ramans some Reliques of the ancient humour in such affaires. They signifie it

before, and they feldome vse any Ambushes, fighting readily hand to hand. Let these words be spoken against the affection which is much more ready, then is needefull, in malicious practifes, policies and ambushes among Princes, as well in affaires of Warre as Policy.



Of Philip.



Ges Hilip had instructed and commanded Heraclides to confider how he might annoy and ruine the Rhodies thips, and had fent an Embassadour to the Candiots to draw them and to incense them to make Warre against them. Heraelides was a man fit for malicious Heraelides practifes, thinking likewise that Philips Command- malicious.

ment being accepted would be gainefull, soone after when he had considered thereon, he sail'd against the Rhodiens. This Herachdes, Heraclides was borne at Tarentum, issued from a Race of Artizans, but wonderfully given to villanies and malice, First he profitured his Bo. dy publickely in his younger yeares : and as he afterwards grew fubtile; he had the charge of the Register, being to the poore seuere and audacious, and towards Great men a flattering Courtier. Yet beewas chaft out of his Countrey, as if he had fought fecretly to deliuer the City of Tarentum to the Romans, when he had go power in the government : Hee was an Architect, and by reason of some building of the C Walles, he had in his hands the Keyes of a Gate which bends to the Mediterranian Coaft. But when bee was retired to the Ramans, and had againe written to Tarentum to Hannibal, and had fent thither, he fled to Philip being discourred, and fore seeing what would succeed : with whom hee had fo much credite and authority, as he was in a manner the Author of the Subuersion of a great Kingdomer Butthe nature The force of of the greatest of the Goddesses seemes to shew the truth voto men, and touth, to give them great forces : fo as although theebe oppos'd by all men; and that sometimes all kind of perswasions accompanied with lies bee arm'd against her, yet shee slips I know not how of her selfe into the fantalies of men, so as sometimes the suddainly raiseth her forces: and D fometimes after shee hath beene long hidden, shee comes to light and discouers vntruth.

When as Nabis Tyrant of the Lacedemonians, had three yeares en Nabis Tyrant loyed the Principality of Lacedemon, he had not attempted any thing, of the Lacede neither durst he make tryall : For that lately Machanides had beene flaine montants by the Acheins: But hee laid the first foundations of a long and grieuous tyranny. He veterly ruined some of the Lacedemonians, banish-

ing those which were Noble or Rich, or had any honour from their Ancestors, giuing their substance and Wines to other Noble men, and to Mercenaries. Who were Murtherers, Theeues, Robbers, and breakers of houses. Finally, this kind of men (to whom the Country was forbidden, in regard of their wickednesse and villanies) were by him carefully drawne together from all the parts of the Earth, of whom he held himselfe Prince and King. He had Lanciers for the guarde of his Body, by whom it plainely appeared that his wickednesse and power would be of long continuance. Besides the said things hee was not fatisfied with the banishmens of Citizens, but moreouer he left not A any place fafe for Fugitiues, nor any certaine refuge. He flue some vp. on the way, sending after them, and kill'd others in their returne. Finally, in Cities (where the Fugitiues did remaine) he hired houses neare vnto them by men not suspeded, sending Candiots thither: who making holes in the Wall, flew them with Arrowes, or at the Windowes, the Fugitiues standing there, or else being at their Meate in their houses: fo as these miserable Lacedemonians had no place of refuge, nor time affured.

He hath by this meanes ruind many. He dreft up an Engine, if it may be so term'd: It was the Image of a Woman richly attired, the forme B whereof was likevnto the Wife of Nabis, and very well painted. When he called any Citizens, meaning to exact money from them, at their first entrance he vied courteons and milde speeches, speaking of the feare of the Acheiss neare vnto the City and Region : He likewise deblared the multitude of Souldiers which hee entertained for their fafety, and finally the charges hee was at for the Gods, and the publique good of the Citty. If by this Speech he perswaded them, then he had them ready at his denotion, but if any one refufing would not give care vnto him, her added these words: peraduenturethou canst not perswade thy Apege the Wife felfe : Yet I thinke this Apege (which was the Name of his Wife) will C doe it. After this speech, the Image was presented : and when hee rife out of his Chaire, hee imbraced it as his Wife, and approacht it neare unto his bosome. This Image had the Elbowes and Hands full of Nailes under the garment, and likewise neare the Papps, and when he toucht the backe of the Image with his hand, he extended it vnto the breft and led it by the handling of Inftruments : and by this To state state and or meaners hee forced the Image in a thorreime, to pronounce

allow has a see any kind of voyce. Vpon this occasion hee ruined many of those which refuse to obey him

There is the state of the state

Lib.14. Transl of the fourteenth Docke

ir would be a fure as vocagedfed by the Encore.

Neissio basing a containe that if nee affailed their Co.

temporred that tono times they are with bour smalls Park Richard Caron and Caron Control Control Caron Car

the Fourteenth Booke of

the History of PolyBIVS.



and the court put to edition to the a He Confuls were carefull of these affaires! Publius Scipio wintred in Affricke, who being advertised that the Carthaginians Pricabelleged prepared an Army to Sea, hee did the by Scipio. like, yet omitting nothing concerning the Siege of By sarshe : neither did hee wholy despaire of Sophux or Syphax, fending often vitto him, for that their Armics were not farre diffant, perfwading himselfe that hee might retire him

from the alliance of the Carthaginians. He despaired not but that hee was now glutted with Rediffes, for whose fake he held the Carthaginians party ; and in like manner of the friend- pedifta the wild thip which he had with the Phenicians, as well for their naturall difcon of Syphas. tent against the Numidians, as for their prenarication both against God and Men. Whilest hee rominated of many things with a vaci-D able hope for the future, for that hee feared a danger by Strangers, knowing that the Enemy encreased much; hee resolved in the endi vpon this occasion. Some of those which hee had fent to Syphine, related vnto him; that the Carthaginians besides their Winter-tents, had their Lodgings made of Wood and Leaues, and among the Numidians, the Princes had them of Reeds, and they of the Cities there affembled of Leaues: Some being of the Ditch and Pallifadoe, and others without.

Take The control of the property of the proper

Lib.14.

Scipio having a conceite, that if hee affailed their Campe by fire. it would bee a furprize vnexpected by the linemy, and of great efit would bee a surprize vnexpected by the linemy, and of great effect for him, inclined among the surprise foreign to letter a Peace, to as the surprise filled to the Emballic filled by the surprise foreign to the surprise filled to the surprise filled

frequent Embassies.

It happened that sometimes they met without Guards, and Scipia alwayes feat men of great indgement with his Embaffadours : for whom hee had prepared Military habits, which were bale, poore. and serville, to discouer and view the entires and illues of the two Campes. There were in truth two: the one of Afarubal, contayning thirty thousand Foote, and three thousand Horse: the other which was ten Flutones off, was of Numidlans, Jauing een thouland Horic, and about fifty thousand Foote. These had the approach The Campe of more easie, and the Lodgings more fit to burne : for that the No. B Syphix of 10000 midians vied no Timber nor Barth, but onely Reeds and Canes to

secto. Foote. make their Lodgings.

The Campe of

30000. Foote

and 3000. Horfe,

And for that the Spring was come, Scipio having inquired of all the preparations of the Enemy hee caufeth his shippes to flote, and pure Engines into them as it were to beliege By farthe by Sea. Moreewith about two thoufand Foote, to the end hee might pur a conceite into the Enemy. that all this was done for the Siege : Yet in truth hee made this Guard, vntill hee might have an opportunity to execute his Enterprize, to the end that the Armies being out of their Camps, the Garrison of the City should not dere to fally forth, nor affaile the C Pallifadoe being neare, nor beliege these which were there in the Guard.

Mis preparation being ready, her fent to Syphax, to demand of himif lice would conclude the Articles, and whether the Carthaginishe did like of them : and that hee floudd propound nothing more concerning the accord, giving also charge to the Embaffadours not to returne without answere vpon these Differences. Being come unto the Namidian, their charge being heard, hee consented, for that Scipie was ready to conclude this 'Accord'; and withall the D Embassadours told him, that they would not depart before they carried backe an Answere from him.

But being in great feare and doubt that the Carthaginians would not gine consent, hee sent with all speede vnto costarabal, adnertifing him of that which was treated, with many perswafions to accept of the Peace. Syphan was negligent and carelesse, and fuffered the Numidians which he had drawnetogether, to lodge without the Campe. This

This scipio did in thew, but hee was carefull of the preparations. And when as the Carthaginians had aduertifed Syphan to conclude the accord, rejoycing thereat, he fignified it presently to the Embassadors: who being returned to their Campe, acquainted Scipio with that which the King had done. Thefe things being heard , thee presently fends backe an Embassie to Syphax, to tell him, that hee liked well of the accord, and defired a peace : but the Senate and Councell were not of that Opinion, faying, that they would purfue their Enterprize. The Embassie came to Syphax, and declared these things vito him. A Scipio had sent these Embassadours, to the end hee should not seeme to haue broken the accord, if during a parley of Peace, hee should attempt any Enterprize of an Enemy raconceiuing that bauing fignified this vnto the Enemy, whatfoeuer he should doe would be blameleffe. Syphax was much discontented with this newes considering the hope hee had of a Peace ! Hee goes to Afdrubal, acquainting him with that which the Romans had fignified voto him : whereupon doubting, they consulted how they should carry themselves, but they were farre from knowing the resolution and designe of the future accidents. As for standing upon their guard, or to beleeve that B any disafter or mistortune were at their Gates, they had no thought thereof.

It is true, their whole intent was to draw the Enemy into the Plaine. Scipio gaue many presumptions by his preparation and summation, that hee had some Enterprize against Bysaribe, F nally, abour Noone he sends for the Captaines Milleniers, whom hee held for his loyall Friends, and acquaints them with his intent, giving them charge, that an houre after Dinner they should put the Army in Battaile before the Pallisadoe, when as all the Trumpets accor- A'eustome of ding to custome had given the Signe. The Romans have a custome, the Romans du, that during the repast, all the Trumpets and Clairons found before the ning their re-C Generals Tent : to the end that during that time they should fet watches in conuenient places. When hee had retired his Spies which hee had fent vnto the Enemies Campe; hee conferres and examines the Reports of the Embassadours, and considers of the approaches of the Campe, making vie therein of the aduice and councell of Maj- Massans and Councell of Maj- Massans and Councell of Majfaniss for the knowledge of the places. And when as all things were ready for the Execution, hee marcheth with his Army directly to-the Enemies

ent number to guard the Campe. They were threefcore Fur longsoff. And when they were come vnto them about the end of the third Watch , he deliuers halfe the Army to Caius Leljus, with all the Numidians, giuing them charge to assaile Syphax Campe, and perswading them to carry themselues like braue men, and not to attempt any thing rashly, holding for certaine that the more their fight is hindied by darkenesse, the more courage and considence they should haue to finish Nocturnall assaults. Finally, hee assailes assaults.

bal with the rest of the Army. Yet his purpose and resolution

wards the Enemy, the first Watch being changed, leauing a suffici. Campe.

Scipio Cers Al-

420

Lelius assailes was not to put it into execution, before that Lelius had first fet fire of Syphan his Campe by fire. the Enemics. Being thus resolved, hee marcheth a flow pace. Leliss on the other side dividing his Army in two, assailes the Enemies fuddainly. But as the lodgings were built in fuch fort, as if they had of purpole beene destinated for the fire, where the first had cast the fire, and confumed all the first Tents, it fell out so as they could not succourthis Disaster: Both for that the lodgings stood close together, and for the abundance of stuffe wherewith they were built. Lelies stood still in Battaile : But Masaiffa knowing the Countrey, placed Souldiers upon the passages, by the which they which fled A from the fire, must retire. Not any of the Wamidians understood that which was done, nor Syphex himselfe, thinking this fire had beene accidentall. Wherefore they goe rashly out of their lodgings and Tents, some being yet asleepe, and others drinking: So as many were crusht in peeces by them at the fally of the Pallisadoe, and and many were burnt : In regard of those which fled the flames, they were all flaine, falling into the Exemics hands, not knowing what fould befall them, nor what to doe.

When at the same time the Carthaginians saw this great fire and high flames, thinking the Numidians Pallifadoe was on fire, fomo R went presently to helpe them : all the rest ran out of the Campe without Armes, standing before their Pallisadoe amazed, they expected what the end would be. When as things succeeded accordrabals Campe ding to Scipio's intent, he falls vponthose which were come out of the Campe, and pursuing others into it, hee presently sets fire on their lodgings. The like happened to the Phenicians, as well by fire as by other miseries and misfortunes, where with the Numidens were

afflicted. But when as Afdrabal had discourred by the euent, that this fire of the Numidians was not accidentall, but by the policy and courage of the Enemy, hee ceased suddainly from giving Succours, making hafte to faue himfelfe, for that there was little hope remaining. fire fuddainly wasted and confirmed all : There were no more passages for Horses, Sumpters, and men, among the which some were halfe dead, and burnt with the fire, others were terrified and amazed, fo as they which made preparation to defend themselves valiantly, were hindred, neither was there any meanes of hope, by reason of the trouble and confusion.

The like happened to Syphan and to the other Commanders. But either of them escaped with some few Horses: the rest of the Troups of Men, Horses, and Sumpters, perished miserably by this fire. D Some were ignominiously slaine by the Enemy after they had fled the violence of the fire, and defeated not onely without Armes, but naked and without apparrell. Finally, all the place of these Campes was full of howling, horrible cries, feare, and vnv suall noise: and moreouer with a violent flaming fire: Either of the which had beene sufficient to amaze and terrifie humane Nature, and the rather for that these things happened contrary vnto all hope. Wherefore it is not possible

for any man living to imagine this accident, confidering the greatpelle: for that it hath exceeded the policy of all precedent actions. And although that Scipio hath performed many deeds of proweffe and was lour, yet this seemes to be the most excellent and hardy of them all. At the breake of day, the Exemies being some defeated, and others fled with amazement, he gaue charge to the Commanders to purfue the Chafe.

or The Chiefe of the Carthaeinians budg'd not in the beginning although he were addertised by many ? The which he did, relying vpon A the fortification of the City. But when hee faw the Mutiny of the Inhabitants among themselves, hee fled, accompanied with those The flight of which had escaped with him, fearing the comming of Scipio. Hee Astrubal. had fine hundred Horse, and about two thousand Foote. The Inhabitants being agreed, yeelded themselves to the Rymans. Whom Scipie pardoned, abandoning the spoile of two Neighbour Cities to the Souldiers. These things being thus decided, hee returned to his first Campe. The Carthaginians were discontented, that the hope which they had conceived in the beginning, had fucceeded fo contrary. They expected to have befreged the Romans (inclosed within the Fort of Byfarthe, where they had wintred) as well by Sea as Land. And when they had all their preparations ready, they were not onely destitute of their Campes, so inconsiderately delivered to their Enemies, but it seemed they should all perish with their Courtrey: For this cause they were amazed with great feare and faintnesse of heart.

And when as the affaires presethem to consider prudently of the future and eminent danger, the Senate was full of doubt, and of divers confused thoughts : Some sayd, they must fend to Hannibal, and call The carthering. him out of Italy, for that all their hope conflitted in that Commander, ansenate holds and the Army which hee had : Others were of advice they should a Counsell. C fend to Scipie to obtaine a truce, and to parley of an accord and agreement : fome would have them to be of good courage, and to levie at Army, and finally to fend to Saphax. He was ded farre vito Abbe. drawing together those which escaped from the danger : which aduice was resolued. Wherefore they leuie men, and send to Afdrabal to that end, and likewise to Syphax, intreating him to give them Succours, and to observe the conventions according to their first purpose, promising him that their Commander should presently ioyne with his Army.

The Roman Generall followeth the Siege of Byfarthe the which hee D did the rather, for that hee was advertised that Syphax continued in his first resolution, and that the Carthaginians leuied a new Army. she Siege of By For this cause hee raised his Campe and besieged By sarthe. When hee sarthe, had divided the spoile, hee chased away the Merchants vpon good aduice. For the Souldiers carelesse of the present commodity of goods: for that the hope of profits which grew by their good fortune was apparent, they had intelligence with the Merchants.

It feemed very fit to the King of Numidia and his Friends at

4000. Celtiberi. fuccour the Carthazinians.

422

the first fight, that they should retire to their houses: But when the Celsiberians arrived neare vnto Abbe, who being entertained, were about foure thouland men. the Garthaginians grew affured . and by little and little recouered their spirits, relying vpon these Troupes. Moreover, when as Pedifes the Daughter of Afdrubal; and Wife to Syphex (of whom we have spoken) intreated him with all affection that he would not abandon the Carthaginians for the prefent : The Numidian yeelded to her intreaties. The Geltiberians put no small hope into the Carthaginians. For although they were but foure thousand, A yet they fayd, they were ten thousand. Finally, they promised to bee insupportable in the fight, as well for their courage as their Armes. The Carthaginians growne proud with this common bruite, were more confident to recover their Gampes.

Finally, they fet vp their Pallisadoe within thisty dayes neare vitto the Plaine called the Great, and there they planted their Campe, accompanied with the Numidians and Celtiberians, being in number thirty thousand men. When the newes came vato the Romans Campe, Scipio presently prepared to part. And when he had sent to those which held the Siege before Byfarthe, and to the others which were at Sea, informing them what they were to doe, he marched towards the Enemy, having all his Bands furnished with the most valiant men. Being come on the fift Day to this great Plaine, and approaching neare the Enemy, he camped the first Day vpon a Hill, thirty Furlongs distant from them, the Day following hee descends into the Plaine, sending the Horse-men before within seuen Furlongs, and there settles his

Campe againe.

After two Dayes expectance, when they had skirmished of either fide to come to a Battaile, either of them in the end drew to Field and put their men in order. Scipie first of all placeth in Front his forlorne hope, according to their custome: After which be appoints the Principals, and in the third place the Triarij in the Reareward. As for the Horse-men, he orders the Italians on the right hand, and Massanissa with the Numidians on the left. Syphax and Afdrubal fet the Celtiberia ans in the midft, against the Roman Bands, the Numidians on the left hand, and the Carthaginians on the right. Suddainly when the Com-The beginning bat began, the Numidians were repulsed by the Roman Horfe-men, and of the Battaile. the Carthaginians (as they had often before) lofing courage, were ouerthrowne by Massariffe's Company: Yet the Celiberians fought valiantly against the Romans: for they had no hope of safety remaining for the ignorance of the places, neither yet if they were taken, considering their vniust Warre. For seeing that Seipio during the Warre of Spaine, had not offended them, it seemed against reason, and a disloyalty to give fuccours to the Carthaginians. But when the Wings began to give backe, they were in a manner all flaine, being inclosed The defeate of by the Principals and the Triarij. Thus the Celtiberians perished, who the Celliberians. were a great helpe to the Carthaginians, not onely in the fight, but alfo in the flight, for if they had not entertained the Romans, and that the Chase had beene suddainly followed, sew of the Enemies had escaped:

The order of Battaile of the Romans Army.

Scipie drawes

towards the

Enemy.

The order which Syphax

Of the History of POLYBINS. Lib.14.

but as their reliftance caused the Ray, Syphax rethed lafely with his Syphax reties

Horse men into his Countrey, and Marubalto Carring with the rest which escaped. When as the Bomato Generall had ginen order Tot The adule of the spoiles and Prisoners, calling a Counsell, he consulted what there the Romans, was to do. Whereupon it was thought fit that Scipie should with our of the Army affaile the Townes, and Telias with Maffinifia accompanied by the Namidians and part of the Roman Army purfues Syptial The purfuit of and not give him leafure to make any new preparations. These things the Romans as thus resolved they eparate themselves, and some goe against syphil ter syphan, A with their Souldiers, and the Generall against the Office of whickeof fome yeilded to the Romans for feare, and others being forced by fiege. At that time the whole Region wanered and were ready to renolt, hauing beene cruelly tormented and vexed during the length of the Wars of Spaine.

In regard of Carthage, as formerly there was great inconstancy, so now there was greater trouble and combustion, for that having heard and seene this Wound the second time, they grew desperate in themsclues. It is true that they among the Councellours which seemed to Divers opinihave greatest Courage, commaunded that they should faile against ons of the Carthose which laid siege to By arthe, and to make a triall sif they might cerning their raise the siege, and to fight with the Enemy at Sea, as being ill furni-Warre. shed. They required also that they should send for Hannibal, and relie voon that hope a and that there was reasonable occasions of safety by these two attempts. Some said, that the time would not allow it, and that they must fortifie and furnish the Chic for a siege : And that being of one consent, the accident would minister occasions. Some also aduise to make an Accord and League, whereby they should free themsclues of the eminent dangers,

As there were many opinions vppon this bufinesse, they confirme them all together. Wherefore this was their Resolution, they that C were to faile into Italy, parting from the Senate should go presently to Sea: The Pylots likewise flould prepare that which concernes the ships: And the rest for the safetie of the Citie, having a daily care for particular things. But when as the Roman Army was inricht with bootie. and that no man made any relistance, Scipio resolues to send the great test part of the bootie to the first baggage: And taking the ablest and most active Bands to seeke to force the Enemies pallisadoe. He therefore (having a good courage) feated his Campe in view of the Carthaginians. He had a conceite that by this meanes hee should amaze and

D terrifie them.

The Carthaginians having in few daies gipen order for all the Equipage, Victualls, and munition of their Shippes, they meant to weigh Anchor, and to execute their Resolution. Scipie came to scipie. Tunis: and although that they which had fied thither kept the approaches, yet he tooke it. Tunis is distant from Carthage sixe score Furlongs, and is to be seene in a manner by all the Citie: Moreouer it is strong aswell by Nature as by Art: The Carthaginians imbarked, and came to Bylarthe.

D

district locking the Encourse Army at See , was troubled fearing leaft his the fall into form inconnectionce, basing not inspected it, neycharmas it ready not prepared for that which might happen. Where-forgraming head, he railed his Campe in feeking to give order for his

the inftruments, and conucaiently to rails the fiege, but ill appoynted for a Combate at Sea, and that shore of the Enemies had beene duthe the Winter instructed and prepared; he was out of hope to make mail wo covered Wessell , and invironed them with three or foure ranckes of Merchatits thips.

The remainder is wanting.



Lib.15.



A PARCELL OF the Fifteenth Booke of

the History of POLYBIVS.



Cipio was impatient, that the meanes to get Victualls was not only taken from him, but there was plenty with the Enemy : But he feemed to be much more grieved that the Carthaginians had broken their Oath and Accord, making War againe. Wherefore hee made choise for Embassadours of Lucius Servinus Lucius Citinus, and Lucius Citinus, Lucius Fabins, and fent them to speake and Lucius Favnto the Garthaginians vponthis late AGi baffadours to

on, and also to fignific vnto them, that the people of Rome had con-carthage. firmed their Accords, for they had lately brought Letters vnto Scipio containing the faid Articles. When the Embaffadours were come to Carthage, they were first brought vnto the Senate, and afterwards to many others, where they discoursed freely of the present Affaires, of the Roman First they put them in minde, how their Embassadours being arrived Embassadours at Tanis, and were come into the affembly of the Councell, they to the Carthahad not only Sacrifized to the Gods, in bending downe to the ground, gimans. as other men are accustomed to do : But moreover (prostrating themsclues humbly) they had kist their feete : And when they were rifen againe, had acknowledged their faulte to haue broken the Accord concluded in the beginning with the Romains, and that for this cause they confest, that they were not ignorant, that they were lustly tormented, and that they intreared that by the Fortune of Humanes, they might not be forced to fuffer things that were not to be repaired, and that by this meanes their indifcretion and rashnesse would make the Romains bounty Commendable. The Embassadours say, that at the repetition

Lib.15.

repetition of these things, the Chiefe and Councellors which were then present in Counsell, were amazed and wondred, with what impudence they forgot things that were then spoken, and durst in manner breake the Courners swormer. It is in a manuer manifelt, that vpon the confidence they had in Hamibal and his forces, they had prefumed to do these things, but inconsiderately. Finally, it was apparent to all the World, that flying the last yeare out of all Italy, and being that vp through their faintnesse in the Countrey of Lacinium, and in a manner belieged, they are fallengs this day to that as they are hardly in fafety: And although that as Victors they would present themselves, A and trie with vs the fortune of the Warre, who have vanquished you in two following Bartailes, yet they must not hold the future for certaine: Nor yet thinke of the Victory, but rather feare to be frustrated againe. And if that hapned, to what Gods would they make their prayers and vowes? In what Language would they speake, to mooue the Victors to a Commiseration of their calamitie: Seeing that with reason all hope would be taken away, aswell with the Gods as men. These things thus propounded, the Embassadours foorth-with depart.

Some of the Caribaginians were of opinion that the Accord should R not be broken: The greatest part aswell of Burgesses Senators, disliked that to the Accord there were some grievances added, and they were much discontented at the hard reprehension of the Embassadors. Moreover they could not reftore the shippes which had beene broken, nor repay the Charges. They were likewise fed with no small hope of Hannibals Victory. One part of them were of opinion to fend away the Roman Embassadors without answere. The Burgesses (whose intention was howfocuer to renew the Warre) confulting among themselves practized in this manner. We must (said they) give order that the Embassadors may be safely sent backe to their Campe. Wherfore they presently prepare two Gallies for their returne. But they aduct-A Conspiracy tize Afdrubal Chiefe of their Army at Sea, intreating him to keepe ginians against some vessells ready necrevato the Romans Campe : to the end that the Romen Em- when the Marriners should abandon the Embassadors, these other should board them, and cast them into the Sea. The Army at Sea

had ioyned to the Romans upon the flat necre unto Byfarthe. When they had acquainted Afdrabal with these things they dismisse the Romans: And give charge vnto the Marriners of the Gallies, that when they had past the River of Macre, they should suffer the Romans to Saile towards the Mountaine; for from thence they might visibly discouer the Enemies Campe. When the Marriners had Conducted D the Embassadours, and according to their charge had crost the River. they turne head having bid the Romans farewell. Lucius in trueth sufpected no harme, but thinking to be thus left at Sea by the Marriners through disdaine, he was much incensed. Whilest they sailed alone, the Carthaginians present themselves with three Gallies, which affaile the Roman Quinquereme, notable to annoy it nor board it, through the great refistance which they made: And that fighting in Front and

vponthe flancke, chewannoyeddhe Souldiers with great flaughter of them with being feene by those which spoiling the Maritine Country. came tunning from their Campeto the Sea shore, they rame the Gal ley a thorb. It is true, many of the Company were flaine; but the Emballadours eleaped beyond all hope, at vot

Of the History of POLYBIVS.

Those things hapning; the Warre was againe renewed with great ret violence and crueley then before; \ The Remans intended with great Courage to vanquish the Carthaginians, seeing the faith violated. The Curthagenians likewife fearing themselves guilty of that which they had A committed, were carefull nor co fall into the Enemies subjection. Their courages being luch, it was apparent that this must be decided by a Battaile i For this cause not omy Italy and Affricke, but also spaine Sicily and Sardinia, were troubled and rauffled in their judgements, attending the end. And when at the fametime Hannibal was destitute of Horses, he sent to one Tychene a Namidian allied to Syphen, who seemed to have the most valliant of all the Affricane horse, perswading him to give him succours, and hee should be a sharer in the Action, Hamibal Grade knowing that if the Carthaginians vanquished, his Principallity would without remaine safe and intire. But if the Romans prevailed, his life it selfe wilbe indanger, in regard of the ambition of Massanissa. Being thus per-B fwaded , hee comes voto Hannibal with about two Thouland

When as Scipio had fortified his Pleete at Sea, and left Bebies for Lieutenant, he spoiled the Cities, refusing to receiue any that offered stielleure. themselves willingly, making them saues, and shewing the indigna-nantat Seafor tion which he had conceived against the Enemies in regard of the faith sopie. broken by the Carehaginians. Binally, he fends continually to Masta niffa . letting him understand how the Carthaginians had broken the Accords, intreating him to affemble the greatest Army that possibly he could, and to joyne with him according vnto their consentions. C Maffaniff a after the conclusion of the Accord, was gone with an Army accompanied with ten Enfignes of Amage, afwell Horfe as foote, not only to recouer his owne Country, but also to leaze vpon thole of Syphase with the helpe of the Romans. Finally it hapned that the Embaffas dours lent backe from Rome Landed at that time at the maritime Palli-The Corbegia fado of the Romans, Suddaining Bebias fends his men to Sciplo, and re- nion Bos taines the Carthagintans, being fad and supposing to be in wonderfull Bebia.

When as they were aduertized of the crucky of the Carthaginians n towards the Roman Embassadours, they helde not themselves secure from punishment. When as Scipio understood what had beene done. that the Senate and people of Rome had confirmed the agreement which he had made with the Carthaginians, and that they were ready to do that which he adulfed them, he was wonderfull glad. Morcouer, he commands Bebias to fend backe the Carthaginian Embalfadours to their Houses with all favour and curtesie: Ving therein a good aduice (in my opinion) with a wife confideration in what great effective his Country held their faith with Embassadors. Hee made his recke-

Lib.15.

ning, that the punishment described by the Carrhaginians did not merit fo greats respect, then that which the honour of the Ramans required to be done. Wherefore refrayning his Choller and indignation , conceined for the offence of the Carthaginians, hee laboured to obserue that which they say in the Proudibe . That mee must cleane wate the duties of our Elders. By this medices he wonnethe hearts of all the Carthaginians, and surmounted Hannibal and their madnesse by his

The Cartbagini-

The Clemency

When as the Carthaginians faw their Townes forced, they fent to A anspresse Han- Hannibal that hee should delay no longer, but present himselfe vnto the Enemy, and decide their affaires by a battaile. Hannibal hearing these things, made answere to those that came vato him, that hee would confider thereon and make choise of a fit time, to the end he might not seeme negligent. Some daies after her raiseth his Campe from Adrumetum, and marching he Campes neere vnto Zama, which is a Citie fine daies iourney from Carthage towards the West. From thence he sent three Spies, desirous to know where the Romans campt, and how they governe things which concerne the Scituation of a camp. Hannibaltiples. When these Spies were brought to Scipio Generall of the Romans, he was fo farre from punishing them, as others vivally doe, as contrariwise B he gaue charge to a Captaine Milleniere, to shewe them plainely what soeuer was done in the Campe. Which being done, he demaunds, if the Commissary had shewed them; all things carefully. The which when they had confest, he sent them backe with Victualls and Guides. commaunding them to relate carefully vnto Hannibal what they

> This Action causing Hampibal to wonder at the magnanimity and confidence of the man, he conceived an humour so parly with Scipio. The which when he had resolved, he sent a Trumpet, saying that he defired to Treate with him concerning all their differences. Scipio hauing heard this from the Trumpet, consented, faying, that hee would fignific varo him the place and the howre, when and where he would parly. These things being heard by the Trumper he returnes vnto his Campe. The day following Mallanilla arrives with fixe Thousand foote, and almost as many Horse: Whom when as Scipio had intertained courteonfly, and shewed him great signes of fauour, for that hee had made all those subject which had formerly obeyed syphax, hee foorth-with raiseth his Campe: And when hee came vnto the City of Margara, and had found a commedious place, and had appointed the watring within a Bows shor, hee planted his Campe there: And from D thence he gave notice (by certaine convenient Messengers) vnto the Chiefe of the Carthaginians, that hee was ready to parly about their differences.

The which Hannibal hearing, he presently marcheth with his camp, and approaches to neere, as he was within thirty furlongs of the Romans: Sitting downe upon a certaine Hill, which besides the Watting, was for all other things commodious and sufficient enough: In trueth it was something farre, and therefore troublesome voto the Souldiers.

The day following the two Commanders, accompanied with some few Horse-men goe out of their Camps, and againe they separate them- The enterview felues from their Companies, meeting alone in an indifferent place with of Hamibaland on Interpreter Hamibal behan first in these cormes. I with Gold School an Interpreter. Hannibal began first in these termes. I wish sayd hee, the Romans had never defired anything out of Italy, nor the Cartha. ginium out of the limits of Affricke : either of them no doubt have great bounds, and as it were limitted by Nature. And as wee have Hamilball made Warre, first for the difference of Sicily, then againe for Spaine: Speech to seig and that finally, Fortune being auerse against vs, our Countrey hath beene in danger, and wee are now in perill : The question is, whether there be any meanes to end this present difference after we have pacified the Gods.

For my part I am ready, having made tryall how inconstant Fortune is, and how by little and little shee inclineth sometimes to the one, and somerimes to the other, as if the were gouerned by Children. I am in doubt in regard of thee, as well for thy great youth, as for that all things have succeeded according to thy defire, as well in Affricke as in Spaine, having neuer yet felt the violence and fury of Fortune, fo as happily thou doft give no credit to my words although they beetrue. Yet confider the condition of these things, B which not onely concerne our Ancestors, but euen our selues. I am that Hannibal, who after the Battaile neare vnto Cannes, being Lord in a manner of all Isaly, approached neare vnto Rome, and planted my Campe within forty Furlongs, studying what Ishould doe withyou and your Countrey.

Now I come into Affricke to thee a Roman, to conferre with thee of my fafety, and of that of the Carthaginians. I pray thee confider this, and grownor proud, but courtedully conferre of the presentaffaires's that is, that thou wouldst choose of good things the greatest, and of bad the leaft. What man of judgement will make choice of C the danger which is neare him, if hee obserne it well? For the which if thou obtained the Victory, thoushalt much increase thy glory, and that of thy Countrey : whereas if thou beeft vanquished, thou shalt viterly lose through thine owne fault all thy pompe and magnificenter, and precedent commodity.

But to what end doe I vie these words . To this, that all that for the which wee have formerly contended, may remaine to the Romans, as Sicily , Sardinia , and Spaine ; and that the Carthaginians in regard thereof may neuer make Warre against them. The like also to be done D of the other Hands which lye betwirt leaby and Affricke, and lee them belong to the Bomans. I beleeue confidently, that these accords and agreements will hereafter bring fafety to the Carthaginians, and to thee and the Romans great glory and hohour. Thus much spake Hannibal

Scipie answering to these things, the Romans sayd, they have not scipies answer beene the Authors, but the Carthaginians, of the Warre which bath to Hagnibal. past for Sicily, nor of that of Spaine r whereof they must know that Hannibal had beene the chiefe Author, and that the Gods

Articles comprehendedin the Accords past betwixt Scioin and the

are witneffes, whom I pray to impart the vertue, not to those which are the Authors of out-rages, but to those that defend themselues. Yet I confider what the Nature of Fortune is, and with all my power haue searcht into humane affaires. If before the Romans passage into Affricke, and that parting out of Italy thou hadft propounded these accords, I am of Opinion thou hadft not beene fruffrated of thy hope, But now thou hast abandoned Isaly against thy will, and that being in Affricke, we have held our Campe in the open Plaine, it is manifest that matters are much changed. Withall (which is a great matter) A we are come hither, thy Citizens being partly vanquished, and suing for a peace, we have past in writing the accords that were sworne, in the which (besides that which thou now propoundest) these Articles were comprehended: that the Carthaginians should have no conered vessels, that they should pay three Millions of Gold, restore the Captines without Ransome, and gine hostages. These were the accords which past betwixtys: for the which wee and they came to the Senate and to our people. Wee have protested that that these accords thus reduced to Writing seemed good vnto vs : The Carthaginians intreated that they might enloy the faid agreements, : The Se-Carthaginians. nate obeyed, and the people in like manner gaue their consent B

> The Carthaginians after they had obtained what they had demanded, have transgressed and broken the accords. What remaines now to be done? Be thou in my place and judge. Shall wee take the grieuances out of the conditions, to the end you may suffer no punishments for the transgression, and that you may be taught hereafter to prevaricate against your benefactors? Or else having obtained that which you demand you should not be bound voto vs ? But what : When thy people now in suing had obtained their request, they presently intreated vs. as Enemies, after they had conceived some little hope of thee. If the burthens had beene too heavy, they might have required an abatement from the people : and if they had remitted any Articles of the accord, the Senate doubtleffe would have made no long delay. But to what end tend our words? Submit your sclues and your Country to our protection, or vanquish fighting. Hannibal and Selpse having discoursed after this manner, being of contrary opinions retire.

Theday following at Sunne-rising, they put their Armies into Battaile, whereof the Carthaginians were to fight for their fafety and for Affricke, and the Romans for the vaiuerfall Empire. What is hee D who confidering these things can without compassion heare the relation? No man shall euer finde more warlike Armies, nor more fortunate Commanders, nor more excellent Wrestlers in the Stratagems of Warre, hor greater rewards propounded vnto them by Fortune. For they which should obtaine the Victory, should not onely bee Lords of Affricke and Affa, butalfo of all the other parts of the World which are at this time mentioned in Histories: the which soone after succeeded. Scipio put his Army in Battaile after this manner.

First he ordred those that were lightly armed by certaine spaces : after The order of whom he placed the Bands of the Principals, and not according to Scipio's Barthe spaces of the first Ensignes, as the Romans had beene accustomed, tailed but distant one from another, in regard of the multitude of the Enemies Elephants: and vpon the Reare hee appoints the Triarij. As for the Wings, hee gaue charge of the left to Caius Lelyus with the Italian Horse-men: and the right to Massanissa with all the Numidians that were under his charge. Finally, hee fill'd the spaces of the first Ensignes with forked Iauelings: to whom he commanded to begin the Skirmish: and if they were repuls'd and forc'd to give backe by the violence of the Elephants, that they which should bee separated: should retire by the straight spaces to the Reare of the Army: and they which should be entironed, should retire to the Ensignes by the croffe spaces.

These things being thus ordred, he makes an Oration in few words to his Army, and yet proper for the event of the affaires. He intreats Scipio's Speech them to remember their precedent Battailes, and to behaue themfelues like braue men, worthy of the Roman Name, fetting before their eyes, that having the Victory they should not onely be Lords of all Affricke, but moreouer they should purchase the Empire and government of the rest of the World. If the fortune of the Warre fucceeded otherwise, thee which dyed fighting valiantly, should haue an honourable graue, having died for their Countrey: whereas they that should turne head, should live the remainder of their daics in great ignominy and mifery, for there is no place in Africke that can shelter them in theire flight, finally if they fall into the Carthaginians hands, they which have any judgement understand well what the euent will bee: and God forbid that any of you should make triall of it. when as fortune propounds vnto vs great rewards of every fide, shall weenor bee the most simple Idiotts in the world, if when of good C things they present the best vnto vs. wee choose with a desire of life the worst of bad: wherefore in propounding these two, either to vanquilli or dye, hee incourageth them to march against the enemy, for being in this humour, they must with a dispaire of life, alwayes vanquish their enemies in making head. Scipio inflamed the hearts of his Souldiers after this manner.

In regard of Hannibal, hee placed his Elephants before the whole Hannibalhis Army, being aboue foure score and then about twelve thousand Mer- Battaile. cenaries, which were Geneuois, Maiorquins, Minorquins; and Mau. rusiens: After which hee placed the Inhabitants of Affricke and D the Carthaginians. After all which hee orders those which hee had brought out of Italy, and separates them from the rest about a Furlong. Hee fortified the Wings with Horse-men, ordring the Numidians on the right, and the Carthaginians on the left. Hee commanded every Leader to encourage his Souldiers, to the end they might put their trust in him, and the Troupes which hee had brought out of Italy. Hee likewife commands the Carthaginian Captaines to acquaint their men with the miseries which would Yv 2

Libis.

befall their Wines and Children, if this Battaile fucceeded otherwife then they desired. The which they effected. Hannibal likewise came to them which hee had brought with him, and intreates them with a long speech to remember their mutuall and common life, for the space of scuenteene Yeares: That they should thinke of the many Battailes which they had fought with the Romans, in the which they had beene alwayes Victors, and had neuer left them any hope of Victory. But hee intreated them chiefly, that amidst the encounter they should set before their eyes the infinite prerogatiues : Namely, the Battaile which they gained, fighting against the Father of this present Roman Commander, neare vnto Trebia: Then that which was against Flas A minius : and also towards Cannes against Emilias : the which hee fayd, were neither for the number and multitude of men, nor according vnto their forces worthy to bee compared to the prefent

When he had vsed this Speech, hee commands them to looke vpon the Enemies in Battaile, telling them that they were not onely fewer in number, but they were scarce the least part of those which then fought against them, and that they could not compare with them in forces. And as the others were before inuincible, they had fought cheerefully and floutly, and that of these some were the Children of B men, and the others the Reliques of fuch as had beene often defeated in Italy, and had so many times shewed them their heeles. Wherefore he was of aduice that they should not doe any thing to the preiudice of their glory and fame, nor of their Commander : But in fighting couragiously, confirme the opinion which was conceiued of them to be inuincible. Behold the Speeches or such like which they The beginning held vnto their Armies. When as all things necessary were ready for of the Battaile the Combat, and that the Numidian Horse men bad skirmithed long: Hannibal commanded those which were mounted voon the Elephants

by the Elephants.

432

to charge the Enemy. But when the Trumpets and Clairons founded, fome of them being amazed, turn'd head, and went violently against the Namidiane. which were come to succour the Carthaginians. Finally, the left Wing of the Carthaginians was left bare by Massanissa's Company. The rest of the Elephants fighting with the lauelings in the midst of the Battalions, without doubt endured much, so likewise they annoved the Enemies: vatill that being amazed, some going forth by the spaces were taken, as the Generall had given order: Others flying on the right hand, and wounded by the Horse-men, passe in the end the place of the Battaile. And when the Elephants were thus difmay-n ed. Lelym charging the Carthaginian Horse-men, repulseth them in such fort, as they soone turned head, the Chase being pursued by him.

The like did Massanisa. Whilest these things are in action, the two Battalions come to fight with a flow pace, and wonderfull great courage, except those which were come out of Italy, who budge not out of their place. When they came to affront one another,

anorher the Romans crying after their Countrey manner, and making their Targets found with their Swords; fought with their E. nemies A dring Merpedaries of the Carrhaginium caft forth dillers coll. fulederies oforie was not the fame found, nor the fame voyce tout dinesstandbages for they were men drawne from diners Countries. And when as this Barraile was fought with great courage; and man to man, for that the Combattants could not helpe themselies with their fauctings nor! Swords, the Mercenaries fought in the beginning with great courage and dexterity , and wounded many Romans. The Re-A manualfo crusting in their good order and Armes, laboured much to

And when as they which were in the Reare of the Romans, gave courage to the first in following them, and the Carthaginians not comming on to succour their Souldiers, but staying behinde basely and for want of courage, the Barbarians declined. Wherefore when they few themselves abandoned by their Companions, in regiring they fell wpon those which flood still and slew them : the which forced many Carthaginians to dye valiantly. For when they were flaine by the! Mercenaries; they fought boldly as well against their owne men as against the Ramans . In which combat (as they fought after a B horrible manner like furious men) they made no lefte flaughter of their owne then of the Enemies. By this meanes they fell confinedly vpon the Troups that were lightly armed. The Captaines of the Principals feeing this accident; charged their Battalions. The greatest part of the Carthaginians and Mercenaries were flaine, aswell by them as by those that were lightly armed.

In regard of such as escaped and sted, Hannibal would not suffer them to mingle with the Barralions, commanding their Captaines to ranke them before, and forbidding moreouer to receive fuch as approacht: wherefore they were forced to retire voon the Wings, and without C them. But for that the place betwixe the two Armies was full of bloud and dead bodies, this put the Caribaginian Generall into great difficulty, and was a great let for him to charge againe. For the in-Stability of the dead which were blowly and falle vpon heapes, with the confusion of Armes which were fallen among the dead, they were to have a troublesome passage which marcht in Battaile. Yet the wounded being carried backe, and a retreate being founded by the Trumpets which followed those that were lightly armed, hee puts his men before the fight in the midft of the Enemy : In regard D of the Principals and Triarif, hee gives order that being closely loyn'd, they should march crosse the dead bodies your the two Wings.

When they were equall with those that were lightly armed, the Battalions charged one another with great violence and courage. It happened that for the multitude, courage, and equall Armes of either fide, the Combat was long doubtfull. They that were flaine, dyed cuery man in his Ranke with a braue emulation, votill that Maffa. niff and Lelyus returning from the chase of the Horse-men, had by

good forsune ralliedsheir men together with whom charging vpon the Rearg of those which more with Himsbal son great sumber of them were deteated in Battaile and tere of them escaped which fled : For the Horizmen were dispersed of all lides and the Country was plaine and Champion. There died about fifteene hundred Remans, gainst the Car- and twenty thousand Carthaginians of he Prilonets were not much Telle. This Battaile in the which they fought for the Empire, and which by the fayd Commanders was indged the winerfall victory to the Romans, had this end. And when a after the fight, Scipio purfuing the Carebaginians, had onerthrowne their Pallifados, hee seturned to his Campe. Hannibal recourred Adramesum, still running with A lome few Horfes. Hee had done his dury in this Barraile and comitting that which was requifite for agoodan expert Captaine.

For first he laboured to dinert the eminent danger by a parley with Scipio. Kis the duty of a man which doth not wholy relye vpon vaquified by for- lour, but diffrusting Fortune, to fore-fee things which contrary to all opinions doe vitally happen in a Battaile. And afterwards comming to the Combat, he so carried himselfe, as the Battaile could not be better ordred against the Romans by him that shall weethe like Armes, then Hapnibal had then disposed it. For when the Army and order of the Romans was divided, it fell out that all of them might fight rogether, B or by Troups against any open attempt, by a certaine order of the Battalion ifor that alwayes two Enfignes were toyned neare together when it was needfull, and that moreover their Armes served the Souldiers for a covering and affurance, confidering the greatnesse of their Targets, and the firmnesse of their Swords to strike, so as for these reasons it seemed a difficult thing to defeate them. Yet Hannibal gaue so good order for all these things, as he shewed his industry. For he had suddainly prepared this multitude of Elephants, and placed them before his Battalions, to the end they might breake the Enemies Rankes. Secondly, he ordred the Mercenaries in Front, after which he caused the C Carthaginians to march , wo the end they might tire the bodies of the Enemies, and make the vigour of their Armes vaprofitable, by reason of the number of the Dead, and that withall her should force the Carthaginians, (as placed in the midst) to fland in Battaile, and to fight vntill that forced by necessity he should come to combat. In regard of the valiant men, her mingled them by spaces: fore-seeing that which doth yoully happen, to the end that remaining vindanted both in body and courage, he might make vie of their forces at need. He descrues pardon in this, that having omitted nothing that might serve to vanquish, yet he hath beene frustrated, seeing that before hee had n beene inuincible. It happens sometimes that some actions resist the attempts of good men : and sometimes it happens that a good man is prenented of his defire by him that is better the which may then be fayd to have happened by Hannibal.

It is true, that when as things which exceed the common custome and A defect of the manner of living of some, perish of themselves for the greatnesse of the accidents, they deserve commiseration with those that are present and hearent: The vhyfuall noughy of things mooneys. But if that flich anaccident happens by deceite and Hypocrific it moones none to pitty. but to Choller and Hatred : The which then happened to the Caribia. ginian Emballadores

Scipio beginning in few words, let them understand that hee was nor to thew them any courteffe or fauour, feeing they confest they had beguine the Watte against the Romans, and against the conventions had spoil d the City of the Zuchanttens, and first Transgressed Zachantia spoithe Accords. Oathes, and Agreements reduced to Writing: And led by the Car-A yet the Romans haucrefolued to fliewe them grace, and in regard of Fortune and humane aduentures,) to vie Clemency and Magnanimity in their present Affaires. The which should be manifest vitto them, if they confider what was offered. Finally they must not take it ill if for the present they imposed vpon them things, which they must doe, or fuffer, or deliver : But they should wonder and hold it strange, if they obtaine any mercy: Seeing that Fortune diffauouring them for their ininftice, had (in denying mercy and pardon) made them fubicet voto their Enemies.

This Speech being ended, hee promifed them Clemency and Fauour : Teaching them withall what they were to indure : The which is comprehended in these Articles. That they should leave vnto the Carthaginians the Cities which they had in Affricke before this last Warre Accord, proattempted against the Romans, and the Countries which anciently they pounded by held, and finally their Cattle, Bodies, and other Wealth. Moreo. Scipio to the Carthaginians. uer it was granted them, that from that day they might live free without any let or hinderance of their Lawes and Customes. This was that which was granted them of grace. Againe they added these contrary Articles: That the Carehaginians thould make restitution, of the vniust spoiles which they had committed against the Romans during the Truce : That they should restore all the Captines and Fugitiues, C which they had had during the Warre: They should deliuer all their long Vessels except ten Gallies : And in like manner the Elephants : not to attempt to make any Warre out of Affricke, nor in Affricke it felfe without the consent of the Romans. To restore vnto King Massanista. the Houses; fields, Cities, and whatsoeuer had belonged to him or his Predecessors, within the limits that should be set downe: That they should nourish the Army for three moneths, and pay them vntill the answere were returned from Rome . And according voto the Accord pay fixe Millions of Gold, within fifty Yeares, after the rate of fixfcore thouland Crownes yearely: That they should give in Hollage D for the affurance of their faith, a hundred yong men, as the Commaunder should appoint, which should not be vuder the Age of sourcecene Yeares, nor aboue thirty.

The Roman Generall propounded these things vnto the Carthaginian Embassadors, who made hast to make their Report. They say, that when as a certaine Senator, laboured to contradict the faid Articles in Hanibalforceth the Senate, Hannibal stepping foorth drew him out of his Seate: And when as the rest were discontented, for that hee had done against the

436

Custome of the City: Hannibal steppes up againe and faith, (as it is reported) that if he had committed any thing against their Custome and course of living, he was to be pardoned: For they knew well that being a young Boy of nine yeares of age, he had gone out of the Country, and returned againe at the age of fine and forty a For this cause he intreated them that they would not have any regard to that, wherein he had transgreft their Custome, considering rather that if he suffered for the affaires of the Country: It was for them he had fallen into this transgression. Finally that it seemed wonderfull and strange to him, if any Carthaginian knowing what Councell had beene taken against the A Remans, alwell for the publicke as private good, did not adore Fortune : Seeing that now being made subject vnto them, they had purchaled such grace and fauour: Whereof if any one would have put the Country in Hope, some daies before the Romans had the Victory, hee would not have beene able to speake for the greatnesse and excelle of the apparent miseries.

Wherefore he intreated them againe, not to do any thing flowly, nor by Discourse: And that consenting all with one voice to the Articles of the peace, they should Sacrifice vnto the Gods, and pray that the people of Rome might confirme them. When it seemed that hee B had given wife advice, and fit for the time, it was concluded to accept the Accord prescribed, and to passe it with the Romans. Wherefore they suddainly sent away the same men in Embassie which had contra-

dicted the Articles.



A Parcell of the Deedes and Posterity of Ptolomy.

Inally who will not wonder, that Ptolomy had not provided to give aide to these men during his life, seeing there were some which were ready to succour them: Bur when Death surprized him, hee left a young Infant, to whom D by right of nature, he had indeauoured, as they fay, with both hands to preferue him the Crowne: Then encouraging one another, they make hast to practise a Villany, and to murther this Infant, and to divide his principallity among them. The which they do not after the manner of Tyrants, who pretend some colour for their infamy: But carry themselves afterwards so impudently and brutishly, as that which they speake of the life of Fishes is due vnto them. Of whom they fay, that although they be of one kind, yet the defeate of

the smaller feeds and entertaines the life of the greater. Wherefore who will not thinke to see a great execration against the Gods, and a cruelty towards men, and likewife a great anarice of the faid Kings, feeing this paction and agreement as in a glaffe : What is hee who for these causes having accused Fortune in humane affaires, doth not likewife consider that shee hath fince made them to suffer worthy punishments, and left to posterity a good example for the amendment of their course of lining, as having propounded vnto these Kings such an ignominious punishment ? For when they had transgrest the agreements a-A mong themselues, and divided the Infants Principality, all things did suftly proue hurtfull and opposite vnto them, which they had wickedly resoluted against their Kinssolkes and Neighbours, by the bringing in of the Romans : for that the one and the other being suddainly vanquished, they were not onely forced to abate their couetousnesse of another mans goods : but being made subject to tributes, they were constrained to obey the Commandments of the Romans. Finally, Fortune bath in a short time disposed of the Reigne of Ptolomy, making the Potentates of the others, and their successours, some of them to bee banished and miserable, involving some in a manner in the like



Of Philip of Macedony.

cies being an affured defeare to all men.

Lib.15.

He Cianeins fell in these miseries not so much through Fortune, and the iniustice of their Neighbours, as by their owne rathnesse and the bad government of their Common weale, where most commonly the worst were in esteeme, and good men put to death for the spoiles of their Wealth, and by this meanes they are

in a manner willingly fallen into these missortunes, whereunto all men incline, I know not how apparently, yet they cannot refolue vpon any aduice, nor suddainly distrust : which some bruite Beasts doe. For if Agoodsompafometimes they enter into Icaloufic of Baites and Nets, if they have tion. D feene any other perish, you shall hardly draw them to doe the like, hole ding the place for suspect, with a distrust of all things which haucany resemblance. In regard of men, when they heare some speake, and fee others perish in like manner: Yes suddainly when any one vsing gracious words, hach propounding a mutuall hope of correction, they run without any regard into the toiles, knowing certainly that neuer any

man which had swallowed this kind of baite had escaped, such poli-

When

Lib.15.

Embaffadours

wronged by Philip.

When as Philip had reduced the City under his obedience, he reioyced as if he had brought some braue and honourable action to an end. And when hee had speedily given Succours to his Allies, and had terrified all those which estranged themselues from him, and had claymed abundance of goods and bodies under the colour of Iustice, hee neuer thought of those things that were contrary, although they were manifest : giuing at the first Succours to the Allie, who had not beene wrong'd, and yet had broken the confederations with his Neighbours. And as finally he had confirmed the bruite of his cruelty towards his Friends, afflicting the Cities of Greece with great miseries, he had iust- A ly purchased the generall esteeme of a cruell man withall the Grecians. Thirdly, he wronged & reuiled the Embassadors of the said Cities, who were come to free the Cianeins from that eminent danger: And being called by him, and conferring daily with him, they were present at things which he defired not.

Moreover, he incensed the Rhodiens against him: so as they could not endure to heare any mention of him. Finally, Fortune therein fauours him openly. His Embassadour made an Oration vpon the Theater against the Rhodiens, commending the magnificence of Philip, who when he had by fome meanes got possession of the City, he had B done that grace vnto the people. This he did to reprehend the suspicion and detraction of those which resisted him, and to manifest his resolution to the City. There came also some one from the Port vnto the Magistrate, advertising him of the ruine of the Ciancins, and of the cruelty which Philip practifed against them: So as when the Gouernour entring in the midst of the Embassadours Oration, speaking the faid things, and declared the newes. the Rhediens could not

beleeue for the exceffe of the fact.

Philip having then prevaticated and diffembled, not so much against the Ciancins as against himselfe, began to be so transported and to stray from his duty, as hee gloried and brag'd in his actions as good, for the which hee should have beene ashamed. The Rhodiens from that day held Philip for an enemy, and prepared to that end. The Etoliens also conceiused a hatred against him for the same fact. When as lately being reconciled, he had given forces to that Nation, there being then no canse of hatred nor spleene, (when as a little before the Etoliens, the Lysimacheins, Calsidoniens, and Cianeins were made Friends) hee hath in affailing first the Lysimacheins, diftraced their City from the Alliance of the Etoliens: spoiling those of the Calsidemiens, and thirdly the Ciancins, whilest that the Chiefe of the Esolions was resident in the it City, having the superintendency of the publicke affaires.

Finally Prucias reioyced for that which had hapned beyond his defires: But he was discontented that another should reape the reward for the taking of the Citie, and that there was fallen vnto him a desolate place naked of buildings, fo as hee could not effect any thing. After he had affembled the greatest men of the Macedonians, he came to them with the King and Azatheelia, faining in the beginning that hee was

not able to speake for teares: And when he had wiped them often with his cloake, and caused them to cease, take saith he, carrying an infant, this which the dying Father hath delivered into the armes of this Creature (filewing his fifter) and hath left it with vs vpon our faith, do you understand my masters of the Athenians? The loue of this infant is of small moment to procure his fafetie, where as now the cause is in you and your hands. Thepoleme in truth hath for a long time (as it is manifest to those which consider well of things) had greater desires then were fitting, and hath now resolued on the day and time when he will vsurpe the Towne. For this cause hee intreated that they would not believe him, but those which being present knew sufficiently the

This Speech being ended, he brings in Critolaus, who faid he had scene the Altars and Sacrifices; prepared by the multitude, for the vsurpation of the Crowne. The which the Macedonians hearing, they were neither mooued with pittie, nor had any respect vnto that which was spoken. But in mocking and murmuring they iested among themsclues; so as Prusia knew not how he got out of the Assembly; the which happed in other Affemblies of the people. In the meane time many of the old Souldiers arrived by Sea, whereof some being kins-B men and other friends, they intreated them to affift them in this present businesse, and that they should have regard to the injuries which had beene done them by dishonest and vnworthy men. Most of them were incensed to put the great men to death: for that they prefumed that what should happen would be ento their prejudice : Seeing that Thopsteme tooke all things necessary that were sent to Alexandria. Finally, it was an advancement to Agathocles to incense the Choller of many, and of Tlepoleme.

They had put Danae his Mother in Law into custodie, being pull'd from the Temple of Ceres, and drawne thorough the Citty bare-hea- Danaea pil-C ded; seeking by this meanes to shewe their harred against Tlepome, some Wherefore the people being incenfed spake no more in secree . For somein the night wrote their conceined harred in all places. Others in the open day going in Troupes, delivered the harred which they bare unto the greatest. They which were with Agathoeles, seeing the affaires, and having little hope in them, they thought of their retreates But when as through their indifferetion they were ill prouided, they defifted from their Enterprize, and made a Register of the Confpirators and of their Adherents in this commotion, to the end they might

In fuddainly kill fome of their Enemies, and feaze vpon others, and by this meanes vsurpe a Tyrannicall power.

And as they practized thefethings, they accused Meragena one of Thepolemes guards, for that he aductized all, and held his party in regard of the familiaritie of Adet, Gouernour at that rime of Bubafte, Agathaoles suddainly gives charge to the Secretary Nicoffrares, that he should informe dilligently of Maragena, with all manner of torments. Maragena being suddainly taken by Nicostrates, and led into a certaine sceret place of the Hall, he answered at the first well, concerning the

declared Enemiesto Philip.

accidents which had happened: But when hee confest nothing of the things which were spoken, he was stript. Some prepared the instruments to Torture him, others holding Whips put off their Cloaks. At the same instant one comes running to Nicoftrates, and after hee had whispered in his eare, he parts in hast. Nicofrates followes bim suddainly without speaking word, beating continually vpon his thigh. This was an enhoped accident for Maragens. For some held the Whips, but they had no Commandment to whip him, others had the inffruments ready to torture his feet.

When as Nicostrates was gone, they were all amazed, and looking A one vpon another expected when he would returne. Soone after the affistants vanished one after one, and in the end Mægarena was abandoned. This done, he passeth the Hall contrary to all Hope, and being naked flipt into a certaine Tent of the Macedonians neere unto the Hall. When by good fortune he had found the greatest there assembled, hee acquaints them with his difafter, and how he had escaped, as it were, by miracle. Some of them did not belieue him, others feeing him naked were forced to giue credite. Mæragena intreates them with teares, not onely to have a care of his fafety, but also of the Kings and their owne: And that their Death was manifen, if they did not B make vse of the occasion, for that all the World was inflamed with Hatred, and there was not any man but was ready to put Azathecles to Death, saying that this Hatred increased Housely, and that they must have men to execute this Enterprize.

The Macedonians hearing this Speech were incensed, and in the end obeying to Maragena: They suddainly enter into the first Tents of the Macedonians, and then into those of the other Souldiers. They were iovning and neere to the fide of the Citic. When as many of them tooke vpon them the Charge, and that there was no need of any thing but of some one, to give courage to them that came, and who should first execute the Enterprize, this attempt kindled like a same. There were scarce soure houres spent, but that all men aswell Souldiers as Citizens, conspired to affaile Agathacles. There was a accident which hapned suddainly, which served well to end this attempt. For when they had brought Letters to Agathocles, and that the Spies were returned, and the Letters feat by Tlepoleme, fignified voto the Aimy that he would be soone there, being likewise assured by the Spies that hee was neere, he fell into fo great a transport in his judgement, as hee neither did nor thought of any remedy against the eminent dangers, but following his accustomed course, hee went to drinke and banquet n with others.

Oenentbe fad.

And when Ocuanthewas fad and forrowfull, thee goes vnto Ceres Temple. Where (when it was opened for a certaine Annuall Sacrifice) the prayes humbly, then the vieth Enchauntments towards the Goddeffes, finally thee staves at the Altar and rests there. Many Women were filent and observed her heavinesse and affliction. The kinsfolkes of Polycrates, and some other Noble men comforted her, and being ignorant of the approaching milery. She on the other fide crying our

with a loud voice, Come not neare me you Beafts: I know well you are ill affected towards vs, and that you require the Gods to fend vs fome ill Fortune : But I hope that with their good pleasure you shall taste of your owne Children. Hauing ended this Speech, thee commands the Executioner to suppresse them, and if they did not obey, to beate them. Taking this occasion they all depart, and in lifting vp their hands towards the Gods, they prayed that shee might make tryall of that which shee had wisht to the Company.

But when the men had concluded the revolte, and that in every A house the fury of the Women was added thereunto, their hatred grew double. When as the darkeneffe of the Night was come, the whole City was fill'd with Mutiny, lights, and running vp and A mutiny of downe. Some affembled at the Theater with cries, others encoura. the people, ged one another, and some ran to hide themselves in houses, and places that were not suspected. And when the spacious places about the Hall; the place for running of Horses, and the Court about Dyonisis. us Theater, were fill'd with a multitude of all forts of men. Agathocles hearing this, riseth vp being drunke, after that hee had emptied his gorge, and came vnto the King after hee had taken all his Kinfmen

except Philon. After hee had vsed some Speech mouing to compassion, hee takes him by the hand, and leads him to the Armory of lauelings, feated betwixt the top and the wrestling place, and which bends by the way of the Theater: And after hee had opened two Doores, hee came to the third, accompanied with two or three of the Guard and his Kinsmen. These Doores were transparent and shut with double Barres. And when at that time all the Commons of the City were there affembled, fo as not onely the places were full of men. but alfo the passages and tops of houses, there grew a confused ery and howling of Women and Children, with the men in this Mutiny, as well of them of Chalcedonia, as of Alexandria mingled together. At Sun-rising the cry was confused: yet the chiefe found was, that they

ealled for the King.

Lib.15.

The Macedonians riling first, seaze upon the Ports of the Kings Treasure. But when they understood in what part of the Pallace the King was, turning to the first Doores of the first Armory, they beate them downe. And when they were come vnto the second, they demand the Infant with a great cry. Agathoeles feeing what would befall him, intreates the Guard to intercede for him to the Macedonians, letting them vnderstand, that hee would relinquish the go-D uernment of the Infant, with his power and dignity, and moreouer all the gouernment : intreating them to bee fo fauourable vnto him, as to faue his life, affoording him necessary Victuals and the like, returning vnto his ancient and former course of life, and that hee would not (nay he could not) offer offence or wrong vnto any man whatfoeuer.

None of the Guards pittying him in his distresse, would obey him, onely Aristomenes undertooke the charge, who was afterwards

wards Gouernour of the publicke affaires. He was an Acarnanian and as he was advanced in yeares, having the superintendency of the affaires, hee was held a good Gouernour to the King and royall Pallace : And in the meane time he had respect to the prosperity of Agathocles : for he was the first who calling vnto him Agathocles , hee alone had a Crowne of Gold by all the affiftants: the which they viually doe onely to Kings. Finally, hee was the first that durk carry a Ring with Agatheeles Image. And when hee had a Daughter by his Wife, hee called her Agarbocles. But we haue spoken sufficient- A

ly of this Subica.

Agathoclea

thewes her

Hee therefore having taken charge of Agethecles commandment, and going forth at a Posterne, he came vnto the Macedonians. When he had vied some little speech, and declared the Will of Agathocles. the Macedonians fought to kill him : and when as many put forth their hands to defend him, they enquired the Opinion of the rest, which being vnderstood, he returned to Agashecles, having charge to come backe with the King, or else to returne no more. The Macedonians having given this Answer, sent backe Aristomenes, and affailing the fecond Doore, they vnhang it. Wherefore they which R were with Agathocles, seeing the violence of the Macedonians, as well by their actions as by their answere, comming first to the Doore, lif-Papps vato the ting up their supplient hands: Agathocles likewise shewed the Papus wherewith thee fayd thee had given the King fucke, intreating the Macedonians. Macedonians with a mournefull and miserable voice, onely to saue her And when as by the great lamentations of her Fortune shee had prevailed nothing, in the end they draw forth the Infant with his Guards.

The Macedonians presently set the King on Horse-backe, and lead him to the Theater. Assoone as hee was discourred, they stay his Horse with great clamors and ioy, and taking him downe they set him in a royall Chaire. In the meane time the Commons partly ue. iovce, and were partly fad. They reiovced for the comming of the Infant: againe, they were fad and grieued for that they which were the Offendors, had not beene taken and punished accordingly. Wherfore crying continually, they required that they might bee brought and exemplarily punished by an ignominious and reproachfull Death, as the Authors of all their miseries and troubles. But when the Day was farre spent, the Mutiny of the people could not be infed by any meanes.

Salibius the Sonne of Salibius, then Captaine of the Guard, having D the principall charge of the Kings affaires, feeing that the Muriny of the people could not bee pacified, and the Infant grew fad through the infolency and nouelty of the present affaires, and the trouble of the Commons, hee demanded of him if hee would not deliuer vnto the people those which had offended against him or his Mother. And when hee consented, hee commanded the Guards to make the Kings will knowne: And then they tooke the Infant in his Chaire, and car-

reed him to his owne house.

But when the Kings pleasure was divulged and made knowne by the Guards, all the place was full of ioy and exclamations. They which were with Agathoeles and Agathoelea, retired prefently to their houfes. The Guards presently forced some of them, and others were thrust on by the people, to seeke them our and kill them. Whereof the beginning was by an accident.

One of the Guard, and a follower to Agathocles named Phylon, being yet full with Drinke; came forth into the place. Who when hee faw the Mutiny of the people, hee fayd vnto the affiftants, that if euer Agathecles came forth againe as hee had done, they would repent it. They which heard him, some blamed him, others thrust him, and when hee offred to defend himselfe, some suddainly teare his Cloake, others flew him miserably with their lauelings. Whilest phylon fleine. they drag'd him about the place yet breathing, and that the Com-

monshad tafted the fury of striking, they expect housely to have the rest brought.

Soone after Agathocles was the first, beeing bound and mannacled: who going on was suddainly thrust thorough by some one, Agathooles wherein hee performed the part of a Filend, and not of an Enemy, flaine-For by this meanes they preuent his worthy punishment. They R brought with him Nicon and Agathocles naked with her Sifters, and consequently all their Parentage : Finally, they drawe Oenanthe out of the Temple, and bring her on horse backe maked with the Niconand Age. place : When all these were deliuered vato the Commons, some thosseassaine. bite them, others pricke them, and fome pull out their eyes and difmember them, vntill they were maimed.

The Egyptians are wonderfull cruell in their fury. At the same time some Virgins which had beene bred up with Arcinos, hearing cruell. Sirene crying out that Philammen Tritee had beene present at the murther of the Queene, they fall vppon his house, and kill him with The study of Stones and States. Smothering his voting Some Finally the Virgins. C Stones and Staues, fmothering his young Sonne. Finally, they drag his Wife into the place and kill her. This was the end of Agathocles and Agathecles with their Kinsfolkes. I am not ignorant what Fables and colours fome Historiographers vie in these actions, to amaze the Readers with a copious advancement of words, and otherwife then the truth containes.

Some referre this accident to Fortune, shewing how inconstant and incuitable thee is : feeking to bring Caufes and Similandes of actions. It is true that in the pursuite of this Worke I had resolved to helpe my felfe with the fayd actions, for that this Agathoeles had nothing honourable for his courage and proweffe in the Warre, neither any happy mannaging of affaires which ought to bee defired. Neither did hee understand the cunning and policy of a Courtier, in the which soffbins and many others being very well instructed, had vsurped Kingdomes : The which notwithstanding happened vnto this man. Hee grew great by chance, for that Philopater was not able to governe the Realme.

Hauing therefore gotten this occasion to come vnto greatnesse,

Bu:

Lib.15.

Α

C

D

Agatherles and

when as after his Death free had a fit opportunity offred to maintaine his power, yet hee lost both life and goods faintly and basely, being slaine within a short time. Wherefore it is not fitting, that in the relation of such things they should adde words: especially when they speake of such as Agatheeles and Denis Sicilians, with some others, which had been famous and renowned for their actions. One of them in truth came of a base extraction: But as Tymens cauells, Agatheeles being a Potter, he came in his younger yeares to Sarragosse. They were eyther of them in their times Tyrants of Sarragosse: of that City I say, which at that time was great in authority, and abounding in riches: And afterwards they were Kings of all Sicily, and ealoyed some parts of Italy.

In regard of Agathecles, hee died not in assailing Affricke, but afThe saying of ter this manner with a desire to Reigne. And therefore they say
of Publius Scipio, who first forced Carthage, that when they demanded of him what men hee held ablest to vndertake an Enterprize, and of great discretion and courage, hee answered Aga-

thocles and Denis.

Wee must in truth when the proposition is made; hold the Reader in suspence and doubt, and relate their fortune and humane B accidents, in adding words in manner of Doctrine: In regard of the sayd things, I am not of Opinion it should bee done. For this cause wee reiest in this passage the Writers of Agatheeles with their many words, for that these horrible Narrations and searchful enents, which have nothing but a conceite worthy to hold the Reader in suspence. Finally, it is not onely vnprositable to treate of them with a long discourse, but also their vehemency in the end brings tediousnesse and trouble. There are two ends, namely, prosit and pleasure: whereunto they must have regard which will ruminate any thing either of hearing or sight.

Two ends in Histories.

And for that profit belongs chiefly to the narration of an Hi-flory, it is most necessary and conuentent, that this kind of adding of words vnto fearefull accidents, should turn from these two ends. What is her that would willingly follow vnexpected accidents, and without reason? No man reioyceth continually, eyther for the seeing or hearing of things which are out of Nature and the common sense of men: But in the beginning wee are exceeding ioysull and glad to see some, and ito heare others, to the end wee may rightly understand and know after what manner that is done which seemes unto every strange of and impossible.

When wee once begin to know them, no man takes any delight or pleasure to stay vpon things which are strange from the course of Nature, nor will have any desire to fall often vpon the same subject. Wherefore the Narration must drawe a desire of imitation where hee may delight. And if they adde words to some miserable accidens besides these ends, they are more fitting for a Tragedy then a History.

Peraductiture

Peraduenture you must pardon those which doe not consider things which are common to Nature and the World: But they hold the Fortunes of their Ancestors great and wonderfull, whereon falling by Fortune in Reading or Hearing them from others, they settle their affections. Wherefore they know not, that they vie more speech of such things then is needefull, which are neither new, having beene spoken formerly by others, neither can they profite hor content.

The remainder is wanting.



 Zz_3



A PARCELL OF the Sixteenth Booke of

the History of POLYBIVS.

Of the Battaile giuen at Sea betwixt Philip and King Attalus.



Hilip was much troubled, feeing many things succeede vnfortunately in his siege, and withall that the Enemies were in the C Hauen with a good number of concred Vessells, neither could hee well resolue what to do. And when as the prefent occafions deprined him of all meanes of choice, in the end hee weighed Anchor, and let Saile contrary voto the Enemics Hope. For Attalus and his Company ex-

pected that he should grow obstinate at the Siege, considering the preparation which he had of Engines of Battery. Philip made all hafte to faile away, imagining that hee might get before them, and make a fafe retreate vato Samos along the shore: Yet hee was deceived in his D conceite. For when as Attalus and Theophilifeus saw that hee had weighed Anchor, they suddainly resolved and set Saile, observing no order, for that they conceived that Philip would have persevered in his Enterprize. Yet they charge him making great speed with their Oares: So as Attalm fell upon the right wing which got before, and Theophiliscus ypon the left.

Philip feeing himselfe thus peffred, and suddainly surprized, hee

gaue the figne of the Battaile to them of the right wing, commanding them to turne their prowes against the Enemies, and to charge them resolutely: Then he retired to the smaller Hands, which were in the mid way with the lighter Veffels, expecting the end of the Battaile. The number of Ships of Warre which Philip had, were fifty three co. The number of Vessels, with a hundred and fifty Foists and Galleyes vncouered, and of his Ene. In regard of the Vesicls remaining at Samos, hee could not armethem. wies. Those of the Enemies were in number threescore Vessels couered, with those of Constantinople: with the which there were nine Galliots and A three Galleves.

When as Artalus Ships beganthe fight; presently they that were neare, charge one another without command. Astalus fell vpon a Vef-(ell with eight Oares, crushing it in such fort as it tooke water : and when as they which were vpon the hatches, had defended themselues long, in the end hee sunke it. On the other side Philips Galley of ten Oares, which was the Admirall, was by chance taken by the Enemies: For when as a Galliot fayl'd against it, it bruised it much in the midst of the Bulke, ioyning vnto it behind at the poope, to the which it remain'd grapled, for that the Pylot could not stay its violence. So as when this Veffell flucke close vnto her, the was much hindred, neither could they gouerne nor turne her. In the meane time two Quinqueremes charge her, and bruifing her in two places, finke her with the Souldiers. Among the which was Democrites, Captaine Generall at Sea for Philip. At the same instant Diony sodorus and Dymecrasas brethren (who were Commanders of the Army under Astalus) giving Democrates a charge, found themselues in great danger in the fight: So as Dynocra. Captaine Ge tes gaue charge to a Vessel with seuen Oares, and Dionisodorus to one of sunkt, eight. Dynocrates was broken aboue water, and that of the Enemy vnder the water, yet he could not free himselfe from them, akhough

hee had often attempted it in fawing. Wherefore when as the Macedonians defended themselues valiantly. he was in danger to be taken. But for that Attales came to fuccour him, charging the Enemy, and parting the two ships which were grapled . Dynocrates faued himselfe by good fortune. In regard of the Enemies, they were all flaine fighting valiantly : fo as the Veffell being destitute of Souldiers, was taken by Attalus. And when as Dionifedo. res fayl'd with great swiftheste to fight, hee could not ouerrake any. and passing through the Enemies he had the Pallisador on the right fide disarmed, and the Beames broken which carried the Tower. This happening he was inuefted round by the Enemy with great noise and D cries. All the Marriners periffit with the Ship, and Dionisodorus (wum away with two others vnto a Galliot which came to fuccour him. In regard of the other Vessels the danger was equall: For as the number of Philips Foists was greater, so was that of Attalus in couer'd Vessels. Finally, the Combat was fo carried vpon Philips right Wing, as the Victory inclined to meither. It is true that Attalus was in better hope for the future.

The Rhodiens in the beginning of the party separated themselves

gern Philips

448

from the Enemies, who having a great advantage by the lightnesse of their Vessels, fought against the Macedonians making the Reard-ward-And when in the beginning they fell to flight, they carried away all their defences, charging them behinde and in poope. But when as Philips Vessels began to turne head altogether, giving aide to those which were in danger, and that the Reare of the Rhodiens were joyned to Theophilifeus: then they charged with great fury, encouraging one another with great shouts and Trumpets. And if the Macedonians had not mingled their Foists among their couered Vessels, the Battaile had beene some decided: for they tooke from the Rhodien ships all A commodity in divers forts : For that when as by either fide the order was broke, they were all mingled. Wherefore they could not easily enlarge themselves, nor turne their Vessels, nor affist themselves with those meanes whereof they were best prouided, for that the Foists did continually charge them, fometimes falling vpon the Pallisadoe, so as they could make no vic of their Rowers, and sometimes vpon the prow and poope, to deprive them of their Pylot and Oares. And when as they fought in a direct line, they inuented a stratagem: for abating the prowes they made their charge truitlesse, breaking the Enemies Vefselsvnder water: To preuent the which they could finde no remedy. B It is true, this happens seldome for that all avoided the encounter, for that the Masedonians fought valiantly hand to hand, and most commonly in passing they razed the Pallisadoe, making it unprofitable. Then fuddainly casting about, they assailed those that were in poope; and likewise giving charge to those which shewed themselves vpon the flankes, or which turned afide, they brake some, and tooke the Equipage from others : so as fighting after this manner, they hadfunke diuers of the Enemies Vessels.

There were three excellent Quinqueremes of the Rhodiens in danger : whereof the Admirall was one, in the which Theophilifens commanded: Then that whereof Philostrates was Captaine, and the third C was governed by Antolice: in the which Nycoftrates remained. It hapned that thee gaue a charge to one of the Enemies Vessels, where the left her spurre, so asit sunke with the Souldiers : And Antolice's Company being inuefted, for that they tooke water at the prowe, defended themselues valiantly: But Antolice being wounded fell into the Sea with his Armes and died, the rest fighting with great courage. At what time Theophilifens comming to fuccour them with three Quinqueremes.

he could not faue the ship being full of water.

After that he had broken two of the Enemies Vessels, and cast the D Souldiers into the Sea, hee lost the greatest part of his men fighting resolutely, for that he was suddainly inuested by many fregats and couerd Veffels. It was hardly in his power to faue his ship, being wounded in three places: for that hee had aduentured himselfe too boldly: But Philostrates came to succour him, vindertaking the apparent danger with great courage. But when hee was ioyned vnto these Vessels, he rechargeth the Enemy furiously againe : where he was seene weake of body by reason of his wounds, but much more excellent and con-

stant in courage then before. It happened that there were two Combats at Sea very farre one from another : For Philips right Wing coasting still along the shore, neuer abandoned the Coast of Asia, but the left Wing succouring the Reare-ward, had fought with the Rhodiens, for that they were not farre from Chios. When as Attalus feemed to have gloriously Vanquished Philips right Wing, and that hee approached neere vnto the fland, where he Anchored, expecting the end and conclusion of the Battaile, he perceiued one of his Quinqueremes in danger to be funke by a shippe of the Enemies, and made hast to succour it with two other of his Quinqueremes. When as the Enemies shippes turned away to recouer Land, the more hee prest desiring to take it. The which Philip perceiving, that Attalus strayed too boldly and aductturoufly from his Company, hee made haft being accompanied with foure Quinqueremes, three Galliotts, and the neerest Frigats, hoping hee should be able to take it, as it fortunately happened; forcing him to get vnto the neerest shore in great distresse. Then leaving his Vessellthere, hee sled on foote with the Sea men, to faue himselfe in Erythee. Wherefore Philip recouered the Erythee a towa fhtp and the Kings plate.

They which were with Attalus in this great danger, bethought R themselues of a pollicy in Warre, and set the richest of the Kings plate vpon the Hatches. Wherefore the first of the Macedonians approa- The pollicy of ching with their Frigats, and seeing great store of plate with a purple Attalia his Robe, and other rich furniture lying there, they gaue ouer the pur- Souldiers, fuite, and attended the spoile, so as Attalus retired vnto the Port of Erythreewithout any disturbance. And although that Philip were absolutely the weaker in this Battaile at Sea; yet he returned very ame bitious and proud through Attalus mil-fortune, making great hafte to come vnto his Company. Where after he had drawne and gathered together all his Vessells, he perswaded them to be of good Courage C and Resolution, seeing hee had wonne the Battaile. And in trueth. fuch was the opinion of men, as if Attalus had beene dead in flying, seeing that Philip returned, bringing the royall Vessell prisoner.

Dyonifedorus confidering what was become of the King, gathered the Vessells together and sounded a retreate : after which he retired

fafely to the Ports of Afia.

Lib.16.

At the same time the Macedonians, who fought against the Rhodiens . having beene well beaten, they retired out of danger : For euery ship got him away vn der colour to giue succours to those that were D in danger and distresse. In regard of the Rhodiens they retired to the Port of Chios, having taken some of the shippes, and broken part of their spurs. There was sunke in this Battaile at Sea which Philip had The losse of against Attalus, the Gallies of ten Oares, nine Oares, seauen Oares, ships which and fixe Oares, and moreouer ten Vessells couered, three Galliors, Philip made; and fine and twenty Foists, withall the Marriners. And in that which was against the Rhodiens, ten couered Vessells, and forty Foists: and there were two Quadriremes, and seauen Foists taken with the Marriners. In regard of that of Attalus, one Galliot with two Quinqueremes

were sunke, with the royall Skiffe. And of the Rhodiens two Ouinqueremes and Galleyes, but there was nothing taken. As for the losse of men, there died three score Rhediens, and about three score and ten of Assalus men, and of the Macedonians under Philip, to the number of three thousand, and aboue fixe thousand Marriners: and there were taken aliue, as well Allies as Macedonians two thousand, and feuen hundred Egyptians. Such was the end of the Battaile at Sea neare vnto Chies.

Theophilifeus.

450

Philip attributed the Victory vnto himselfe for two principall cau-The causes why les : First for that hee had forced Attalus to flye to Land, and had tages the Victory ken the royall Vessell; the other for that hee anchored in the place which they call Argennon, among the Enemies wrackes, and that the next Day hee carryed himselfe as a Conquerour, gathering together the Reliques of the fight, and drawing together the Bodies of fuch as might be knowne, to the end hee might confirme this Opinion. But the Rhodiens with Dyoni fedorus made him soone after confesse that it was not true, so as hee did not hold himselfe to have had the Victory: For the next day the King being busied about these things, they fet fayle against him, the one being advertised of the other; and when (after they had put their ships in Front) no man B durst present himselfe, they retired to Chies.

But Philip who had never before at one time lost so many men. nor fuch, carryed his misfortune impatiently, and was in a manner desperate, although hee labouted by all meanes to hide his conceite, matters feeming vufupportable: for befides many other occasions, the misfortunes which happened after the Battaile, had put all those that were present in searc. Beleeue mee, that after so great a slaughter of men, all the Countrey where the Combate was fought, was full of Carkafes, blood, Armes, and the wrackes of Ships. And the daies following you might have seene the shoare full of all these things heaped together. So as it was not onely displeasing votto him, but to

all the Macedonians.

In regard of Theophilifeus, having furuined a day, and written into the Countrey of the successe of the Combate at Sea, and had appointed Gleonens to command the Army in his place, heedyed of the wounds hee had received: who had shewed himselfe a valiant man in danger, and who by the prouidence of his Councell, was worthy to have his Name preserved in memory. For if hee had not given aduice to follow Philip, all the rest had negleded the opportunity of the Victory, being amazed at his courage: fo as in beginning of the D fight hee forced his Citizens to follow the occasions of the time. Hee likewise perswaded Attalus not to temporize, norto waste time in the preparation of things concerning the Warre: But contrariwife to fight valiantly, and to vadergoe the present danger. Wherefore the Rhodiens have with good reason, after his death done him fuch honours, as the liuing and those that were present were not onely incited to fight valiantly for their Countrey, but also the posterity.

What doe wee then see in this violence? No other thing but

Nature. It oftentimes falls out that many vpon a bare shew of hope, defire impossible things, vanquishing euery mans hope with their couetousnesse: and when they have once begun, they cannot diver their fancies : for that they have their understanding blinded and deceived with the impossibility of their attempts, and the discontent of the accidents. When as Philip had in vaine given some assaults to a small Towne, for that it was well fortified, hee retired, after he had ruined some places with the whole Countrey.

Being gone from thence, he planted his Campe about Prinasse, and prinasse besses A befieged it by myning. Where when he lost his time, for that the place ged by philip. was stony, he vsed this invention: hee causeth a great noise to be made by day in the Mynes, as if he laboured to overthrow the Walls, caufing in the night great store of earth to be brought and to be laid at the entry of the Mynes, to the end he might terrifie the Inhabitants by a view of so great a digging in the ground. It is true that at the first the Prinasseins were constant and couragious : but when as Philip had fignified vnto them that their Wall was undermined the length of the third part of a Furlong, and had demanded of them if they would deliuer the City and faue their lives, or perish with it, the foundations being burnt, then giuing credit vnto his words, they prefently deli-B uered it.



A Parcell of the City of the Fassens.



Lib.16.

He City of the laffeens is scituated in Asia vpon the The Gule of Gulfe iouning to Neptune of Milefia, and called of the Myndiens. According to the aduice of many, it takes its name from the Cities of the Vargylieses, which are built vpon the backe part. They fay that in the begin-

ning they were peopled by Argines and that after-D Wards the Milesiens predecessors being brought in , and the Children of Neleus, they built the City of Mylesum, after their defeate in the The City of Warres of Carya. This City hath ten Furlongs in circuite. The com-Miletum built. mon bruite is, and they beleeve it among the Vargylieses, that although the statue of Diana Cindiades be vaccouered, yet it endures no fogs nor Diana. raine, like vnto that of Yesta among the laffeens : the which some Histo. riographers haucauerr'd. For my part, I know not how I contradica and blame boldly in all this treaty this aduice of Historiographers. In truth they seeme to mee wholy to sauour of their Childishnesse, who

Lib.16.

C

without confideration comprehend not onely idle and fortish things, but those which are impossible. For if any one should say that some body may bee so illuminated and transparent, as he shall make no shadow, this would flew a transported Iudgement, as Theopompus hath done, faying that they which enter into the Temple of lupiter in Arcadia, make no shadow. Whereunto that is conformable which is now spoken. Wherefore wee must pardon some Historiographers in all things which preserve the denotion of the people towards the Gods, who relate monstrous things, but in that which exceeds this course, they are not to be pardoned. Peraduenture in every thing there is a A different quality to describe them, yea, sometimes impossible: wherefore we must pardon if any one through ignorance deth stray a little from the truth : and according to my indgement reproue all that which exceeds reason.



A Parcell of Publim Scipio.

When as the expediation of the people was conformable to the greatnesse of bis actions, it fell out that they conceiued a great loue and affection towards him : The which was not without cause. For whereas they feared neuer

to chase Hannibal out of Italy, nor to free themselues nor their Allies from the eminent danger: they feemed then certainly not onely to bee deliuered from all feare and misery, but also to domineere ouer their Enemies: wherefore they were confounded with ioy. When he triumphed, being moreouer by the effects of things which were brought in, advertised of the precedent dangers, they were toucht with an exceeding loue as well to the Gods, as to the Author of fo great an alte-

Syphax King of the Mafaifylins was led in triumph through the Cithe Mafailyline ty with the other Prisoners, who some after died in Prison. These things thus performed, the Romans made continual Combats for ma. D ny Dayes, and celebrated Feasts in their assemblies, having wherewithall to fatisfie it by the liberality and bounty of Scipio. Many attempt great Warres brauely, and striue with a certaine vehemency to augment a Common-wealth: But it is a rare thing to bring them to the propounded end, and to accomplish by reason and industry, if Fortune sometime opposeth that which wants courage and speedy action. Wherefore some may with reason blame the sloth of Attalus and of

the Rhodiens, in commending the royall courage of Philip, and his constancy in his enterprize: not that his conceite is alwayes worthy of Commendation but so farre as it concernes his present Enterprize and attempt. I propound this distinction to the end no man should suspect vs of contradiction: for that (as we have heretofore) commended and blamed Philip, so now I doe the contrary. They must vaderstand that in the beginning of this Worke I have so made my distinction, faying that it was necessary sometimes to commend and blame the same A man may be persons, for that moments and events of things doe many times change commended A the hearts of men, when they incline to better or worfe. It happens cording to the likewile sometimes, that men by Nature indeauour things which are discrity of his reasonable, and sometimes the contrary : whereof in my Opinion the Actions, one happened now to Philip. When hee was inflamed for the precedent losses, shewing more choller and rage then reason, hee accommodated himselfe to the present occasions, with a constant and admirable courage, and hath by this course enjoyed those things which followed, in advancing himselfe against the Rhodiens and Assalus. I thought good to deliuer this, for that some give over their enterprizes in leaving their first heate, like vnto bad and lazy runners : Some likewise vanquish their Enemies in this onely, that they are constant in their enterprizes.



Of the Cities of Abydos and Seftes Maritine and opposite.

Hold is lost time to vie any long discourse of the commo! dities of the Cities of Abydes and Seftes : for that matters of small moment are knowne to all, by reason of theordinary frequenting of the places : yet I doe not thinke for the present that a summary advertisment to the Reader,

would bee unprofitable in regard of them. You must understand that the things which are now to be spoken of the fayd Cities) are not fo much drawne from their scituation, as from their opposition and conference. Whereas the Nauigation of the Sea, which some call by the name of Ocean, others Attlantique, is not passable, but at the Rreights Of the profit of which are at the Pillars of Hercules: Neither can they in our Sea, in the Abydos and Proponits and Pontus, voleffe it be made by the ftreight betwixt Aby. Sifies. des and Sesses. As Fortune hath prepared two Gulfes with some reafon, it falls out that the streight of the Pillars of Hercules is broader then that of Hellesponte: For it is of three score Furlongs, and that of Abydes onely of two. The which wee may coniceture hath beene

A comparison of the streight of Abydos with that of Gibel-

made for a greater spaciousnesse of the exteriour Sea, then ours. That of Abydes is more commodious then that of the Pillars of Hercules. For the first is inhabited on either side, and in manner of a Port, for the mutuall communication of Traffique, and hath in some place a Bridge for those which passe on foote from one firme land to another. They also saile continually on the other side. In regard of that of the Pillars of Hercules, it is little frequented, for that the people which inhabite some in Affricke, some in Europe, haue little commerce together: and this exteriour Sea is little frequented and tryed. The City of the Abydeins is environed on either side with the farthest A bounds of Europe: having a Port from whence Sailors with what wind foeuer, may be feene. But it is not possible for any man to come vnto the City, being without this ingulfement of the Sea to the Port, by reason of the swiftnesse and vehemence of the current.

The City of the Aby leins.



Another Parcell of Philip of ·Macedon.

The Atydeins befreged by Philp.

TEt when as Philip had fortified one part with Pallifadoes, and cast a Ditch about the other, he besieged the Abydeins by Sea and Land. In regard of the meanes of their defence, it was not admirable, neither for the greatnesse of the preparation, nor for the diversity of inuentions, which are declared in the same worke, by the

which the beliegers and belieged doe viually practile and surprize one another by policies: But for the good directions and vallour of the befieged, it is worthy of memory, if ever any were, and which ought to come vitro posterity. In the beginning the Inhabitants of Abydos relying in themselves, maintained the attempts of Philip valiantly: and as for his Engines fet vp at Sea, they brake some with casting of Stones. and they burnt others : so as the Enemies could hardly saue their Vesfels from this danger: In regard of those at Land, for time they made n a valiant refiltance, neuer despairing to obtaine the Victory against their Enemies. But when as the Fort which flood without the Wall had beene querthrowne by Mynes, and that the Macedonians were afterwards come vnto the Wall which they had built within, in the end they fent Iphias and Pantacnote in Embassic, to yeeld the City voto Philip, but vpon condition that hee should suffer the Souldiers of the Rhodiens and Attalus to depart, and their Bodies free, to sape themselues where they thought good with their Apparrell. And when as Philip

Philip had giuen them charge to submit themselues vnto his will, or to fight it out brauely, the Embassadours retired. This being The course heard, the Abydeins affemble the people, and consult in despaire of which the Abyl their necessities. First of all they decree to give liberty to their Slaves, spaire, to the end they might willingly become Companions in the Combat: And consequently drawe all their Wines into Diana's Temple : and the Children with their Nurses into the Schooles, and finally their Gold and Siluer into the Market place, and the richest apparrell into

the Rhodiens Galley, and that of the Cyliceneins.

When they had decreed these things, and had with one accord executed the resolution, they make another assembly, choosing fifty of the most ancient, and men of credite, being strong and able to execute the decree, and make them sweare in the presence of all the Citizens, that if they saw the Wall taken by the Enemy, they should then kill their Wives and Children, and set fire of the sayd Galleyes, casting (according to their Oath) the Gold and Silver into the Sea. Finally, they call their Prelates, who conjurgenem all to vanquish their Enemies, or to dye fighting for their Countrey. This done, after they had facrificed, they force their Prelates, and their B Wives to make execrations vpon the Sacrifices of the faid things. These things thus confirmed, they did not countermine aginst the Enemies Mynes, resoluing that if the Wall sell, they would stand vpon the ruines, fighting to the death. Wherefore some one may with reason say, that the folly of the Phocenses and the ioy of the Acarna vians, hath beene vanquished by the courage of the Abydeins. The Phoeenfes seeme to have decreed the like for their Kinsfolkes, although they were not wholly in despaire of the Victory, for they were to fight in field with the Theffalians.

The Acarnanians fore-feeing the attempts of the Esoliens, resolved the same in their eminent danger, whereof wee have formerly spoken C in particular. The Abydeins being shur vp, and in a manner desperate of their safety, defired rather by a common consent to try this Fortune with their Wives and Children, then living to deliver them into their Enemies hands. For which reason wee may blame Fortune for the ruine of the Abydeins: Seeing that having compassion of the calamities of the former; shee hath suddainly relieued them, yeelding vnto the desperate hope and safety: whereas contrariwise shee hath beene incensed against the Abydeins. The men were slaine and the City taken : their Children with their Wiues fell into their Enemies hands: For after the fall of the Wall, planting them-D felues voon the ruines, according to their Oath, they fought with fuch great courage, as when as Philip had fent supplies vnto the Macedonians at the assault vntill Night, hee was in the end forced to take breath, and to despaire of his attempt. The Abydeins did not onely fight with great confidence, standing vpon the dead bodies in danger, and with refolution with their Swords and Iauelings: But hauing no meanes to vie them, they call themselves with fury won the Macedonians, ouerthrowing some with their armes, charging others alwales

Aaa 2

Lib.16.

A

455

with the stockes of their broken Tauelings : and repulsing them . thrust-The prowelle ing directly at their Faces and other naked parts. Night being come. and the Combat ceasing, Glancides and Theognite assembling some few of the ancient, changed (for the hope of their private safeties) that senere and noble yow of the Citizens, in regard of the great number that had beene flaine at the Wall, and for that the rest were weakned with toile and wounds. Wherefore they resolved to abandon their Wives and Children to Captivity, and at the breake of day to fend their Priests and Wives, with their Diadems and head-bands to Philip, A to the end that intreating him vpon their knees, they might deliuer him

> At the same time King Attalus being aduertised of the Siege of the Abydeins, failes by the Egean Sea to Tenedos. In like manner Marcus

Marcus Emilius Tent to Philip.

Emilius the younger a Roman, came by Sea to Abydos. For when the Romans had been etruely advertised of the Siege of Abydos, and would expostulate with Philip according to their charge; and to vinderstand the cause why hee assailed the Kings, they sent this Emilius vone him. Who when he had audience of Philip in Abydos, he let him vnderstand that the Senate admonished him, not to make Warre against any Gre. cians, nor to meddle with the affaires of Ptolomy: And whereas hee B had done outrage to the Rhodiens and Attalus, he should make a promiseto give them satisfaction: in doingswhich hee should remaine in peace but if he would not obey, he should prepare to have Warre with the Romans. When as Philip labouted to let him vinderstand that the Rhodien had beene the first Assailants, Marcus intersupting him faid : What haue the Ashenians ? Cianeins, and Abydeins done? which of them hath first assailed you? The King studying what to answere to The braue and these three demands, told him that hee pardoned his arrogancy in to Marcus Emi- Words, for that first he was young and without experience: Secondly, that he was the best man amongst them, as in truth he was. The Romans (faydhe) haue no reason to breake the Accords, nor to make C Warre against mee: but if they did, he would defend his owne valiantlwand inudesce the Gods for side. This Speech being ended, they

Philip having soften the City of the Aboydeins, he prefently tooke all the Goods which had beene carryed away by them. When he saw the Abyding to the people and their fury who flew, burnt, and strangled themselues. their Wives, and Children, casting them into Wells, and hanging them in their houses, hee was amazed . And being discontented at that which was done, he let them know that he gaue them three dayes re- D foice that would hang or kill themselves. But the Abydeins preventing him (according to their first resolution) could not suffer any one of those to line, which were not yet bound nor tied to this kind of neceffice holding themselves in not doing it, for Traytors towards those which had fought, and were dead for their Countrey. All the rest without delay dyed according to their Races.

parted one from the other. With the dis-

-เมาะหลังสกักที่ชุดใหม่ เกิดตาก 19 ใช้เกา

ាន់**នាក់** ខេត្តវ៉ាន់ខ្លាំ ខ្លាំ ១៩៣០ ២០១

OF

Of Philopomene and the deeds of the Acheins.

Nd when as Philopomene had confidered the distances of of all the Cities, and that they might come to Tegee by one way, hee wrote Letters to all the Cities, and sends them to those which were farthest off, and divides them in such fort, as every City had not onely those which were

directed vnto it, but also those for other Cities lying vpon the same Thesorme of way. Hee hath written to the Magistrates in these termes : When philopomenes B you shall have received these Letters, vse all diligence, that such as Cities, are able to beare Armes, may affemble in the Market place, enery man furnished with fine Dayes victuals, and senenceene Sous, and fixeteene Deniers in Money. And when they shall be all assembled, lead them to the next City: where being arrived, deliver the Letters to the Magistrate, and performe the contents. In the which was contained the charge which had bin given to the formers, only the name was altred, but the place was not named whither the Voyage was intended.

This course being continued, no man knew to what end nor why this preparation was made, nor whither they went out of the next Gity. All being vncertaine and receiving one another they marcht on C But for that the Cities which were beyond, had not an equal distance from Tegee, hee did not fend Letters to them all at the same time. but particularly according to their order: fo as vnknowne to the Inhabitants, and to those which arrived, what should succeed, all the Acheins entred in Armes by all the Gates. Hee had without doubt resolued these things in his iudgement, by a Military stratagem, for for the multitude of Scouts and Spies which the Tyrant had. The which the Tyrant had. The same day that the multitude of the Acheins should assemble, hee sent choisemen, who in the Night should passe the Selasia: and at the breake of day runne into the D Countrey of Lacedemon. But if the Mercenaries by encounter did any way trouble them, he gives them charge to recover Scotite, obeying Didascolonde the Candior in all things. For hee had given him the charge of all this enterprize. These men went resolutely to the place appointed. And when as Philopomene had commanded the Acheins io suppe earely, hee goes with his Army out of Tegee : and making good vie of the Night in his Voyage, hee leads his Army to the place appointed neare vnto Seotite, the mid-way betwixt Aaa 3

Tregee and Lacedemon. The Souldiers of Pelene the day following ran A tally out of Pelene vponthe speedily as it is their custome, and affailed the Enemy suddainly, who were advertised of their comming by their Scouts. And when the Acheins (according to the Commandment they had received)

retired, they pursued them at their backes confidently and with courage. But suddainly they fell into the Ambush, where some of them were flaine by the 4. cheins, and others raken.



C

D



A PARCELL OF

the Seuenteenth Booke of

the History of POLYBIVS:

Where they treate of the Peace betwixt Philip of Macedony and the other Grecians, by the meanes of Titus a Roman



Lib.17.

He time appointed being come, Philip arrives by Philips Com-Sea from the Demetriade, to the Gulte of Meliea, panyo accompanied with fine Foifts and one Galley; wherein hee fayled. He was attended on by App. ledorus and Demosthenes Macedonians, his Chancellours. There was also Brachalles of Beocia, and Chiliades the Achein, a Fugitive out of Morea for the causes about mentioned. With the which

were also King Saminandre and Dionisodorus sent by Attalus. And as for the Cities and people, Aristenetes and Xenophon were for the A. cheins : and Acefymbrotes and Nauarchus were for the Rhediens : and for the Etoliens came Phenee Chiefe of the Army, with many other D Citizens.

When they were approacht the Sea neare vmo Nicea, Tisus the Chiefe of the Romans, stayed at the shoare. Philip being almost at Land, stayed in his Vessell. And when as Titus perswaded him to Land. he layd (standing vpright in his ship) that hee would not. Being like. wise demanded by Titus what he seared, he answered, No man but The wise and the Gods: but there were many there whom hee did not trust, namely, swere of Philip. the Esoliens. And when the Roman Commander wondred, faying,

that the perill was equal vnto all, and that time common. Philip anfwering fayd, that he understood it not so: For an inconvenience hapning to Phence, the Etoliens had Commaunders enough for the War: But if Philip dyed, there was no King of Macedony for the present. In the beginning of his Speech he seemed importune to them all. But Tyim adulfed him to speake of the Affaires for which hee was come. Philip answered him, that it belonged to him and not vnto himselfe: For this cause hee required him to let him know what there was to be done to enjoy a Peace.

The Roman Commaunder rold him that hee must vie plaine and o- A pen words, and aduised him to leaue all Greece, restoring the Prisoners and Fugitives which were in his power: To yeild likewise vnto the Romans the places of Sclauonia, which he had seazed on after the Accord made in Epirus: That he should restore vnto Ptolomy, all the Cities which he had taken fince the Death of Ptolomew Philopater. When Trus had spoken this, he held his peace: But turning to the rest, hee

willed every man to deliver his charges

which Dionifodorus demanded of Philip.

Afelymbroses demands for the Rhodiens.

The Articles

460

The demands of the Acheins and Etoliens.

Alexander against Philip.

Dioniledorus, being fent by Attalus beganne first, saying that he should restore the shippes taken by him in the Battaile at Sea neere vnto Chio, and likewise the Prisoners: and re-edifie the Temple of Venus, and the R Arfenall of the triumphes of Victories which hee had ruined. After whom Alofambrotes Chiefe of the Army at Sea for the Rhodiens, required that Philip should leave Perea, which he had taken from them, and finally retire the Garrison's which hee had at Iasse, in the Vargylies, and in the City of the Eromeens: And moreover restore the Perinthiens to the comminalty of the Constantinopolitains, and to abandon Seftes, Abydos, and the Faiers of Asia. After the Rhodiens the Acheins demanded Corinth and the City of the Argines whole and fafe. After these the Etoliens required first as the Romans had done, that hee should abandon all Greece, and that afterwards hee should restore the C Cities whole and entire, which formerly had beene of the same Burgesse with the Etoliens.

When as Phenee Chiefe of the Etoliens had spoken thus, Alexander following after, whom they call Ise, in shew a man of judgement to mannage affaires, and of great Eloquence, said, that Philip did not demand a peace roundly, nor made Warre valiantly, if it were to be done at any time: and that in affemblies and treaties hee watcht carefully, playing the part of an Enemy: and that in the Warre hee carryed himselfe wickedly, and not as a good man. For when he should affront the Enemy, it is manifest that hee flies the list, and in the meane time burnes and ruines Cities: and being thus vanquished by his will, hee D corrupts the rewards of the Victors: although the ancient Kings of Macedony were neuer of that minde, but quite contrary. They have fought often Battailes in the open field, and haue seldome ruined any Cities. The which is manifest to all the World, as well by the Asian Warre of Alexander against Darius, as by the difference of the Succesfors, by the which they have all made Warre against Antigonus for the Empire of Asia. And their posterity hath beene of this humour vntill

the time of Pyerhus, to fight valiantly with an Enemy in open Battaile : Doing all that concerned a mutuall Combate of men furnished with Armes, yet pardoning the Cittles: for that the Victors of them are vanquished, and blamed by those which are subdued. It is the part of a mad man to ruine that for which the Warre is made, and then to leave it : The which he fayd Philip did at that time, and that he had ruined more Clines in Theffaly, being of the fame friendship and League in Warre . when as hee parted speedily from the streights of Epirus, then ever any of those had done which made Warre against the Theffaliens.

And when he had vied a long Speech, and deliuered other things of the same subject.) In the end hee demanded of Philip, why Lysie machin being affociated to the Etoliens, and having a Commaunder of the Warre from them, hee had chased him away, putting a garrison into the Citty en Why hee had spoiled the Cyaneins, of the Etolien Burgeoiship, being a friend to the Etoliens? Moreouer voon what colour he detained efebeins, Thebes, Phthie, Pharfalia, and Larriffe? Having spoken this, Alexander held his peace. When as Philip had approached neerer to Land then before, standing vpright in his ship, Philips answer, fayd, that Alexanders Speech was Etolique? and that it was notorious B to all the World, that no man ruined those which were his companions in Armes, and yet a Prince according to the occasion of times, is many times forced to do things against his will. The King vsing this Speech: Phenee having a bad fight, lookes oftentimes croffe voon Philip, saying that he told Fables: and that he should exther vanquish in fighting, or elfe subscribe and obey the commaundements of the

And although that Philip were discontented, yet hee omitted not his kinde of speech; but turning to Phenee, a blind man sayd he, would fee it. He was in truthapt to Choller, and it was it a manner bred in C him, to left at the good Fortune of other men. Then turning towards Alexander, thou demaundest of me, sayd he, for what reason I have taken Lysimachia: To the end that thorough your negligence and basenesse, it might not be ruined by the Thrasens, as then it happened, haning retired my Souldiers for the present; being there for the defence thereof, and not as thou fayst to take it. In regard of the Cyaneins. I made no Warreagainst them "But when as Prusias affinied them in giving him fuccours, I tooke the Citie with him, whereof you have beene the cause. For when as the other Cities of Greese and my re felfe had required you often by Emballies, to abrogate the Law which allowes you to take spoile vpon spoile: You answered that wee must first take Etolia from Etolia, then the fayd Law. And when as A strange Cu-Trius wondred how that could be, the King laboured to make him Rollens. vinderstand it, saying that the Ecoliens had a Custome not onely to affaile those and their Country, with whom they had Warre: Buralso it is lawfull for them, if their Allies be in Quarrell, to affaile both the one and the other with their Regions, and to hold them, without any common decree. And by this meanes the Etoliens have neither

Lawes

462

Lawes of Friendship nor Hatred a being ready to fall upon those which are in controuersie for any Affaires. Whereon then doe these men ground an accusation against me? I was a friend to the Etoliens, so was I allied to Prusias, and I attempted against the Cyaneins to succour my

But beholda case of wonderfull discretion, that they which haue made themselves Enemies to the Romans, commaund the Macedonians to depart out of Greece. Without doubt it is a very arrogant Speech. If the Romans speake it, it is tollerable, if the Etoliens, intollerable. But out of what Greece would you have me depart ? How do you limit A it : Are there not many Etoliens in Greece ? You shall see that the A. gracins, Apodates, and Amphilequeins are not of Greece, at the least you leave them to me. And when as Tytus smiled, this sayd he, shall fuffice against the Esoliens : And as for that which concernes the Rho. diens and Attalus, we may with more inflice and equity require, that they should rather restore to vs our Prisoners and Vessells, then we to them. We have not affailed the Rhodiens nor Attalus first, but they vs, it is without contradiction. Yet for thy fake we will restore Perea to the Rhodiens, and to Attalus his shippes and meh which are living. In regard of the tuine of the Triumph of Victories, and of Venus R Temple, we cannot repaire them: And for that which concernes the Trees and Gardens, I will fend men to digge the ground, and will giue order that the Trees which are cut may grow againe. And when as Tytus smiled againe at the scoffe of Philip, Philip addressing himselfe to the Asheins, hee put them in minde at the first of the benefits and fauours they had received from Antigenus and himselfe. Morcouer he laid open the many Honors which the Acheins had done vnto them. Finally, he hath read the Resolution of their revolte in following the Remans party. Vpon which occasion hee propounded many things against the prevarication and ingratitude of the Acheins: Yet promising to restore them Arges. In regard of Corintho hee would conferre with Tress.

After this Speech held to the rest, he sayd to Tyins; that hee was to speake to him and to the Romans, whether he were of opinion that he should abandon the Cities and places which he had Conquered among the Grecians, or else those which he had received from his Predeceffors. And when as Tyon held his peace, Ariflenes was fuddainly ready to answere for the Acheins, and Phence for the Etoliens. But when the houre was past, the Time had closed vp their mouthes. Philip required that hee might have men given him to write downeall that was to do for the peace. For when he was alone, he fayd he had D no man with whom conferring, he might yeild a reason of the Actions wherewith they charged him.

And although that Tytus heard Philip willingly in his iest, yet being loath to be discourred by others, he gaue him a touch, saying: It is no wonder if thou beeft alone Philip, when thou hast flaine all those which gaue thee Councell. The Macedonian viing a Counterfeite fmile, held his peace. Then they all gaue in Writing what they had demanded.

demanded, appointing another affembly for the day following at Nicea. To which place Titus came with his Company, where all the rest appeared, but Philip came not. And when as the day was farre frent, and that Titus expected his comming no longer, he armed at Sunne setting, accompanied with the same men, saying that he had spent the whole day in vexation and discontent, for the difficulty of the things wherewith they charg'd him, But according to the opinion of others he did it to frustrate by the shortnesse of time, the accusation of the Acheins and Etoliens. He had seene them the day be-A fore at his departure ready for their defence, and to complayne of him.

Wherefore at his ariuall he intreated the Commander of the Romans to treat of this businesse with him in private, to the end that in debating it, they might not fall to any outragious words, but draw it to some end. When he had often intreated this, Titus demanded of the Affiffants their opinion what he should doe; and when they all yeelded vnto it, and that he should observe his words, hee tooke Appius Claudius a Captaine of a thousand, and commanding the rest that retiring a little into the Sea, they should stay there, bidding Philip to come to Land. The King accompanied with Apolodorus and Demostheres landed, and Philiplands. B had a long discourse with Titus. In regard of that which was spoken of eyther fide, it is a difficult thing to judge. Titus then when as The Articles Philip was retired, related vnto the rest the things which hee had agreed on by propounded, namely that he would yeelde vnto the Etoliens, Larifla and Pharfalia, but not Thebes: That to the Rhodiens hee would leave Perea, but not lasson nor Bargulies to the Acheins Corinthe, and the City of Argines: to the Romans that which hee held in Sclauonia with all the prisoners. That he would restore to Attalus the vessels, and all the prisoners that were living fince the nauall fight. But when as the whole Company difliked of this accord, faying that they must

these articles would be vaine and friuolous. Philip seeing this contention, fearing likewise the future accusations, he intreats Titus to deferre this affembly untill the next day, for that it is now late, saying that hee would perswade them, or suffer himselfe to be perswaded. And when as Titus had granted this they resolued to assemble againe at the Port of Tyronye, and so they parted. The day following they all mette at the houre appoynted. Another affects Philip having made a short speech, requires them all, especially Titus, bly ao Thronge. that they would not breake of the treaty of peace: for that there were many things which did conduct to the conclusion of an accord. Vinlesse the fault were in them, that the composition was not made. Otherwise they must send Embassadours to the Senate to order their differences, to the which he would obey, and doe all they thould

C generally decree that he must depart out of all Greece: Otherwise all

These things thus propounded by Philip, the others said that they must doe that which concerned the warre, and not trust to his demands: But the Roman Commander said, that hee was not igned

rant that Philip would not doe any thing that was propounded vnto him: and yet their cause was nothing impaired, in yeelding him this fauour which hee demanded. For there could nothing be spoken there that could be confirmed without the Roman Senate: and that moreouer the approaching time would be very commodious to make tryall of their aduice. For as the Armies are vnprofitable in regard of the Winter, there could be no inconvenience, if in the meane time they referr'd themselues vnto the Senate, but a great commodity vnto them all.

Philips cause fentto Rome.

Embaffadours

464

When they were of this opinion feeing Titus to concurre, that the pre- A fent differences should be transferrd'd to the Senate, they resolued to suffer Philip to fend an Embaffie to Rome, and in like manner all in particular to make their causes knowne vnto the Senate, and to accuse Philip. When this resolution of the Assembly had succeeded according to the humour and aduice of Titus conceived in the beginning, he presently pursued those things which were requisite for the Enterprize, having giuen order for his affaires. Finally, hee deales no more with Philip, but affignes him two Moneths onely, in the which hee should fend an Embassie to Rome, and should retire his Garrisons for Phosis and Locre. Hee gines him likewise charge, that hee should not make Warre R against any of the Roman Allies, and should give order that in the meane time the Macedonians should doe them no outrage.

And when he had dealt with Philip vpon these Articles by Writing, he brought the rest of the things propounded to an end of himselfe. Hee suddainly sends Aminandre to Rome, knowing his sufficiency in affaires, and to purchase Friends easily wheresoeuer hee came : and that he would procure some good conceite and hope, in regard of the name of Royalty. After whom hee sends for Embassadours, Quintus Fabine, his Nephew in respect of his Wives Sister, and Quintus Fulfent to Romeby wins, and with them Appins Claudine whom they call Nero. The Titur, the Eto- Etoliens fent Alexander Ifien, Democrates 2 Calydonien, Dicearchus

a Trichonien Polymarchus an Arfineen, Lamin an Ambraciete, and Nicomachus an Acarnanien: and of those which were Fugitiues from Thurion, and dwelt at Ambracia, Theodores, Pherea a Fugitiue of

The fally, and then remaining at Strate.

The Acheins fent Xenophon an Egien : King Attalus, Alexander alone: The people of Athens eightfodorm. All which come to Rome to the Senate, to deliver vnto their judgements the things which they had resolved that Yeare, before that the two Consuls (at the request of the others) were sent into Gallacia against Philip. When as Tisms Friends conceived that the two Consuls should remaine in Ita- D In for feare of the Gaules, they enter all into the Senate, and accuse Philip roughly, delivering the fame which they had formerly obiected ento the King: Yet they laboured carefully to possesse the Senate with an opinion, that they could not hope for any liberty, if Calchis, Gorinthe, and the Demetriades continued in the hands of the

They sayd, that Philip had vsed that Speech, and had assured that

the faid places were the Bonds and shackles of Greece: the which he might well fav with reason and truth. For they could not sayle safely from Mores to Corinthe, there being a royall Garrison : neither durft the Losrines , Beocians , and Phocenfes doe it , whilft that Philip holds Calchis and the rest of Negrepout : Neither likewise the Theffa. lians and Magnetians could not fayle freely, Philip and the Macedoniand holding the Demetricale. Wherefore in that which Philip hath faid, that hee would leave the other places, it is a fancy and a shift to A escape the present time : and when opportunity should serue, hee would easily subdue the Grecians, so as hee held the said places. For this cause they intreated the Senate, that Philip might leave those places for else continue in his Enterprize, and fight valiantly : And that the greatest part of the Warre was already decided, the Macedo. mians having loft two Battailes, and the greatest part of their forces at Land being confumed.

These Speeches ended, they intreated them with all affection not to luffer the Grecians to bee frustrated of the hope of their liberty, nor themselues deprined of an honourable Title. The Embassadors of Greese hauing debated these things or the like : those of Philip had prepared a Mountaine of words, but they were suddainly rejected. For when as they were demanded if they would leave Calchis, Corinth, Philips Embalanders Chemotrades they demanded they be had been been demanded to the beautiful to the control of the c and the Demetriades, they denyed that they had any thing in charge. Wherefore being check't, by this meaner they ended their Speech. Warredeclared The Senate fends the two Confuls into Galacia, and declares the against Philips Warre against Philip to be lust, giving charge to Tiene to attend the

Grecians affaires.

When as the newes came into greece all things succeeded to The tus according to his desire. For besides that Fortune fauoured him, whatfoeuer hee undertnoke hee brought to an end by his prouidence and care. Hee was in truth (if there were any among the Romans) The Comment C a witty and ingenuous man. Hee not onely undertooke ordinary af- dation of These faires, but those that were secret, and with such Dexterity and Courage, as hee surpast all others, although hee were yet but young i for hee scarce past the Age of Thirty yeares. He was the first which past into Greece with an Army.

Bbb



A certaine Parcell.

An-kind which seemes to bee the most cunting and mali-2 cious of all the Creatures, hath greater meanes to be more vicious. The others feruing their corporall Defires. are onely deceived by them. But Manking finnes no leffe by a defire of glory through negligence and inconfideration then by Nature.



More of Titus and the Grecians Actions.

Nd when as Titus could not fearne where the Eachies Campe was feated, and being affured that they were come through The faly, he commands them all to cut stakes, and to carry them with them, to the end they may bee ready at necessity. This without doubt seemes (accor-

ding to the custome of the Gresians) impossible, being easie to the Romans. The Grecians in truth are no good Commanders of their Bodies in Marching, and doe hardly enduse toile. But the Romans having their Targets banging at their backes in a Belt of Leather, and D carrying their Head-peeces in their hands, beare the flakes. There was a great difference betwirt them. The Grecians held a stake that betwixt the Ros had many branches at the foote very commedious. But the Romans vse stakes with two, or three, or foure branches at the most, so as they are easie to carry, for a man carries two or three Faggots together. There is also this difference : For the Grecians stake planted before the Campe, may be easily pull'd vp: When that onely which is strong, is fixed in the ground, and hath many and great branches, if two or

The Grecians delicate of their Bodies.

466

and the Greek

Of the History of POLYBIVS. Lib.17.

three of them shew themselves, and draw the stake vnto them, it is easily pull'd vp. And whereas this happens, there is a breach easily made, by reason of the greatnesse, and then the joyning of them is vindene by the shortnesse and mutuall height of this kinde of Pallisado The Romans doe otherwise. They plant themright up. and interface them in fuch fort, asit is not easie for any one to difcerne or know from which the of the stakes stucke in the ground, the shootes take their growth, nor from what stockes the branches come. Finally, it is not possible for him that seekes to pull them vp, to put A to his hand, for that they are very thicke and intermixt together: And if they bee carefully planted, he that shall lay hold on them, shall not beable to pull them up eafily, for that all their iounts take their force from the Earth : Secondly, hee shall bee forced to transport many shootes together, which shall lay hold of one branch, in regard of their mutuall interlacing : Neither is it likely that two or three will feaze voon one stake. Yet if it happens that some one pulls vo one or two. yer the space cannot be discouered. Wherefore there is a great difference, for that this kinde of stakes is easie to finde, and casie to carry, and the vie is more fafe and firme. So as it is apparent, that if the Ramans have not any thing touching the mannaging of the War B which is worthy of imitation, yet this kind of stakes (at the least in my iudgement) deserues it.

When as Tiess had prepared all things ready to ferue him at neede. he marcheth a flow pace with his whole Army. And when he came Titusplants his within fifty Furlongs of the City of Pherees, hee camped there. The Campeneaue day following at the breake of day, hee fent forth Spies, to feeke if they could by any meanes discouer where the Enemies were, and what they did. But when as Philip had received advertisement, that the Romans were at that time Camped neare vinto Thebes', raifing his Campe from Lariffa, hee prepares his way towards Pherees

C with his whole Army.

When he was within thirty Furlongs, planting his Campe there; hee commanded them to have a care of their Victuals. At the breake of Day awaking his Army, hee fent forth those that were appoyedted for Scouts, giving them charge to gaine the Hills about Phe. rees : Then at the Sunne riling hee parts with all his forces. It happened soone after, that the Scouts of both Armies met on the top of the Mountaines. Knowing one another in the Darke, they stayed little distance off : and advertised their Commanders of that which D had happened. And when they required Directions what they should doe, shey were called backe.

The day following either of them fent forth Horse-men, and a bout three hundred Souldiers to discouer : with whom Titus sent two Bands of Etoliens for their experience of the places: The which affailing one another neare vnto Pherees and Lariffa, they fought va- An encounter liantly. But when the Etoliens of Epoleme fought with great cou- of the farerage, being also called the tealiques, it happened that the Macedonians were preft. Butafter they had skirmifhed some time, they re-

Bbb 2

tired to their Campes. And when as the day following the Plaine was displeasing to either of them, for that it was full of Trees. Hedges, and Gardens, they raise their Campes. Philip tooke his way towards scotusse, making haste, to the end hee might draw Victuals from the City, and lodge his Army with more aduantage. Titus coniecturing what would happen, parts with his Army at the fame instant, making haste to spoile the Scotoffiens Corne before the comming of Philip. But for that in the marching of the two Armies, there was a great interpolition of high Hills and Mountaines, the Romans nor the Macedonians could not discouer one another in A the direction of their way. Wherefore that dayes iourney being ended, Titus came vato Eretria, and Philip to the River of Onchife, and presently planted their Campes there vnknowne to one another.

And when as the day following they had marched on, Philip stayes at Melambie of the Scotuffeins, and Titus about the Theridie of Pharsalia: where they were againe vnknowne one to another. And as there fell a Raine and the yearely Thunder, it happened that the day following in the Morning there arise a great fogge, the which falling they could not see what was before their feete. Yet Philip B making hafte to dispatch that which was offred, Campt wandring with his Army : But being hindred by the troublesomenesse and difficulty of the way in regard of the fogge, he advanced little, and

pallifadoed his Campe.

Finally, he sent Phedria, and gives him charge to gaine the tops of the Hills interpoled. Titus likewise being Camped about Thetidie, and being donbefull where the Enemies were, he made choice of tenne Bands, and about a thousand of the most valiant, sending them before to search diligently, and to enter the Countrey: who marching to the tops of the Hill, fellby indifcretion into an Ambush of the Enemies, by reason of the darkenesse of the day. Eyther of them at the first were somewhat troubled, but soone after they charge one another. They likewise send to informe their Com-

manders of this accident.

But when as the Romans in this Charge were prest, and in danger by the Ambush of the Macedonians, they fent visto their Campe for Succours. Tisus commanding the Etolieus, fends those which were under the charge of Archidamus, and of the Eupolemus, and two Tribunes with five hundred Horse, and two thousand Foote. At whose comming they which in the beginning did but skirmish, refuming courage, presently put on another kind of Combate. The D Romans relying vpon their Succours, double their forces for the fight. And although the Macedonians defended themselves brauely, yet they fent vnto the King, being prest and annoyed by their Armes, and for their refuge recoursed the tops of the Moun-

And when as Philip had no hope but that they should be able that day to give Battaile with all their Forces for the fore-fayd Causes,

hee had fent many of his men to forrage. But when he was aductrised of that which happened by those which hee had sent, and that the mist was past, hee sent Heraclides the Gyrtonien, Chiefe of the The Salian Horse, and Leon Commander of the Macedonian Ca-

Hee likewise seat Athenagorus with all the Mercenaries exept the Thracians. Who being come to the Ambush, and the Macedonians much re-inforced, they made head against the Enemy, and repuls'd the Romans from the Hills. The Dexterity of the Etolien Horse did much hinder the Enemies from turning head. They fought in truth with great courage and confidence. The Etoliens in The Nature of regard of the Foote-men, are faint both in their Armes and Ordo-willon focte nance for a Combat in Field : But their Horse-men are excellent as Horsebacke; aboue all the other Grecians in particular and separated Combats. Wherefore it happened, that for that they had stayed the violence and fury of the Enemy, they could not fo foone recouer the Plaine. but stayed for a time in Battaile.

But when as Titus faw not onely the most valiant and his Horse-Titus puts his men retire but also his whole Troupes to bee dismayed, hee drawes Armyin Bat-R his whole Army to Field, and puts them in order vpon the Hills, taile. At the same instant they which were in Guard, ran hastily one after another to Philip, crying out vnto hlm, Sir, the Enemies five. lose not this occasion: The Barbarians seeke vs not : This day is yours, imbrace the time, and by this meanes they incite and stirre vp Philip to Battaile, although the scituation of the place did not content and please him. For the fayd Hills (which they call Dogs head) are rough, difficult of all fides, and high. Wherefore when as Philip had formerly fore-seene the vnequalnesse of the places, hee had not in the beginning made any preparation unto Battaile: But beeing then prouoked by the great coufidence of the C advertisements, hee drawes his Army with all speede out of the Fort.

In regard of Titm, hee orders his Troupes and Bands for the Battaile, and followes them close which began the Skirmish, making remonstrances vnto the Battalions as thee turned. His Speech was short, plaine, and intelligible to the Hearers. Propounding then the cause, hee sayd voto his Souldiers : Are not these O Companions, the fame Macedonians, who formerly holding in Macedosy the top of the Mountaines towards Heordia, your have forced with Sulpicius, and chaled from thence with the defeate of the D greatest part of them ? Are not these the same Macedonians, who being feazed upon the difficult places of Epirus, and leaving no hope of approach, you have chased by your prowesse, and forccd to five into Macedony, abandoning their Armes? What reason is there then that you should feare the same men, with whom you are to enter into an equall Combate: Towhat end doc we propound ynto you precedent actions to confider on but that in regard of them you should fight more confidently. Wherefore Companions Bbb 3

Macedonians.

468

of Maccdony.

attend the Battaile with resolution, giving courage one to another. I hold for certaine, that with the good pleasure of the Gods, the end of this Battaile will soone bee the conclusion of the pre-

When Titus had vied these Speeches, hee commands the right Wing of his Army not to budge, fetting the Elephants before them: And affailes the Enemy with great courage with the left Wing, being accompanied by the most valiant. They which among the Remans had begun the Fight, shewing their courage, prest the Enemies, hauing beene relieued by some Troupes of Foot-men. And when as A at the same time Philip saw that the greatest part of his Army was in manand Philip Order of Battaile before the Pallisadoe, hee marcheth, taking the Targetteers and the Battalion of the right Wing, and alcends the Hills with speede : giuing charge to Nicanor (whom hee called Elephant) to command the rest of the Army to follow close. As soone as the first had recoursed the top, hee defends the Bartalion, feeting the Targets before, and seazed vpon the higher Countrey. And when as the Macedonians prest the Romans much, vpon the two flankes of the Hills, he discourred the tops to bee abandoned. As he fortified the right Wing of his Army, it happened that the Souls B diers were much annoyed by the Enemy.

For when they they which were best armed, were is yned vinto the most valiant of the Romans, and succoured them in this fight, they prest the Enemies much and slew many. As the King was there in the beginning, and faw the Combat of the valiant men not to be farie from the Campe, hee reioyced : againe, when hee faw them decline, and to have neede of Succours, hee was forced to fend them, and at that instant to bezard a Battaile, although that many of the Troupes of his Army were yet vpon the way, and approached to the Hills. And in taking the Souldiers hee rankes them all, C as well on foote as Horsebacke on the right Wing, commanding the beares of Burthens and the Battalions, to double the Front of their Rankes, and to stand close voor the right hand.

This being done, when as the Enemies loyned with them, hee commanded the Battalion that bending downe their Isuclings they should march in order, and mingle with the strongest. At the fame instant, when as Tites had retired those which had begunne the Fight, to the spaces which were betwirt the Ensignes, he chargeth the Enemy.

The Combat beginning on cyther fide with great fury and clamour, all crying together, yet those which were without the fight cry. D ing vnto the reft, the Battaile was made very horrible and cruell, and it shewed the force of the Combat. Philips right Wing carryedit selfe valiantly in this Battaile : charging the Enemy from aboue, having an advantage in their order : which finally for the present fight was much more commedieus, in regard of the diuersity and senerall sorts of Armes. In regard of the rest of the Army, some were toyned unto the Enemy fighting a farre off, others thewed

showed themselues upon the lest hand having gotten the toppes of

Lib.17.

When as Tytus faw and did well perceive that his men could not indure the force of the Enemies battallion, and those of the right wing to be repuls'd, and some saine, and others to retire by degrees. and that all his hope of safety consisted in the right Wing, hee goes speedily voto them, and considers the Enemies order. When hee faw some succeed in their places which had fought, and others to descend from the Hils, and some to stay vpon the tops, he marcheth against the Enemy with his Ensignes, purting the Elephants before. And when as the Macedonians had no advertisement by Trumpets and Clarons, and that they could not make it good, nor receiue any true order of a battallion, aswell for the difficulty of the place, as for that the Combattants had the forme of goers, and not of an order of Battaile, and that there was no further meanes to fight fingle, or hand to hand with the Romans: Being also terrified and much injured with the Elephants, and likewise separated one from another, they marcht prefently away. Wherefore many Romans purfied them continually and flew them.

One of the Captaines Milleneirs being of this Troupe, having but twenty Enfignes, confidering at the very instant what was to be done. did great seruice for the obtaining of an absolute Victory. For when he faw those that accompanied Philip, assailed the others often, and grieuously to annoy the left Wing, hee turnes to them that were in distresse, leaving those which vanquished on the right Wing, and charged the Masedonians in the Reare. When as they of the Battallion could not make refistance, fighting man to man, this other was at their backes, killing those they incountred, there beeing no man that could fuccour them, fo as in the end they were forced to turne head. and to abandon their Armes. Although that Philip (as wee have fayed C in the beginning) had a great hope in the Victory, making a coniecture in his owne conceite, yet feeing the Macedonians to abandon and leane their Armes suddainly, and the Enemies to charge in the Reare, hee parts speedily from the Battaile with some Horse and Foote, to confider

fully of the Combate. When as he imagined that the Romans by their pursuite would an proach to the right Wing on the tops of the Hills, hee feelesto draw together as many Thraftens and Macedonians as possibly ace could When as Tysus pursued the Chase, and had discovered the left Wing The fiene of the Macedonians to affaile the toppes of the Hills, hee Rayed : For which the Ma D that the Enemies held their lauelings right vp: The which the Macedo when they mians are accustomed to do when they yeild, or retire from the Enemy, reild. When hee had knowne the canfe of this accident, hee restraines his men, being willing to pardon those that were amazed with feare. But whilst that Type confidered of these things, some of the fore most Charge them from about and kill many: few escaped abandoning their the Romant. Armes. This Battaile being thus ended of all fides, and the Romans having the victory, Philip retires cowards Tempe, and comming the first Bbb 4

which should escape in the flight.

In regard of the Battailes given betwixt Hannibal and the Romans. and their loffe, it is not needfull to vie any long Discourse. The Romans without doubt did not fuffer those losses, for want of Armes, and

pollicy of Haunibal.

Lib.17.

the order of their Battailes, but in regard of the good direction and have bin Vanquished by the

When as the Romans had purfued the Chafe for a time, fome ftrip the dead, others draw the Prisoners together, and a great part goe to force the Enemies Campe. There they finde the Etoltens, who had forced it before for spoile, and imagining that they were frustrated of a booty which was due and did belong vnto them, they beganne to accuse the Etoliens before the Generall, and to complaine, that hee had imposed the danger and the burthen of the Battaile vpon them, gi- A uing the profite and benefit vnto others : yet being returned vnto their Campe, they were somewhat pacified. The day following they affemble and gather together the Prisoners, and the rest of the spoile and booty, and from thence they tooke their course towards

day to the Tower of Alexander, hee past the Night there. The day

following paffing to Gonnes, hee entred Tempe, Itaying there for those

Number of the

There dyed in this battaile about seauen hundred Romans, and neero deadon either voon eight thousand Macedonians : the Prisoners were not lesse then flue Thousand. Besides many that escaped by slight. Thus ended this Battaile given betwirt Philip and the Remans in Theffaly at the Dogshead.



Of the difference of the Roman and Macedonian Armes.

Had promifed in the fixt Booke, to make a Comparison of the Roman and Macedonian Armes, and of the ordring of their Battailes and wherein they differ cyther world or better : Now I will indeauour to performe my promife. As in former tilves the Macedonian Armies haue

at given good proofes of their Valour, having Vanquished the Asiatiques and Grecians, and that the Romans have furmounted the Affricans as much , as all the Westerne Nations of Eur. pe, and that in our time D the conference of these Armies and men is to be made, not for once but for many times, it will be commedious and profitable to feeke our their difference, and for what reason the Ramans vanquish, having alwayes the upper hand in Martiall Combats : To the end that acknowledging it from Fortune, wee should with reason call them happy Victors, as the ignorant viually do : But knowing the true cause, wee Bould commend and holde thele Captaines for miraculous.

We declared this when we related the Battailes themselves. The Hannibel. end of the Warre confirmes our opinion. For when as the Romans had found a Commaunder like vnto Hannibal, they suddainely were Victors. So doth this, that when as Hannibal had Vanquished the Romans first, he furnished the common Souldiers better with the Roman Armes, rejecting their owne: Hauing vsurped them in the beginning, he afterwards made continuall vse of them. Pyrrhus in like manner did not onely yfe the Italians Armes, but also their ordering of Armies, when as by change he fets in the head of the Romans an Ensigne and Band of the Battallion. Yet hee could not over-come nor vanquish by this meanes, the end of the Combate beging alwaies doubt to the one and the other. It shalbe therefore necessary and conuenient to Treate thereof first, to the end that nothing may seems any way contrary voto our opinion: but I will beginne our con-B ferrence.

It is an eafie thing to know by many infructions, that if a Battalion observes its proper order and forces, so nothing can annoy it, nor withstand it, for as an armed man hath three foote in his posture in a close Combate, and that the length of his Pike from one end to the other is of foure and twenty foote, and at the leaft of one and twenty: And that for the space of his hands with the end which remaines for to shake it; they abate fixe foote during the Combate, it is apparent that a Pikeshall have fifteene foote in length, besides the body of euerv man that is armed, when with both hands hee presents it and chargeth the Enemy. Whereby it commonly happens that the other Pikes C passe three soote before the second, third, and sourth rancke of the precedent: The others before the fifth, if the Battallions be fitly loyned and close, according vato the order of those which are in the Reare and vpon the Flanckes : As Homer teacheth when hee fayth. the Target affures the Target, the Head-peece the Head-peece, and the Man the Man : The Head pecces adorned with Horles haire, touch one another with their braue Crefts : tending, that they should be ioy-

ned together and close. As these things are spoken with good reason and trueth; it is appaid rently necessary, that the Pikes should be charged, according to those

D that go before, passing betwirt them the length of ten foot and a halfe. By this meanes they may visibly know of what force the preparation and order of a Battallion is, having the length of fixteene Ranckes: Whereof they which exceed the fifth cannot fight with their Pikes. For this cause they cannot fight hand to hand, nor man to man: but they support them at their backes vntill they take breath, to the end that the first ranke may hold a firme order, repulsing all manner of force with their Pikes, which (passing the first) might charge vpon the reare. For in marching after this manner, they presse the fore-most with the weight of their bodies, to make a more violent charge. For it is im-

possible for the fore-most to turne backe.

474

Vanquish.

This being the order of a Macedonian Battalion, aswell in particular as in generall, wee must by way of comparison speake of the properties and differences of the Roman Armes, and of their ordering of a Battaile. The Romans have three foote space with their Armes. The which in fighting they mooue from man to man, for that every man ROWANS Armes. couers his body with his Target, the which they also vie when any occasion of Combate is offered. They commonly fight with the Sword by transport and apart : Wherefore it is manifest that these men haue betwixt them, a Retreate and space of three soote at the least, betwixt him that goes before, and the other which followes to fight more at case, whereby it happens that a Roman standing still, containes the space of two Macedonian Souldiers, beeing in the first Ranke : So as he must offer himselfe and fight against ten Pikes : All which one cannot cut if hee would, holding them in his hands: Neyther can the following Forces any way affift the first Ranke, neyther to affaile nor to mannage their Armes. So as wee may eafily coniecture, that it is impossible for any man living, to sustaine and defend the vio- B For what cause lence of a Macedonian Battallion in Front, if (as wee have formerly fayd) it retaynes its propriety and force, for what cause then doe the Remans Vanquish?

Whence comes it that Macedonian Battallions, are frustrated of their Hope of Victory? It is for that the Reman Ordonance, hath in Battaile infinite places and times commodious for the Combate, and the Macedonians have onely place and time, when it may bee serviceable and commodious. And therefore if vpon some necessity the Aduerfaries fall suddainly upon the Macedonian Battallions, when they are to give Battaile, it is likely that they which make vie of it, would be alwayes the Masters. But if they can diuert or turbe it, (which is an C easie thing) of what amazement and great terrous will this Ordo-

Moreover it is very playne and manifest that a Macedonian Battallion hath neede of Plaines and Euen ground without any let or incumbance, as Dirches, Springs, Vallies, Hills, and Water-courfes: for all these things may disturbe, breake, and make frustrate their defire and intention. It is (as a man may fay) in manner impossible, to finde a Countrey of twenty Furlongs (I speake of no more) where none of the afore-mentioned things are found. It is without any queftion or doubt a rare thing, and which no reasonable man will denv. Yet I will allow there are some found. If the Enemies do not direct and guide themselves thether, but passing on ruine the Townes, Villages, Cities, and whole Regions of their Friends and Allies, what profite then will grow by this kinde of Ordonance? If it stayes in places of advantage, it cannot give fuccours to its friends, nor preferue it selfe. For Victuals, Munition, and succours, may bee very eafily intercepted by an Enemy, if without any opposition hee

be master of the field. If likewise in leaving places of adminiage, a Macadonian Battalion feekes to execute fome enterprize, hee is in danger of the Enemy. For although that some one goes to field. and doth not at one time offer his Army to the fury of the Macedonian Battalion, diverting himfelfe for a time during the fight, wee may casily coniecture by that which the Romans doe at this day, what will happen. The conjecture of that which wee fay, must not bee taken from the effect. They doe not prefent their Battalion in such an indifferent place, as they must suddenly fight with all their forces

A in front. One part fights the other stirres not.

Morcouer if at any time the Macedonians preffe their Enemies eagerly, and are afterward repuls'd by them, the proper order of the Battalion is broken. For they leave the rest of the Army, whether they pursue those that are retired, or slye from those which charge them. The which being done, they leave voto the Enemy the place which they had held, not to charge in front, but to ferue them voon the flancke or in the reare, to fuccour those of the Battalion. Why it is not probable, that it should bee easie for a Roman Battalion, to observe time and advantage, and not for a Macedonian, seeing the differences are great, according

B to the truth of the faid things.

Moreover it is necessary for those which make vse of the Macedonian Ordonance, to passe through all forts of Countries, and to plant their Campe, and finally to feaze vpon commodious places and to belieged and indure fieges; and to prefent himselfe against the Enemy. All these things are requirest in warte: Sometimes also the generall moments which are great, ferue much for the victory: all which are not casie for a Macedonian Ordonance, yea sometimes they are unprofitable, for that the fouldier can neyther ferue in rancke nor man to man : Whereas the Reman is fit and profitable for thefe C things. For every Roman comming to fight with his Armes, is active for all times and places and for all charges: and sath generally one Ordonance, whither he be to fight in Troupe with the whole Afmy, or particularly Enfigne to Enfigne, or Manto Man. Wherefore as the commodity is mon excellent. To many times the end and son elulion of the Barraile is more prosperous and successefull vitto the abmans, then to others. I have therefore thought it necessary and conuenient to vie a long Discourse concerning these things, for that there are many Gresians at this day which hold it incredibate, that the D Macedonians should be vanquished and ouercome, being ignorant of the cause and meanes, whereby a Macedonian Ordonance is vanquished by the Roman Armes.

When as Philip had vsed all possible meanes hee could in this Battaile, and yet was preuented of the Victory, hee foorth with philips retreate into Macedony. made great haft (passing by Tempe) to recover Macedony, beeing accompanied with all those which had escaped from the Battaile. Hee presently sent unto Laressa the second Night after the Battaile,

476

one of the Archers of his Guard, giving him charge to teare and burne the Royall Letters , doing therein an Act worthy of a King, who in his aduerfe Forume had not forgotten that which was to bee done. He knew and did well perceine that if the Romans were once feazed on his Commentaries, there might be many occasions offered varo his Enemies against him and his Friends. It may beeir happened and fell out to him as to others, who nor able to containe their power moderately in prosperous things, yet have borne and suffered many Crosses and Disasters with patience: The which happened vnto Philip, as wilbe apparent by the following Difcourfe. So as ayming at that A which was convenient, wee have plainly shewed and declared his Attempts tending to reason, and againe his change to worse, and when, how, and wherefore these things were done, having plainely set foorth and exprest his Actions: Wee must by the same meanes declarehis Repentance and dilligence, whereby beeing changed thorough hisaduerse Fortune, hee carried and behaued himselse at that time like a wife and discreete man. Finally, Tytus having given good order after the Battaile, for those things which concerned the Prisoners and spoile, he went to Larifa.



A Parcell of an imperfect sence.

O define folly we cannot, for that they are defirous of the same meanes. This kind of remissesse and dulnesse, is often found in many. Neither is it to be wondred at, if it hath place among others: But among those in whom this Spring of malice is found, there is anothercaule, for the which that wife laying of Epichar-

mes doth not agree: Watch and remember that thou must distrust. This is the bone of hearts.

to the work of the construction of the constru

Ofacertaine Accord betwixt Antiochus

T the same time came from the Vargyles Publius Lensalin, Antiotus with ten Legats: and from Thasse Lucius Torensius and makes and Publius Villius. When their comming was suddainly de-simachia. clared voto the King, they affembled all within few daies

at Lylimachia. After whom followed Hegiffianattes and Life fent at that time to Titus. Finally, the conference in private B. betwirt the King and the Romans was gracious and courteous. But when the affembly met for affaires, they imbraced another disposition on. Lucius Cornelius required that Antiochus should leaue all the Cithe which being subject to Brelang, hae had taken in Afia. In regard of those which were subject to Philip, hee conrested much to haue him leave them. For it was a mockery, that Antiochus comming he should reape the fruites of the Warre which the Romans had made a. gainst Philip: He likewise aduised him not to meddle with the free Cities. He also sayd, that it seemed strange, that without reason he had past into Europe with an Army as well by Sea as Land : That no man could conceine it to be to any other end, then to make Warre against the Re-

C mans. These things being propounded by the Remans, they held their peace. The King in answere said, that he wondred for what cause they Autichus an. debated with him for the Cities of Afa, and that it was more fitting Romans, for any other then for the Romans. Finally, hee intreated them not to viurpe, nor to deale with the affaires of Afia: And that for his part hee would not meddle with any thing that was in Italy. In regard of Enrose, he had entred with his Armies to recouer the Cities of Cherrone. fe and Thrace: For that the command of all those places belonged to him : this gouernment in the beginning being due to: Lyfimachus : But when as Selenous made Warre against him, and had ouerthrowne him D in Battaile, all the Kingdome of Lysimachas became subiect to Selencus by force. After the time of his predeceffors, Prolomy was the first who violently the fayd places, viurped them : The like did Philip. And that for his part he recoursed them, accommodating himselfe to his owne times, and not to those of Philip.

And as for the Lysimachians, ruined without reason by the Thracians he reduced them to himselfe, no way wronging the Romans, and restored them to their Countrey: The which he did to shew this mercy to

D

the affaires of Seleucus, and not to make Warre against the Romans. In regard of the Cities of Alia, they ought not to enjoy liberty by the commandment of the Roman but of grace. And for that which concerned Ptolomy; that with all his heart hee gaue him thankes : and that he understood that hee had not onely concluded Friendship with him. but made a League. When as Lucius was of opinion that the Lampfaceneius, and Smyrnieus, thould be called, and audience ginen them, it was done accordingly. There Parmenie and Pythedoras prefented themselves for the Lampsaceneins, and Cerane for the Smyrnien. When A as these men debated freely, the King being incensed to yeeld an accompt of their debate before the Romans, interrupting the Speech of Parmenio, cease sayth hee, to plead so much, I am not well pleased to dispute with my Enemies before the Romans, but rather before the Rhodiens, and then by this meanes they brake off the Affembly with out any mutuall affection.



Another Parcella

Any men defire actions of courage and proweffe, but the experience is rare. Scope in truth and Cleamenes have had great occasions for Combats and hardy Enterprizes. For C as Scope was formerly taken, hee had resolved in the same hope with his Servants and Friends, but hee could not faue himselse. Finally, his inst death (having led a wretched life) hath given testimony of his great weaknesse. And although that Scope was aided and affished with great Forces, having the government of the King in his nonage, and was of his Councell, yet he was foone ruined.

For when as Aristomenes knew that hee had affembled his Friends in his house, holding a Councell with them, he sent vnto D him by his Guards to come vnto the affembly. But hee was fo transported in his judgement, as hee did not that which hee ought to have done, neyther could hee (being called) be obedient vnto the King: which was the greatest folly in the World: vntill that Aristomenes knowing his basenesse, lodg'd Souldiers and Elephants neare his House, and sent Ptolong the Son of Eumenes with the Young men, to bring him with faire words, if he would come willingly; if not, to vie force. When

When as Ptolomy was entred into his house, and fignifying vnto him that the King demanded scope, he did not at the first observe his words : But casting his lookes upon Piolomy, he was long in that estate, as it were threatning him, and wondring at his prefumption. But when as Ptolomy approacht with affurance, and laydhold of his Cloake, then he required helpe of the Affistants. Being in this estate, and a great company of the young men comming about him, being also advertifed, that his house was environed with Souldiers, hee followed him obeying the times, being accompanied by his Friends. When as hee A was come to the Affembly and Councell, the King charged him a little : Then Policrases newly arrived from Cypres : and in the end Ariflo. menes. The accusation was according to that which had beene spoken: but they added moreover, that he had drawne his Friends together to consult, and that being called by the King, he would not obey. For which things all they which were in the Affembly, nor onely condemned him, but likewise the forreine Embassadors there assisting. But when as Aristomenes came to accuse him, he tooke many notable perfons, not onely of Greece, but also of the Etolien Embassadors, who were there for the accord: Among the which was Dorimachus, the B Sonne of Nicostrates.

And when as these men had spoken, Scope laboured to alledge some excuses: But when as no man give care vnto him for the foulenesse of his Crimes, hee was suddainly carryed to Prison with his Friends. The Night following, Aristomenes caused him to dye of poyson with all Scopepue to his Friends and Kinsfolkes. In regard of Dicearchus, hee put him to fon, death, having suffred great Torments : having endured fit punishments for all the Grecians. This was that Dicearchus whom Philip (prefuming to breake the accords with the Ilands of Cyclades, and the Cities of Hellespont, had made him Commander of all his Army at Sea, and superintendant of the saydbusinesse. And when he was sent to a mani-C fest execration, hee did not hold it an unreasonable and wicked act. thinking he should be able to terrifie both Men and Gods by his rage. Altars set vp Making haste to recouer the ships, hee set vp two Altars, the one to by Dicearchus cruelty, and the other to iniquity: Vpon the which he facrificed and to cruelty and prayed as vnto the Gods. Wherefore it seems hee was punished by a just Death, as well in the presence of Gods as Men. For as he led a life of a strange Nature, so he ended by a strange Death. Finally, when as the other Esoliens were defirous to retire home, the King suffred them to goe with all their Goods. Scope in his life time had a wonderofull defire of riches. Hee exceeded all other in auarics. And after his D' death his houses were found abounding with Gold and rich moueables. Whereas he had for affiftant the ingratitude and drunkennesse of Chari. morthe, he had wholy corrupted the Realme.

When as the Priny Councell hadtaken order for the Etoliens affaires, they all inclined to give power to the King to command: Not in regard of the maturity of his age, but for that they thought thereby, that the estate of the Crowne would further the affaires : and that if the King tooke vpon him a free power of the Realme, it would be a beginning

Ccc 2

and advancement to the better. Making then a stately preparation, they put it in execution with royall Magniscence. Policrates seemed to have affisted them much in this Enterprize. For as this man was deare vnto his Father, being yet young, there was not a better Courtier in all the whole Court, neither for that which concern'd his sidelity, nor the affaires, nor yet is more favour with the King. When as Cypres with the renenewes were delivered vnto him upon his faith and trust, in that dangerous time subject to many hazards, he not only kept this sland for the Infant, but also gathered together great store of Treasure, the which he then brought unto the King, delivering the government of Cypres to Prolomy the Megalopolitaine. And when upon this occasion, he had purchased a great power for the future, in time he strayed and fell into a rash and wicked course of life. Prolomy Age-

fore when opportunity shall ferue, it shall bee no great trouble to declare what great ignominy and reproach followed their governments.

To God onely be all Honour and Glory.



The



The Contents of the chiefest matters contayned in this History.

Nalliance made by Hieron wish
Leptine. fol. 6
Accord betwixt Hieron and the Ro-
mans, and what it containes. 10
Agregas besieged by the Romans. 11
Agregas spoiled by the Romans. 13
A defeate of Hannibals ships for want of a
good wind.
An Engine invented by the Romans, called
the Ranen.
A defeate of 4000 allied to the Romans by
Amilcar. 16
Army of 140000, Romans, and more Car-
A remonstrance made by the Carthaginian
Captaines, unto the Souldiers of their
Armj. 18
Amilear vanquished. 20
A victory of the Romans against the Car-
thaginians. ibid.
Aspis taken by the Romans. ibid.
Aldrubal Bostar, and Amilear, Comman.
ders of the Carthaginian army. 21
Aremonstance of Polybius: 24
Albis helieged by the Carthaginians. 25
Agreat number of the Roman jnips perijn-
Lu a Temptelt. 26
Asamball sent into Sicily by the Carthagi-
nians. 27
Anew army at Sea, prepared by the Ro-
mans. 20
A defeat of Carthaginians by the Romans.
Army at Sea prepared by the Romans. 29

and the state of t	
A conspiracy of mercinary Soula	iers fer.
uing under the Carthaginians;	
Alexon.	ibid
A fally of the Carthaginians upon	THE KO
mans Engines of battery.	34
An enterprize of the Romans upo	7 Tripa
Num.	35
A Combate at Sea betwint the Ron	
the Carthaginians.	36
Appius Glaudius deposed from the	Conjuga
ship, and afterwards condemne	-
Smile on Conilar the Coaste of Halu	37
Amilcar spoiles the Coasts of Italy Amilcar:	39
A good comparifor	ibid.
Army at Sea prepared by the Car	thenini
Ans.	
A victory of the Romans, against	41 tha Car
thaginians. Amilear Father vnto Hannibal.	42
	43
Amilcar. A muting of mercinary and oiber	59
Souldiers in Sardinia, and	Bestare
flaint.	
Agreat inhumanity and wickedne	
mitted.	
A cruell resolution	ibid.
A defeate of the Carthaginians by	
Many care of the carriers of	
Assignation of a battaile.	57
Asdrubal shosen and made Genera	58 Hafisha
army.	60 ibid
Agron King of Sclauonia.	. 7
Ccc 3	A de-

The Contents.

A defens of Sealiene by the Clausming	£ .	Asdrabal son in Law to Hannibal.	
A defeat of Etoliens by the Slauonians. A reprebensian of the Epirots	62	A zood consideration and necessary se	109
A bold answer of an Embassadari	7.72	Gouernours,	ibi.
attitan of the Stannians on the the	64 : A	Army of a hundred then fand men.	IIO
A Victory of the Slauonians against the		An Emballie from the Romans wate l	_
cheins.	65		
Apotonia geilded to the Romans.	65	mibal.	110
Accord made with Tuto.	68	An other accord made betwiet the Ros	_
	and	and the Carthaginians.	118
the Caribaginians.	67		ibide
A discription of Italy.	67	An other accord made with Afdrabal.	ib.
A price had to be credited.	68	A division of Provinces to the Consul.	
A defease and wine of the Senogallois	-	A surprize wade by the Bullomans up	ns the
the Romans.	71	Kemans.	126
A defease of the Gaules in Delphos.	71	A defeate of the Numidians, by the R	0190473
Amazement of the Romans, for the dej	cept	Canallerg.	129
of the Gaules.	72	Army of Hannibal decreased.	137
A descent of the Transalpins into Italy		A combate of the borfe, beswixt Han	Bibal
A victory of the Gaules against the	Ro-	and Scipio.	141
mans.	74	An Embassie from the Bullonians to	Han-
A defeat of the Gaules army.	77	mibal.	142
a victory of the Romans against the	Mil-	A plaine is sometimes an occasion of a	n am-
annoys.	79	bujh.	144
Acerras besieged.	79	Ambush layd by Hannibal for the Ro	mans.
A defeat of Gaules by the Romans.	80		145
Acerras taken by Cornelius.	80	A defeate of the Roman borsemen.	146
Asdrubal staine.	8 r	Army lenied by the Romans both by S.	
All Morea reduced into a League.	82	Land.	147
A League betwixt the Dymonforius	and	A defeat of some Romans by Asdruba	1.148
them of Patras.	84	Ambush laidby Hannibal.	251
Aristomachus, Xenon, Cleomenes	86	A defease of the Roman harfe-men b	9 M4-
Antigones Tutor to Philips sonne.	86	berbal.	153
Ashenes	86	A Distator created?	thid.
A good confideration of a rate.	87	Asdrabals parting from Carthageto	
A good innention of arate.	87	to Spaine.	158
Acrosorinth yeilded to Antigonne.	90	Army at Sea prepared suddainely b	
Argos taken by the Acheins.	ib.	Carthaginians.	159
Acrosorinth taken by Antigones,	ibid.	Acedux or Abilax.	ibid.
Aristomachus.		Acedux conspires with the Remans.	160
Aristomachus strangled.	94	A combate betwixt the Romans and	
Army leuied by Cleomeness	95	Carthaginians.	
Army leuten by Chameness	97 ibid.		163
Artigonus blamed.		A legion of five thousand men, and the	e man.
Antigenus campe scated oponthe ban		ner how the Romans raife an arm	1. 166
Gorgile.	98	A skirms betwixt the Carthaginia	
Attalus.	103	Romans.	168
Agefilaus.	106	×	170
A zood comparison.	ibid.		17
Antiochus an enemy unto the Ro	MARIS.	Achemo Antiochus.	175
	108	Arifton.	176
		•	in Em

The Contents.

An Emballiesent from Arateto the Eto.	Antiochus Sonneso Selencus 245
ioliens. 180	Antiochus marriesmith Indian
1 Fight betwixt the Acheins and the Eto.	Antiocherones bis summer no st
liens. 181	Antiochus mana andia a de aut m
A defeate of the Acheins. 181	Antiochus hath a Sonne. ibid.
trate blamed by the Acheins. 182	Artabazanes makes an accord mich and
Iduice of the Acheins touching the warre	
against the Etoliens. 182	Applichemes edulines and 1
amity amongst the Lacedemonians. 187	I France ample to Aprilupps. 254
Imbassadours sent from Lacedemonia to	
Philip.	Ave Avenu wai Caller De la
llexander the Great. 188	
Imphixions restor'd to their Lawes. 189	- July 1 Comments Empayages to Am.
insweres to Embassadors. 192	
Aristorates 192	The state of the s
A league made besweene she Lacedemoni.	
and and walless	
1 101	200
pire.	
Attalus and Asheins. 201	Antiochus lend Emballadors unto Piolo-
Achate caused himselfe to bee called	770
King. ibid	Accord made betwint Ptolomy and Antio-
accord betwixt the Constantinopolitaine	thus. ibid.
and the Rhodiens.	Arate prepared for the Warre. 272
accord made with Prusias. ibid	· Agatin and Cassander taken by Scardi-
Alexander. 209	lade. 272
Assault given by Dorimache to the For	t Athenians abandon Ptolomy. 279
of Egire. 200	Antiochus passeth Mount Taurus. ibid.
Alexander (laine. 20)	Aduice of Gouernment. 282
sthens taken by Lycurgus. ibid	. A true Monarchy. 283
1mbrachia taken by Philip. 208	A true Aristocracy. ibid.
in assembly of the Etoliens to keepe th	A Democracy. ibid:
passage of a River. 20	4 Day 14
Arate ioynes with Philip. 21:	and the same of a
Appelles Tutour to Philip. 210	dualization of all and the
Appelles persists in his Enterprize. 21	Achamana 1
Accusation of Appelles agains Arate an	d Allthings subject to corruption?
Jalin Adamina	
anathe Acheins. 22 Answere of Arabe. ibia	
Alexander Chamberlaine so King Antige	
Mass. 1616	
Alexander the Great. 229	with the Carthaginians. 221
Amycle. 23	3 Apprus be freged by Hannibal. 327
1 multitude against Philip and hi	s Aw seconsideration of Hannibal. 328
men. 23	7 AmaZement of the Romans. 339
Appelles taken Prisoner. 23:	Alexander ruinsted Thebes. 348
An Army neare to Ephesus. 24	
Archidamus staine by Cleomenes 24	3 Antigonus.
•	C 66 A. Alexander

The Contents.

And the second s	- Interest Land Pamone V 78
Alexander the Epirote. 352	Boloniens defeated by the Romans. 71 Rateaile of the footmen. 76
A sarabal abandoned my many Spaniards.	
375	Boloniens Country Spoiled. Boloniens geild
Eduice of Asdrubal for the War. 376	
Andobale speakes to Publius Scipto. 1014	
attalus against Philip by Sea. 379	Design Chicago at the Control of the
Advertisement by fire. 101.	Di timus intege of the
Aduice of Eneas touching signes by fire.	Blame of Philip 238
	Bold enterprize of Cleomenes, 244
An other kind of advertisement by fire, in-	Bataile betwiet Psolomy & Antiochus. 268
wented by Cleomenes and Demotrates . 381	Beginning of governments. 284
Aldrehal brother to Hannibal Hame. 300	Blame of Nomarche and Philomale. 351
Accordbetwixt the Romans and the Lin-	Beginning of the fight for Carthage. 362
liens. 388	Battaile betwixt Afdrubal and the Romans
Anaxidamus staine. 393	in Italy. 385
Asdrubals Campe neere to Elinge. 394	Battaile by the Elephants! 432
Asarbal chargeth the Romans. 395	Braue answere of Philip to Marcus Emi-
Asarubalputs his men in battaile. 396	lius. 456
Agathocles cruelty. 407	
Achiens free fromfraud. 414	C.
Apege the wife of Nabis. 416	Carthaginians loose the Battaile. 13
Advice of the Romans: 423	Carthaginians army 350. saile. 17
Articles comprehended in the accords past	Complaint of the Souldiers. 45
betwint Scipio and Carthaginians. 430	Courtesse of Romans to the Carthaginis.56
Articles of accord propounded by Scipio to	Causes of Alexanders war in Persia. 106
the Carthaginians 435	a. C. Cala Cuth man between the PATHAME
Agathocles hewed her paps to the Mace-	and the Carthaginians 108
	and a film it is a second of the second of t
Agathocles slaine. 443 Attalus chargeth Philips army at Sea. 440	
A man may be commended and blamed as	
cording to the diuersity of his actions. 45	
Abideins besteered by Philip. 454	6 1. Las Las Damens 169
Abideins besieged by Philip. 454	Campe of Asdrubal of 30000. foote, and
A course which the Abydeins take in des	412
paire. 45	continues anno horse de
Alexander against Philip. 46	
Antiochiu answer to the Romans. 47	Carthaginians Senate hold a Counsell 421
B	Conspiracy of the Carthaginians against th
C.1 71:0	5 Roman Embassadour. 42
Beginning of the History.	Carshaginians presse Hannibal. 428
Blame of Philin and Fabius Historiogra.	
Battle at Sea betwixt the Carthaginians	Gracky of Virgins. 44 6 Causes wby Philip shallengeth the Victor
K077473.	
Battle at Seabetwixt the Romans and Ca	r. to himselfe. 45 9 Cruelty of the Abydeins to themselves. 45
Battaile given by the Romans to the Carth	a- Courteous and wife answere of Philip. 45
ginians.	4 Custome of the Etotiens very straige, 40
Battaile won by the Carthaginians.	8 Commendation of Tytus. 46

The Contents.

sbe Carthaginians by Apius. Different between the mister of Hanno. 55 Death of Amilear. Death of King Ageron. Death of King Ageron. Demetrium father to Philip. Divara furpriced by the Sclauonians. 64 Divars victories of the Gaules against the Romans. Distingence of the Romans. Distingence of the Romans. Distingence of the Forlorne hope of the Gaules. and the death of King Averoefte. Divars defeates of the Acheins. Duty of a Historiographer. Demetrium loss his Realme and Lifeby conformacy. Demetrium loss his Realme and Lifeby conformacy. Demetrium a man of great courage, and liteliand gement. Distingence of the Country of Capua, and its seismation. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the two Dictarors. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the two Dictarors. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the two Dictarors. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the two Dictarors. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the two Dictarors. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the two Dictarors. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the two Dictarors. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the two Dictarors. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the two Dictarors. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the two Dictarors. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the two Dictarors. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the two Dictarors. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the two Dictarors. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the two Dictarors. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the Euclies charge Philips reare ward the Expansards. Embassard Acamanians Exolution of Lybia feare them of India the Spaniards. Distington of the Roman herse memby the the Carthaginians of Lybia feare them of India the Spaniards. Distington of the Roman herse memby the the Carthaginians of Lybia feare them of India the Spaniards. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the Carthaginians of Lybia feare them of India the Spaniards. Distington of the Roman Army, betwiext the Carthaginians of Lybia f				-
Dissipation betwire amilear & Hanno. Death of Amilear Death of Amilear Death of King Agron. Death of King Agron. Dissipation of the Selatuonians. A Dissipation of the Selatuonians. A Dissipation of the Selatuonians. A Dissipation of the Folome hope of the Gaules against the Romans. Dissipance of the Folome hope of the Gaules against the Romans. Dissipance of the Folome hope of the Gaules. And the death of King Aucroesce. Dissipation of the folome hope of the Gaules. And the death of King Aucroesce. Death of many great Princes. Death of many great Princes. Demetrius king of Selatuonian. Dissipation of the Country of Capus, and literal great and Lifeby complished and the Spanian of the Country of Capus, and literal stop of the Roman Army, betwirt the two Distators. Dissipation of the Roman Army, betwirt the two Distators. Dissipation of the Roman hopfe-memby the Gaules and the Spanian of the Country of Capus, and the Capus of the Roman herfe-memby the Capus of Capus, and the Capus of Cap	Defeate of Hieron by Apies. D	efeate of	Defeat of the Romans by nio be	
Deast of Amilcar. Deast of Amilcar. Deast of Amilcar. Deast of Amilcar. Demotrius father to philip. Duraca furprised by the Selauonians. Discorpose of the Gaules against the Romans. Discorpose of the Gaules against the Romans. Discorpose of the Forderne hope of the Gaules. And the death of King Cuteroeste. Discorpose of the Forderne hope of the Gaules. Discorpose of the Forderne and Lifeby conforter of the Gaules of the Gaules and Lifeby conforter of the World in three parts. Discorpose of the Forderne parts. Discorpose of the Forde	the Carthaginians by Apius.	8	Duty of a Comminuder	, -, -
Death of King Agron. Demotring father to philip. Duraxa furpristed by the Sclauonians. Romans. Dissers victories of the Gaules against the Romans. Possers victories of the Gaules against the Romans. Disference of the Forlorue hope of the Gaules. Romands. Defeate of the forlorue hope of the Gaules. And the death of King Aucrosofte. Dinty of a Historiagrapher. Dinty of a Historiagrapher. Diracy. Demotrinis King of Sclauonia. Disference of the more and Lifeby conformands to the Carthaginians conformants king of Sclauonia. Disference of the more and Lifeby conformands. Disference of the Realme and Lifeby conformands. Disference of the Realme and Lifeby conformands. Discontinus King of Sclauonia. Disference of the more of the Carthaginians. Disference of the more of the contreprise. Disference of the Roman Army, betwint the state of Theophilifeus. Distription of the world in three parts. Disference of the Roman Army, betwint the state of the contreprise of the Country of Capua, and its spaniar ds. Discondbe where the two Confusts. Disference of the Roman Army, betwint the state of the Carthaginians. To Captain of the Roman Army, betwint the state of the Roman Army, betwint the Gaules and she Spaniar ds. Difference betwint a private and publicke minimy. Death of Thibete. Dosimanders of the Romans. Distribution of the Carthaginians. Distribution of the Country of Capua, and set spaniar ds. To Captaines. Distribution of the Romans Army winto his she Spaniar ds. Distribution of Polomics Army winto his she Spaniar ds. Distribution of Polomics Army winto his she Spaniar ds. Distribution of the Romans Army winto his she spaniares. Distribution of the Romans Army winto his she spaniares. Distribution of the Romans Army winto his she spaniares. Distribution of the Roman Army winto his she spaniares. Distribution of the Romans Army winto his she spaniares.	Diffention between amilear & Ha	nno. 55	Desposition of Publics Scipio	
Democtrium father to Philip. Duraza supericed by the Sclausnians. 64 Dimers victories of the Gaules against be Romans. 70 Difference of the Foules against be Romans 70 Difference of the Foules 89 Difference of the Foules 89 Difference of the Foules 89 Difference of the Founes 89 Duty of a Historium father 89 Difference of the Roman Action 89 Death of many great Princes. 101 Democtrium a man of great courage, and little sequences. 104 Difference of the world in three parts. 124 Ditiference of the Roman Army, betwix the 100 Indifference of the Roman Borse-memby the 100 Gaules and Spaniards. 171 Difference of the Roman Borse-memby the 100 Defeate of the Roman Borse-memby the 100 Defeate of the Roman Borse-memby the 100 Gaules and Spaniards. 171 Difference of the Roman Borse-memby the 100 Defeate of the Ro	Death of Amiliar.		Duty of Commanders of an Arma	
Duraza susprized by the Sclausenians. 64 Disers victories of the Gaules against about the Romans. 70 Disers victories of the Gaules against about the Spaniar di. 70 Disers defeates of the Acheins. 89 Disers defeates of the Acheins. 89 Duty of a Historiographer. 92 Death of many great Princes. 101 Demertine King of Sclausenia. 111 Demertine King of Sclausenia. 111 Demertine King of Sclausenia. 111 Discrim a many of great courage, and little is adgressed by the Country of the world in three parts. 124 Delia and land in Agyst. 131 Duty of a good Captaine. 150 Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Dictators. 163 Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Dictators. 163 Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Dictators. 163 Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt the spaniar di. 170 Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and the Spaniar di. 171 Differense betwixt a private and publicke (ninr). 191 Differense betwixt a private and publicke (ninr). 191 Distribution of Ptolamics Army winto bis Captaines. 200 Demetrine the Molon. 252 Demetrine the Molon. 252 Demetrine the Roman Army winto bis Captaines. 258 Distribution of Ptolamics Army winto bis Captaines. 258 Distributi	Death of King Ageron.	60	Diogenes fights with the Rachensen	
Durers victories of the Gaules against be Romans. Discrevit victories of the Gaules against be Romans. Discrevit victories of the Gaules against be Romans. Discrevit victories of the Romans. Discrevit victories of the Romans. Defeate of the Forlorne bepe of the Gaules and the death of King Auerosse. Dury of a Historiegrapher. Death of many great Princes. Demetrius loss his Realme and Life by conformation of the bead of an enterprise. It is Demetrius a man of great courage, and litely it is edgement. Discrevit on of the bead of an enterprise. It is Duisse of the Roman Army, betwix the two Distarcy. Discription of the Roman Army, betwix the stoo Distarcy of the Roman horfe-memby the Gaules and the Spaniar ds. Discrevit victories of the Roman horfe-memby the Gaules and Spaniar ds. Discrevit victories. Dout of the Roman horfe-memby the Gaules and the Spaniar ds. Discrevit victories. Dout of the Roman horfe-memby the Gaules and Spaniar ds. Distribution of Ptolomics Army winto the Captaines. Death of Thibete. Dout of the Roman horfe-memby the Captaines of the Roman Army, while the control of Lybia feare them of Indian Captaines. Distribution of Ptolomics Army winto the Captaines. Distribution of Ptolomics Army winto t	Demetrius father to Philip.	61	Defeate of aldruhal	
Discription of the Roman Army, betwix the two Distators. Distantors.	Duraza fur prozed by the Sclauonia	me 61	Divers Nations and en the land	37
Double policy of Scipio. Distingence of the Formans Defeate of the forlorne bope of the Gaules. and the death of King Aueroeste. Diners defeates of the Acheins. By Defeate of the Celiberians. Demotrate loss the Acheins. Demotrate loss the Realme and Life by confiprecy. Demetrius King of Sclanomia. Distribution of the bead of am enterprise. 112 Demetrius a man of great courage, and little interprise and listense and Life by conficiency. Distribution of the world in three parts. 124 Delia and land in Egypt. Distribution of the Country of Capaa, and issististimation. Distribution of the Roman Army, betwitt the woo Distators. Distribution of the Roman Army, betwitt the should and Spaniards. Difference betwitt a prinate and publicke gainers of the Roman Army that should be appeared of the Roman Army tunto bis Captaines. Defeate of the Roman has some. Doff Thibete.	Diners victories of the Gaules ago	ainst she	nibal.	
Defeate of the forlorne bope of the Gauks. and the death of King Aueroeste. Defeate of the Spaniards. Defeate of the Carthaginians continues of many great Princes. Democrates loss his Realme and Lifeby conforcing the bread of am enterprise. 101 Democrative loss his Realme and Lifeby conforcing the bread of am enterprise. 112 Democrative Among great courage, and litition of the world in three parts. 124 Delia and land in Egypt. 131 Duty of a good Captaine. 150 Discription of the Country of Capua, and its stricture. 150 Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Dictators. 163 Defeate of the Roman Army, betwixt the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Defeate of the Etoises. 203 Defeate of the Etoises. 203 Defeate of the Etoises. 203 Detath of Thibete. 203 Detath of Thibete. 203 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 204 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 205 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 206 Defeate of the Etoises. 207 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 208 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 209 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 209 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 209 Defeate of the Etoises. 201 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 201 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 202 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 203 Defeate of the Etoises. 204 Defeate of the Etoises. 204 Defeate of the Etoises. 205 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 206 Defeate of the Etoises. 206 Defeate of the Etoises. 207 Defeate of the Etoises. 208 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 209 Defeate of the Etoises. 208 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 209 Defeate of the Etoises. 208 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 209 Defeate of the Etoises. 208 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 209 Defeate of the Etoises. 208 Distribution of Folomies Army unto bis Captaines. 209 Distribution of	Komans.			
Defeate of the forlorne bope of she Gaules. and the death of King Auerosses. Divers defeates of the Acheins. Divers defeates of the Acheins. Divers opinions of the Carthaginians concerning their warre. Death of many great Princes. Demetria loss his Realme and Life by conspired by the Realme and Life by conspired by the Realme and Life by conspired by the Carthaginians. Demetria King of Sclanomia. Dispersion of the bead of amenterprise. Diemetria King of Sclanomia. Dispersion of the bead of amenterprise. Dispersion of the world in three parts. Dispersion of the world in three parts. Dispersion of the Country of Capoa, and it is seen to be considered the Country of Capoa, and seed the Country of Capoa, and seed the Country of Capoa, and the Spaniar ds. Dispersion of the Roman Army, betwith the two Dictators. Dispersion of the Roman Army, betwith the spaniar ds. Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and the Spaniar ds. Difference betwie ta prinate and publicke spaniar ds. Difference betwie ta prinate and public test spaniar ds. Dispersion of Thibete. Dorimach smothered Dorimach smother	Diligence of the Romans	72	Diforder by the Flenhante	
and the death of King Aueroesse. 77 Divers deseates of the Acheins. 89 Divey of a Historographer. 92 Death of many great Princes. 101 Demetria loss his Realme and Liseby conspiracy. 105 Demetrime King of Sclamenia. 111 Discretion of the bead of an enterprise. 112 Demetrime a man of great courage, and little in the end of the world in three parts. 124 Delia an Iland in Egypt. 131 Duty of a good Captaine. 150 Discription of the Roman Army, betwix the two Distriction. 163 Discription of the Roman Army, betwix the two Distriction. 163 Discript of words betwix the Gaules and the Spaniards. 170 Discript of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Discribe of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 172 Defeate of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 173 Defeate of the Roman horsements the Gaules and the Spaniards. 174 Defeate of the Roman horsements the Gaules an	Defeate of the forlorne hope of the	Gaules.	Defease of the Spaniard	
Divers defeates of the Acheins. Duty of a Historiographer, Death of many great Princes. Directive loss his Reasume and Life by confurk. Direction of the bead of am enterprife. I 12 Demetrims King of Sclamonia. Discribing of the world in three parts. 124 Delia am Iland in Agypt. Discription of the world in three parts. 124 Discription of the world in three parts. 124 Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt the world in the Spaniar ds. Discription of the Roman horfe-memby the Gaules and the Spaniar ds. Discription of the Roman horfe-memby the Gaules and the Spaniar ds. Difference between and his sonne. Doesth of Thibete. Dorimache smoothered Dorimache smoothered Dorimache smoothered Dorimache should be should be solved and publishe captains. Distribution of Ftolomies Army winto bis Captaines. Distribution	· and the death of King Aueroef	e. 77	Defeate of the Celtiberian	
Duty of a Historiographer. Death of many great Princes. Demetrika log his Realme and Life by con. Spiracy. Demetrika King of Sclanonia. Discretion of the head of an enterprise. 112 Denterina A man of great courage, and little indgements. Dississing of the world in three parts. 124 Dississing of a good Captaine. Dississing of the Country of Capua, and its section of the Country of Capua, and its section of the Roman Army, betwirt the two Distators. Dississing of the Roman Army, betwirt the two Distators. Dississing of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and the Spaniar ds. Dississing of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and the Spaniar ds. Dississing of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and Spaniar ds. Dississing of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and Spaniar ds. Difference betwint a private and publishe swiry. Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and Spaniar ds. Distissing of Thibete. Dorimache smoothered Dorimache smoothered Dorimache smoothered Distission of Ptolomies Army winto his Captaines. Distission of Ptolomies Army winto his Captaines. Distission of the Romans. Distission of Ptolomies Army winto his Captaines. Distission of the Romans. Distission of Ptolomies Army winto his Captaines. Distission of Ptolomies Army winto his Captaines. Distission of the Romans. Distission of Ptolomies Army winto his Captaines. Distission	Divers defeates of the Acheins.		Divers opinions of the Careland	42
Desiring the Roman Army, betwixt she two Dictators. Difference between the two Confuls: Difference between the two Confu	Duty of 4 Historsøgrapher,	_	cerning their maine	
Demetrisis loss his Realme and Life by confortacy. Spiracy. 105 Denetrius King of Sclamonia. Discretion of the bead of am enterprise. I 12 Demetrius a mam of great courage, and lietlindgement. Dississon of the world in three parts. 124 Delia am Iland in Ægypt. Dississon of the Country of Capua, and Embassissis in the Carthaginiant, it is sessionation. Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Distators. Dississon of the Roman Army, betwixt the faules and the Spaniar ds. Describe for the Roman horse-memby the gaules and spaniar ds. Dississon of the Roman horse-memby the gaules and spaniar ds. Dississon of the Roman horse-memby the gaules and spaniar ds. Dississon of the Roman horse-memby the gaules and spaniar ds. Dississon of the Roman horse-memby the gaules and publicke spinitry. Defeate of the Etosicus. Defeate of the Etosicus. Dorimache smeibered Dorimache smeibered Dorimache smeibered Dorimache smeibered Dorimache smeibered Defeate of the Etosicus. Desth of Molon. Desth of Thobets. Dorimache smeibered Defeate of the Etosicus. Desth of Molon. Desth of Molon. 114 Embassadors sint by the Carthaginiant, the stables in the battaile. 125 Embassadors fent to Philip. Embassadors fint by the Carthaginiant, the Marcus Astilius. Embassadors fint by the Carthagi	Death of many great Princes.	TOT	Democrates Captains Cananall	,42
Denotities King of Sclamonia. Discretion of the head of am enterprife. I 12 Demotrius a mam of great courage, and litition of the world in three parts. Dissiftion of the world in three parts. Discription of the Country of Capua, and Embassant land in Agypt. Discription of the Country of Capua, and Embassant laine in the battaile. Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt she two Dictators. Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt she she Spaniards. Discription of the Roman horse-memby the gailes and she Spaniards. Discription of the Roman horse-memby the shirty. Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the spiny. Distribution of Prolomics Army winto bis Captaines. Distribution of Prolomi	Demetrics loft his Realme and Life	by con-	Canks	nu
Discretion of the head of am enterprise. 112 Demetrius a mam of great courage, and listic indigement. Dissipation of the world in three parts. 124 Delia am Iland in Agypt. Distribution of the Country of Capua, and its scisumation. Distribution of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Distributions of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Distributions of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Distributions of the Roman Army, betwixt the she spaniards. Distribution of the Roman herse memby the Gaules and she Spaniards. Difference betwixt a private and publicke insury. Death of Thibete. Dorimache smothered Dorimache smoth	piracy.			44
Discretion of the bead of am enterprise. 112 Demetrims a man of great courage, and little interprise of the world in three parts. 124 Delia awiland in Agypt. 131 Duty of a good Captaine. 150 Discription of the Country of Cappa, and its found spendiu. 155 Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Distators. 163 Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Distators. 163 Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt the Embassadis Acamanians 22 Discord betweene the two Consuls: 163 Discription of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and the Spaniards. 171 Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and spaniards. 171 Difference betwixt a private and publicke suriny. Detail of Thibete. 203 Defeate of the Eteliens. 212 Defeate of the Eteliens. 227 Defeate of the Eteliens. 229 Detail of Aring. 207 Detail of Appelles and his sonne. 252 Death of Molon. 252 Distribution of Ftolomies Army winto his Captaines. 258 Distribution of Ftolomies Army winto his Captaines. 261 Difference betwies a king of Alexander vippon Calistinis. 274 Embassador sent to Romed by Philip. 435 Execulency of Hannibal and Scipio. 425 Embassador sent to Romedy Philip. 445 Embassador sent to Romedy Tytus. 464 Docillity of the Romans. 295 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. 464	Demetrins King of Sclanonia.	***	Death of Scane by war	45
Denicities and many of great courage, and little inagement. Division of the world in three parts. 124 Delia and Ilandin Ægypt. Disty of a good Captaine. Discription of the Country of Cappa, and its scitustion. Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Distators. Dissord betwiene the two Confuls: Dissord betwixt the Gaules and the Spaniards. Difference betwixt a private and publicke miny. Death of Thibete. Dorimache smothered Dorimache smothered Dorimache should be Etoliens. Distribution of Ptolomies Army unto bis Captaines. Distribution of Ptolomies Army unto bis Captaines. Distribution of the Romans. Distribution of the Romans. Distribution of Ptolomies Army unto bis Captaines. Distribution of Ptolomies Army unto bis Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. Embassador sent by the Carthaginians, and Marcum Astilum. Embassador sent by the Carthaginians, and Marcum Astilum. Embassador sent by the Carthaginians, and Marcum Astilum. Embassador sent by the Carthaginians, and Embassador sent by the Carthaginal Ascipio and Etolicum scharacie. Embassador sent by the Carthaginal Ascipio and Etolicum scharacie. Embassador sent by the Carthaginal Ascipio and Etolicum scharacie. Emb	Discretion of the head of an enterpr	ile TTO	During of Broke by hoslow.	47
Division of the world in three parts. 124 Delia an Iland in Agypt. 131 Duty of a good Captaine. 150 Discription of the Country of Capoa, and 125 scienation. 155 Division of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Dictators. 163 Discription of the Roman Army, betwixt the mensand Acamanians 22 Discord betwiene the two Consuls: 163 Discription of words betwixt the Gaules and the Spaniards. 170 Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and Spaniards. 171 Difference betweent a private and publicke 181 Initially. 191 Death of Thibete. 203 Destructed fine the Etoliens. 212 Destructed fine the Etoliens. 212 Destructed fine the Etoliens. 213 Distribution of Ptolomies Army who his Captaines. 214 Defeate of the Etolomies Army who his Captaines. 215 Discription fine Romans. 226 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses. 217 Defeate of the Elenses. 218 Discription of the Romans. 295 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses. 214 Defeate of the Elenses. 215 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses. 216 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses. 217 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses. 218 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses. 218 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses. 219 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses. 219 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses. 219 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses. 219 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses 219 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses 219 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses 219 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses 219 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses 219 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses 219 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses 219 Demetrius his advice to Philip. 181 Destructed fine Elenses 219 Demetrius his advice to Ph	Demetrias a man of ereat courage	andlie-	.	
Division of the world in three parts. 124 Delsa an iland in Egypt. 131 Duty of a good Captaine. 150 Differiption of the Country of Capaa, and sissistation. 155 Division of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Dictators. 163 Discord betweene the two Confuls: 163 Embassistations from the battaile. 17 Difference betwixt the Gaules and the Spaniar ds. 170 Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the initiary. 171 Death of Thibete. 203 Dorimaches smothered 207 Defeate of the Etoliens. 212 Dorimaches smothered 207 Defeate of the Etoliens. 213 Dorimaches smothered 207 Defeate of the Etoliens. 213 Dotty of a King. 230 Death of Ablon. 252 Exercises appointed by Scipto for his Arm by Sea and Land. 302 Distribution of Ftolomies Army winto bis Captaines. 261 Difference between the size of the Elenses. 274 Difference between the size of the Elenses. 274 Distribution of Ftolomies Army winto bis Captaines. 274 Difference between the size of the Elenses. 274 Difference between the size of the Elenses of	tle indgement.		Emballalana Cont	
Delia an Iland in Ezypt. Daty of a good Captaine. Discription of the Country of Capoa, and striction of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Distances. Distribution of the Roman Army, betwixt the two Distances. Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the smirry. Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the smirry. Defeate of Thibete. Dofferte smirry. Defeate of the Esoliens. Doffert smirry. Doffert smirry. Defeate of the Esoliens. Doffert smirry. Doffert smirry. Doffert smirry. Defeate of the Esoliens. Doffert smirry. Embalfadors from the Politips. Embalfadors of Philips. Doffert smirry. Embalfa	Division of the world in three part	114 65 704	Manage and so the Carthaginian	vs, i
Daty of a good Captaine. Discription of the Country of Capon, and its sets set matrices. Discription of the Roman Army, betwist the two Dictators. Dissord betweene the two Consuls: Dissord of the Romans betweene the two Consuls: Dissord betweene the two Consuls and Etwist for Two Philips and State of the Comments of Lybia feare them of Lybia feare them of Lybia feare them of Lybia feare two Chios. Dissord for the Romans for the Consults of Philips reserve ward Dissord for the Romans for two Philips. Dissord for the Romans for two Philips. Dissord for the Romans for Philips reserve ward Dissord for the Romans for Philips reserve ward Dissord for two Philips. Dissord for the Romans for Philips reserve ward Dissord for the Roman for Philips. Dissord for the Roman for Philips. Dissord for the Roman for Philips. Dissord for the Roman	Delia an Iland in Agust		12 11 1 105 AT 181:146.	•
Discription of the Country of Capaa, and stissistenamon. Discription of the Roman Army, betwirt the two Dictators. Discription of the Roman Army, betwirt the two Dictators. Discription of two Dictators. Discription of words betwire the Gaules and the Spaniards. Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and Spaniards. Difference betwirt a prinate and publicke invity. Death of Thibetc. Doson of the Esoliens. Doson for the Esoliens. Doson for the Roman horse-memby the Eroliens circummented by a stratagem. 27. Etoliens blame Agelaus for making of the peace Errour of Arate. Errour of Cleomenes peace Errour of Arate. Errour of Nicins. 34. Destribution of Appelles and his sonne. 230 Destribution of Ftolomies Army vinto bis Captaines. Distribution of Ftolomies Army vinto bis Captaines. Distribution of Etolomies Army vinto bis Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. 415 Embassadors wronged by Philip. Embassadors wronged by Philip. Embassadors of Philip reiected. 426 Embassadors of Philip reiected. 427 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. 448 Doscillity of the Romans. 295 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus.	Duty of a good Captaine	-	Brooky es I nt through all Affricke b	y M
Division of the Roman Army, betwixt the niens and Acarmanians 22 Defeord between the two Confuls: 168 Divisity of swords betwixt the Gaules and the Spaniards. 27 Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and Spaniards. 171 Difference between and publicke smithy. 291 Death of Thibetc. 293 Defeate of the Esoliens. 212 Defeate of the Esoliens. 213 Defeate of the Esoliens. 213 Defeate of the Esoliens. 214 Death of Appelles and his sonne. 215 Death of Appelles and his sonne. 215 Death of Molon. 252 Excellency of Hannibal. 361 Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. 425 Distribution of Ptolomies Army unto bis Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. 425 Defeate-of the Elenses. 274 Embassador sente to Philip. 289 Distribution of Ptolomies Army unto bis Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. 425 Defeate-of the Elenses. 274 Embassador sente Romans. 289 Embassador sente Romeby Tytus. 464 Dotility of the Romans. 295 Embassador sente Romeby Tytus. 464	Diferiotion of the Counter of Care	130	tho and Spindsus.	4
Discission of the Roman Army, betwist the two Dictators. Defoord between the two Confuls: 163 Discord between the two Confuls: 168 Discord between the two Confuls: 168 Discord between the two Confuls: 168 Embaffadors from Rhodes to Chios. 23 Elephants of Lybia feare them of India 24 Enterphants of Lybia feare them of India 25 Enterphants of Lybia feare them of India 26 Enterphants of Lybia feare them of India 27 Enterphants of Lybia feare them of India 27 Enterphants of Lybia feare them of India 26 Enterphants of Lybia feare them of India 27 Enterphants of Lybia feare them of India 26 Enterphants of Lybia feare them of India 27 Enterphants of Lybia feare them of India 28 Enterphants of Lybia feare them of India 29 Enterphants of Lybia feare them of India 29 Enterphants of Lybia feare them of India 29 Enterphants of Lybia feare them of Lybia Enterphants of Lybia Enterphants of Lybia feare them of Lybia Enterphants of Lybia En	sts (catmation.		Emilius staine in the battaile.	
Defeate of the Etoliens. Defeate of the Etoliens. Defeate of the Commission and publicke imitry. Defeate of the Etoliens. Defeate of the Etoliens. Defeate of the Roman horse memby the imitry. Defeate of the Etoliens. Death of Molon. Death of Molon. Death of Molon. Distribution of Etolomics Army unto bis Captaines. Distribution of Etolomics Army unto bis Captaines. Distribution of Etolomics Army unto bis Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. Defeate of the Etenses. Discribution of Etolomics Army unto bis Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. Defeate of the Etenses. Distribution of Etolomics Army unto bis Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. Embassadors wronged by Philip. Embassadors wronged by Philip. Embassadors Philip reiected. 415 Duty of the Sonate. Docillity of the Romans. 295 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. 464	Division of the Roman Annu Lan	155	Embajj adors jent to Philip from the A	Me [[
Describer when the two Consuls: 168 Diversity of swords betwire the Gaules and the Spaniar ds. Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and Spaniar ds. Difference between the primate and publicke smirry. Death of Thibete. Dorimache smothered Defeate of the Etoliens. Defeate of the Etoliens. Defeate of the Etoliens. Detect of the Roman horse-memby the Barthquake at Rhodes. 20 Etoliens circummuented by a stratagem. 27. Embassaders come to Philip. Embassaders come to Philip. 21 Embassaders come to Philip. 22 Errour of Arate. Errour of Arate. Errour of Arate. Errour of Philip. Exercises appointed by Scipio for his Arm by Captaines. Distribution of Ptolomics Army unto bis Captaines. Distribution of Ptolomics Army unto bis Captaines. Distribution of Etolomics Army unto bis Captaines. 258 Diners Townes takin by Antiochus. 261 Embassaders from Rhodes to Chios. 26 Embassaders from Rhodes to Chios. 27 Embassaders from Rhodes to Chios. 26 Embassaders from Rhodes to Chios. 27 Embassaders from Rhodes to Chios. 27 Embassaders from Rhodes to Chios. 26 Embassaders from Rhodes to Chios. 27 Embassaders from Rhodes. Enterlients of Lybia feare them of India Excussed at Rhodes. 27 Embassaders from Rhodes. Erour of Lybia feare them of Plains for Romes at Romes and Passaders from Romes at Romes and Passaders from Rhodes. 27 Embassaders from Rhodes. Erour of Lybia feare them of Plains for Rom	two Dictators		MICHIS ADA ACATHANIANS	22
Discrifity of swards betwire the Gaules and the Spaniar ds. Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and Spaniar ds. Difference betwire a private and publicke insiry. Death of Thibete. Desimache smothered Desimache smothered Desimache from Etolians. Desimache of the Etolians. Desimache of Appelles and his sonne. Death of Appelles and his sonne. Destribution of Ptolomies Army unto bis Captaines. Distribution of Ptolomies Army unto bis Captaines. Discrift Townes taken by Antiochus. Defeate of the Etenses. Discrift Busines State of Alexander uppon Calistines Captaines. Discrift Townes taken by Antiochus. Defeate of the Etenses. Discrift Busines State of Antiochus. Discrift Busines State State of Antiochus. Discrift Busines State Sta		, =	Etoliens charge Philips reare ward	23
she Spaniards. Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and Spaniards. Difference betwixt a private and publicke snivry. Death of Thibete. Dorimache smothered Dorimache smothered Dots farse. Death of Arpelles and his sonne. Death of Appelles and his sonne. Death of Molon. Death of Molon. Death of Molon. Distribution of Ftolomies Army unto his Excellency of Hannibal. Difference betwixt a private and publicke Embassadors wronged by Philip. Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. Embassadors wronged by Philip. Embassadors of Philip reiected. Doug of the Sonate. 289 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. 266 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus.	Disertity of twoods harming the Con	.//	Emuajjacors from Rhodes to Chios.	22
Defeate of the Roman horse-memby the Gaules and Spaniards. Difference betwixt a private and publicke snivry. Death of Thibete. Defeate of the Etolicus. Defeate of the Etolicus. Death of Arpelles and his sonne. Death of Appelles and his sonne. Death of Molon. Death of Molon. Distribution of Ftolomies Army unto his Excellency of Hannibal. Distribution of Ftolomies Army unto his Captaines. Distribution of Etolomies. Distribution of Etolomies. Distribution of Etolomies Army unto his Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. Defeate of the Elenses. Distribution of Etolomies Army unto his Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. Embassadors wronged by Philip. Embassadors wronged by Philip. Embassadors of Philip reiected. Duty of the Sonate. 295 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. 266 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. 276 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus.	the Spaniar de		Elephants of Lybia feare them of I	ndia
Gaules and Spaniards. Difference beswert a prinate and publishe smirry. Death of Thibete. Defeate of the Esoliens. Death of Arpeles and his sonne. Death of Appeles and his sonne. Death of Molon. Distribution of Ftolomies Army winto his Captaines. Distribution of Stolomies Army winto his Captaines. Distribution of the Elections. Distribution of Stolomies Army winto his Captaines. Distribution of Elections. Distribution of Elections. Distribution of Elections and his sonne. 252 Distribution of Elections army winto his Captaines. Distribution of Elections army winto his Captaines. Distribution of Elections army winto his Captaines. Distribution of Elections. Distribution of Elections army winto his Captaines. Distribution of Elections army winto his Captaines. Distribution of Elections army winto his Excuse of Alexander winton distinct and Encusion of Elections. Embassadors wronged by Philip. 438 Demetrius his aduice to Philip. Duty of the Senate. 295 Embassadors fent to Romeby Tytus. 464	Defeate of the Roman hand man	170		26
Difference beswixt a private and publicke in ivry. Death of Thibete. Defeate of the Etoliens. Death of Aring. Detect of the Etoliens. Detect of Appeales and his some. Death of Appeales and his some. Distribution of Ptolomies Army winto bis Captaines. Distribution of Etolomies Army winto bis Captaines. Distribution of Etolomies Army winto bis Excellency of Hannibal. Distribution of Etolomies Army winto bis Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. Distribution of Etolomies Army winto bis Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. Embassadors wronged by Philip. Embassadors for Philip reiected. Duty of the Somans. 171 Etoliens circumnented by a stratagem. 272 Etoliens blame Agelaus for making of the Environ of Cleomenes Errour of Philip. Errour of Cleomenes Exercises appoynted by Scipio for his Arm by Sea and Land. Excellency of Hannibal. Excellency of Arate. Exercises appoynted by Scipio for his Arm by Sea and Land. Excellency of Hannibal. 252 Embassadors wronged by Philip. 435 Embassadors for Philip reiected. 445 Docillity of the Romans. 295 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. 464	Gaules and Same		Barthquake at Rhodes.	2~
minry. Death of Thibete. Dorimache smothered Defeate of the Etoliens. Death of Appeales and his sonne. Distribution of Ftolomies Army winto bis Captaines. Distribution of Stolomies Army winto bis Captaines. Distribution of Etolomies. Execuse of Arate. Evrour of Cleomenes. Exercises appoynted by Sciplo for his Arm by Sea and Land. Sexcellency of Hannibal. Excuse of Alexander uppon Calistines. Excuse of Alexander uppon Calistines. Excuse of Alexander uppon Calistines. Emballadors wronged by Philip. Distribution of Etolomies. Atmandia. Excuse of Alexander uppon Calistines. Excuse of Alexander upp	Difference hatman	171	Etoliens circumnented by a stratagem.	
Death of Thibete. Dorimache smothered Defeate of the Etoliens. Daty of a King. Death of Molon. Distribution of Ftolomies Army winto bis Captaines. Discription of the Electron. Discription of the Electron. Discription of the Electron. Discription of the Electron. Defeate of the Electron. Embassador fent to Romeby Tytus. Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. Embassador fent to Romeby Tytus.	In inches Construct a prinar and		Emova adors come to Philip.	27
Dorimache smoothered Defeate of the Etoliens. Daty of a King. Death of Appelles and his sonne. Distribution of Ftolomies Army unto bis Captaines. Distribution of Stolomies Army unto bis Captaines. Distribution of Etienses. 258 Distribution of Hannibal and Scipio. 419 Embassadors wronged by Philip. 438 Defeate of the Etienses. Demetrius his advice to Philip. 259 Embassadors of Philip resected. 465 Docillity of the Romans. 279 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. 464		191	Etoliens blame Agelaus for making a	fil
Defeate of the Etolicus. Duty of a King. Death of Appelles and his sonne. Death of Molon. Distribution of Ptolomics Army vinto bis Captaines. Distribution of Ptolomics Army vinto bis Captaines. Discribution of Etolomics Army vinto bis Captaines. 258 Discribution of Etolomics Army vinto bis Excuse of Alexander uppon Calistines Enterview of Hannibal and Scipio. 425 Embassadors wronged by Philip. 435 Demetrius his advice to Philip. Duty of the Sonate. 289 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. 464	Description of Inspects	203	peace	2.7
Duty of a King. Death of Appelles and his sonne. Death of Molon. Distribution of Ptolomies Army vinto bis Captaines. Distribution of Ptolomies Army vinto bis Captaines. Discribution of Molon. 252 Excellency of Hannibal. Excusse of Alexander uppon Calistines Captaines. Discribution of Ptolomies Army vinto bis Excusse of Alexander uppon Calistines Enterview of Hannibal and Scipio. 425 Embassadors wronged by Philip. 435 Demetrius his advice to Philip. Duty of the Sonate. 289 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. 464 Docillity of the Romans.	Defende of all mark	207	Errour of Arate. Errour of Cleom	ene
Death of Appelles and his sonne. 239 Death of Molon. 252 Excellency of Hannibal. 36 Distribution of Ptolomies Army unto his Excellency of Hannibal. 39 Distribution of Ptolomies Army unto his Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. 425 Discribution of Ptolomies Army unto his Excellency of Hannibal and Scipio. 425 Discribution of the Electrics. 274 Defeate of the Electrics. 274 Demetrius his advice to Philip. ibid. Experians cruel. 435 Duty of the Senate. 289 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. 464	Defeate of the Etoliens.	212	Errour of Philip. Errour of Nicins	24
Death of Molon. 252 Excellency of Hannibal. 362 Distribution of Ptolomies Army unto his Excuse of Alexander uppon Calistines Captaines. 258 Diners Townes taken by Antiochus. 261 Enterview of Hannibal and Scipio. 428 Defeate of the Elienses. 274 Embassadors wronged by Philip. 438 Demetrius his advice to Philip. ibid. Egyptians cruel. 443 Duty of the Senate. 289 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. 464 Docillity of the Romans. 295 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. 464	Design AKing.	230	Exercises appoynted by Scipio for his	Arm
Distributions of Ptolomies Army vinto bis Excuse of Alexander uppon Calistines Captaines. Diners Townes taken by Antiochus. 261 Enterview of Hannibal and Scipio. 425 Defeate of the Elienses. 274 Embassadors wronged by Philip. 438 Demetrius his advice to Philip. ibid. Egyptians cruel. Duty of the Senate. 289 Embassador sent to Rome by Tytus. 464 Docillity of the Romans. 295 Embassador sent to Rome by Tytus. 464	Dear of Appelles and his sonne.	239	oy sea and Land.	
Distribution of Ptolomies Army vinto his Captaines, Diners Townes taken by Antiochus. 261 Defeate of the Elienfes. Demetrius his advice to Philip. Dusy of the Romans. Excuse of Alexander uppon Calistines Enterview of Hannibal and Scipio. 425 Embassadors wronged by Philip. 438 Egyptians cruel. 289 Embassador fent to Rome by Tytus. 464	Death of Molon.	252	Excellency of Hannibal.	20
Divers Townes taken by Antiochus. 261 Enterview of Hannibal and Scipio. 428 Defeate of the Elsenses. 274 Embassadors wronged by Philip. 438 Demetrius his advice to Philip. ibid. Egyptians cruel. 443 Duty of the Senate. 289 Embassador sof Philipreiected. 463 Docillity of the Romans. 295 Embassador sent to Rome by Tytus. 464		nto bis	Excuse of Alexander uppon Calist	ine
Defeate of the Elienfes. 274 Embassaders wronged by Philip. 438 Demetrius his aduite to Philip. ibid. Egyptians cruel. 443 Duty of the Senate. 289 Embassador sent to Rome by Tytus. 464 Docillity of the Romans. 295 Embassador sent to Rome by Tytus. 464		258		
Defeate of the Ettenjes. 274 Embassadors wronged by Philip. 438 Demetrius his advice to Philip. ibid. Egyptians cruel. 443 Duty of the Somate. 289 Embassador sof Philipreiested. 463 Docillity of the Romans. 295 Embassador sent to Rome by Tytus. 464	Diners Townes takin by Antiochus	r. 261	Enterview of Hannibal and Scipia.	•
Demetrius his aduice to Philip. ibid. Egyptians cruel. Dusy of the Senate. 289 Embassadors of Philip reiected. 465 Docillity of the Romans. 295 Embassador sent to Rome by Tytus. 464	Defeate of the Elienses.		Embassadors wronged by Philip.	•
Duty of the Senate. 289 Embassador sof Philipreiected. 463 Docillity of the Romans. 295 Embassador sent to Romeby Tytus. 464	Demetrius his advice to Philip.		Legptians cruel.	
Docillity of the Romans. 295 Embassador sent to Rome by Tytus. 464	Duty of the Senate.	289	Emballadore of Philip 51.1	
	Docillity of the Romans.	_	Faceballadan from A. D. I	

The Contents:

	Government, constancy, and good Connjeu
F.	required in a Captaine. 295
ifty thousand men within Agregue. 12	Geometry necessary for the Warre. 346
ore fight of the Carthaginians.	Great fury of the fight. 433
ore sight of the Cartonagements	
orty thousand men slaine by Amilear.	
Prizition me armore	H. M. M. A.
ore-sight of Amilcar, father to Hannibal.	Hieron chosen King of the Saragossins. 6
irst Accord beswixt the Romans and Car-	Trumil I Com of Amile of CANTAINE AT HILL
	Ships, with 10000. men. 31
eare of the Elephants upon the Rhome. 125	Firmuchal a Phadian 29
	The land of the second of the
	C 3
ifteene bundred Etoliens deseated by Phi	II we had sufmone mhem be comes to AGE he
lip. 209	m: Il ha am an amount of the Romans 10-
light of Euripides.	Wannibale of Flore on the Rarbarians, 110
Forces which Philip left at Dyme. 22.	TT b als animave an tha PAMAS P SEDALLAS
Flight of Megalle. 23	done III
Flight of Lyourgus into Etolia. 23:	Wannilele Army of co thouland foot. 4nd
Forme of a Buckler. 29	min chauland have - 122
Forme of a Target. 29	Trumital milet his Army to palle the
Flight of Asdinbal. 42	
_	2.00//0.
G.	11 ADMINALS CHOOLING CALLY INC.
Great resolution of the Rhodiens.	2 ITAMPIDALS (PELES ONTO SES JOURNALS
Gescon makes remonstrances to the Sould	12 II Wallett Audicin 100 Callet and 2
	True it at and utto I be Cuides at the tal-
	C = Color Monutaines 121
	1200 200
	The state of the same of the s
	OI Mapping and Market Control of the American
Great willary committed by the Mantit	ni- Hamsbals speech to the presoners that was
ens.	93
Gaules indeaueured to Stop Hannibals p	as. Hamibals policy to keepe himselfe from
	a / Realing of I conjust
Gaules inhabiting along the Rhine, have	of- Hanniballooseth an eye 149
	130 Hannibal funs along the Coast of the Car-
Gaules repulsed.	43 driatique sea. 153
Great Amazement which was at Rome,	for Hannibal presents battaile to Fabius. 154
	[52 Hammibals policy againgt Facine. 157
Great reputation of Fabius-	64 Hannibals speech to his souldiers. 169
Gaules battallion of foote broken by the	Ro. Hannibal puts his men into battaile. ibid.
	171 Hannibals Army confisis of Jorly wood, with
	233 foos, and sen thou sand horse. 170
	271 Hannibals losse. 372
49.9	Hannibal pro-

The Contents.

Hannibals proceeding after the battail	e of	Lucius Postbumus defeated in Gaule:	
	212	Lycurgus chofen King.	173
Honors done unto Arate after bis de			204
	323	Lacedemonian Magistrases staine by	Chu-
Heeturnes bis discourse to the Carthag		lon.	119
	320	Lacedemonians unfortunate after the	n lete
Hannibals remonstrances to the Tarent		the Lawes of Lycurgus.	ibid.
	334	Leonce a Traytor to Philip.	226
Hannibal within forty furlongs of Ro		Lawes of Warre.	230
- ,, , ,	339	Lycurgus takes the Towne of Elea.	233
	427	Leonce and his Faction returned wate	1.1.
	129	pelles.	237
	134	Leny of Armies by Ansigonus and I	toles
	135	my.	360
224177777777	.,,	Logbasse Sent Embassadour by the Se	Loru-
E 1 1 1		les.	262
Intelligence of the fouldiers within C	:44-	Logbasse and his children saine.	265
thage.	44	Lycurgus called home.	272
Illirians and Sclauonians.	63	Lyce defeated Euripides	273
Ifeas King.	84	Lacedemonians Common-weale.	305
	that	Lisse taken by Philip.	324
which they call the Promontory of A		Landicea the wife of Acheus.	
cure in Affricke, where as now the C	itta	Lacedemonitaken by Epaminunaus.	327 340
	116	Lelius affailes Syfax his Campe by f	ire s
	183	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	420.
	310	Lucius Serutum, Lucius Citinus, an	
	217	cius Fabius sent Embassadours	Unio
Indiferesson of Commaunders blan	•	a * / - · ·	425
	275	Loffe of ships which Philip made.	•
- 0.	400	mojjo oj grafa matem z zasaj modeca	449
Iland of Cyrnon not well knowne by		M.	
	404	•**•	
	45I	Marcus Valerino, and Octavillius choses	Con.
image of stands	T) -	fuls.	10
к.		Marcelle taken by affanis.	16
King Etas and Gallus staine.	71	Marcu Attillim taken, with 500	
King Andubal taken	148	mans.	24
King Darius.	199	Many Towers ruined by their En	
Knowledge of the diversity of daies nee		Mount Erix.	38
		Mount Atna.	ibid
ry for Captaines.	343	Musany of the common Souldiers.	
′ T.,		Matho punished.	45 58
Letters from Tunes to the Mutines Ca	mbe.	Megalopoly raized.	91
250,000 0 1 1000 0 000 000 000 000	53	Mount Taurus.	103
Lucius Emillius and Cains Tarentius,		Modena besieged by a great number	
Ca Confuls.	164	Gaules.	125
Lucius Posthumus Frator.	165	Misery very common among Sou.	
Lucius Emilius.	171	= -ig-iy -viy -viamen maring bon	137
Series Pilling	-,-	1	Mag

The Contents:

1	~~~		
Mago brother to Hannibal.	144	Megarena fanes himfolfe nakad	449
	154	Mutiny of the people.	441
Many Countries raised by Hannibal.		า เล้า ใช้สำนัก 1 การเป็นสังเรา (1 สามารถ 1 การ	• •
Manasina his Speach.	164	N N	•
		Manager St. S. O. S. O. S. C. S.	
Messenians seeke the Alliance of the		Narant: Sid or of mospit side on a	
cheinsanti promonitali, o compani	179	Note the Insuffice of the Romans.	ं रूड
Musicke profitable to all the World.		Nicophanes Cercides. Alexans (10).	87
Messenians alwaics friends to the As	cadi-	Neuer Commander did any thing w	
ans, and enemies unto the Lacede	moni.	which was not pleasing unto his S	oulde
ans.	192	ers.	109
Machete fent Embaffader from the		Nature of Philip. wally to trail to	216
ens to the Lacedemonians.	149	Nature of the Macedonians.	224
Machare prevailes in his Enterprize.		Nicagores accuses to Cleamenes.	243
Macrace premanes to no ziner proger		Number of Scipio's Army at Land.	• • •
Metropolis taken and burnt.	209		36 1 ,
Mountaine of Appeare.	212	Number of Ships that were taken.	366
Malicious policy of Appelles.	216	Number of the Dead.	38 7
Money and Corne delinered to Philip	y the	Nabir Tyrant of the Lacedemonians.	415
- Acheins.	224	Nicon and Agathocleassaine.	443
Methap taken by Philip.	328	Number of Philips Ships and of his	s Enc-
Methape Razed by Philip.	231	my.	447
Magalee & Léonce do outrage to Arat		n, musi Q in the Seeking of	
Magalee and Crinon condemned b		Order of the Bassaile of Zantippen.	22
King in 12000. Crewnes.	ibid.	One hundred and fourteene Weffels	f the
		Carthaginians taken by the Roman	
Mutiny against Philip and his men.	237		
Milery of Courtiers.	238	Ome bundred and fifty of the Romans	
Magalee kils himfelfe.	239	fels loft.	, 28
Molen goes to field with an Army:	· 24 6	Occasion to renue the War betweene to	DE KO-
Mutiny in Antiochus bis Campe.	· 2 50	mans and the Ganles.	72
Molen Crutified.	253	Order of the Gaules Bastaile.	76
Myne of Wheat about two of our Bi	ofhels,	Orcomene taken with other Townes.	91
waighing an hundred and ten pound		Order of Ansigonau Battaile.	98
Mutiny among the Megalopolitains.	273	Other Articles past betwint the Re	
Monarchall Government of one alor		and Carthaginians.	107
feare.	283	Opinion of Potybine in the delight	
Mutual knitting together of three	C		120
man mealer		History.	
mon-weales.	290	Order which Hannibal gave for the d	
Manner of Tribunes in the Choice of		of Spaine.	131
0105	29 3	Oration which Hannibal made to bis	Soul-
Manner of the Romans Camping.	297	diers.	122
Manner how they punish such as faile	in the	Order which Hannibal held to put h	is men
Watch.	300	into Battaile.	170
Manner of recompensing the Souldier	s wal-	Occasion of the Ruines of Cynethenses	: 18 <i>6</i>
lour.	201	Ocanthy.	205
Mago deliners the Fort.	364	Order that Philip held to take to pay	
Many rivers comes out of Tauris	- •	Streights of Therme.	228
	370		
Machenides flaine.	393	Old Arate made Chiefe of the Achein	
Manner of Libias lining.	404	Order required in all things.	ibid.
Manner of breeding Swine in Italy.	405	Order of Molens Bassaile.	252
			Order

The Contents:

Order of Ptolomies Army in Battaile. 267	Philinus a Historiographer: 118
Order of Antiochus his Battaile. ibid.	Polybius hath made forty Bookes. 120
Ochtocracia is a government of the Mutiny	Parting of the Roman Armies. 126
of the people. 283	Polybius his Remonstrance against Histo-
Olygarchia. 286	riographers. 130
Office of the Confuls. 288	Polybius visited the Alpes. 131
order of the Watches. 299	Dalah Lington
Order of two Campe in Marching. 302	Polybius hash visited Affricke, Spaine,
Order for the Engines of battery. 320	and 1 1 - 0 1 -
Order of the Romans in the Dinistra of the	Policy of Hannibal for an example so his
Spoile of a Towne. 365	Cauldina
Order of Philopomens Battaile. 390	Paulus Emilius speechto the Souldiers. 167
Order of Machanides Army. ibid.	
Order of Scipio's Battaile. 401	Polybius writes nothing but what he hath
Of the voyage of Alexander against Darius	Torne or necessary from the Combiel !
The same of the first transfer of the first transfer of the same o	Jeene or received from those which had
Califibenes. 408	Jeenethem. 175
Order of Battaile of the Romans Army 422	Philip. ibid.
Order which Syphax and Asarubal	Ptolomy Philopater. ibid.
held. ibid.	Polymarches. 184
Order of Scipio's Battaile. 431	Philip comes to Corinthe. 187
Order of Hannibal his Battaile. ibid.	Philips wife Answer. 188
Oenanthe sad. 440	Phebidins. 190
	Philips Army. 196
P	Prusias. 201
punishment of Traytors. 5	Plator Chiefe of the Sclauonians. 205
Policy of Hieron. 6	Philips Army. 208
Philin. 9	Poessa taken by Composition 3 299
Palermo besieged by the Romans, and taken	Peanis taken by assault. 210
by assault. 27	Philip forsifies the Fort of the Ente-
Policy of Cicilian to defeate the Ele-	des. ibid.
phants. 28	Psophis taken by assaults 213
Port of Trepanum taken by Luctatius com-	Philip gives forces to the Acheins. 214
mander of the Roman Army. 41	Philip affaults Alphira. 217
Policy of Amilcar. 52	Phialenses yeeld to Philip. 218
Prudence of Hieron. 55	Prudence of Antigonus towards the Lace.
Phenice taken by the Sclanonians. 61	demonians. 279
Parthenia yeelded to the Romans. 65	practice of a Tyranti 230
Pillage made by the Gaules upon the Ro.	Paphia burnt. 231
mans. 70	Philip comes to Cerinth. 233
Policy of the Gaules. 74	Philip Sayles to Corinth. 239
Parfuite of Emiliae 75	Ptolomy King of Agypt. 241
Pathagorians burnt in Italy. 82	Ptolomy Staine by Cleomenes: 244
Port of Corinthe taken. 85	Practice of Molen against Epigene. 250
Pillage of Mantinnia came to nine score	
1000. Crowner. how and the 96	_ , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
Ralybine hath beene present at a great part	
of the things which he bath written 105	Peace concluded betwirt Acheus and the
Epitoria de la appresanta de l'appresant de 1990	Selgenses
•	Ddd Ptolomies

The Contents.

A STATE OF THE STA	-		
Piolomyes Victory against Antiochus. 21		Romans surprised by Arthalo.	37
Presents made to the Rhodiens by ma	707	Romans Fleete broken at Sea.	- 38
	7@	River of Mechera.	50
Prolomy bis Present to the Rhodsens. 2	7.1	Reconciliation of Amilcar and Hanne	. 58
Peace betwiest Philip and the Etoliens. 2	77	Rome taken by the Gaules.	70
Philips Enterprize against Sclauonia 2		Retrease of the Gaules	75
Philip leanes bis Enterprize for feare the	d	Revolte of Aripote of Argos.	90
	81	Revolte of the Mantiniens.	93
T . Washe say amine the control	84	Riner of Tagus.	110
3 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		Roman Embaffadors fent to Carthage	
Pay and entertainment of Foote a		Remonstrances of the Gaulish Kings.	Wat a
	76.	the Carthaginian Campe.	128
Finites Comments	-		
	96	Roman Embassadors signific Warre	
Pompe of the Romans to an honorable p		the Carthaginians.	121
	o <i>9</i>	Revolte of the Bolonians.	125
Philip canfeth Arate to be poysoned. 3	23	Romans adversifed by Hannibal.	138
Philomene appointed for Hunting.	39	Retreate of Scipio.	ibid.
Philip subdued by the The salomans. 3	48	River of Trebis.	142
Publim Scipio and bis Brother Crea	ted	Romans feare for the loffe of the	Bat-
Ediles.	358	taile.	147
	376	Romans defeated and surprised.	ISI
Philopemen makes Warre against Mac		Riner of Vantoure.	156
	89	Romans Army at Sea.	158
		Romans Victory at Sea.	ibid.
Publime Scipio drawes his Army to			159
ther. 3	94	Romans great Army at Sea.	168
	808	River of Fenne.	
	00	Romans Army of foure score the	
	107	Foote, and 6000. Horse.	170
	117	Romans lose the Battaile.	172
Pursuite of the Romans after Syphax.	423	Rhodiens succour the Symopenses.	205
Phylon saine.	453	Retreate of the Dardariens without	
policy of Assalus bis Souldiers.	149	any thing.	211
	453	Retreate of Euripides from Sty	mphs.
		lia.	213
0		River of Evemanthes.	213
Outema Tates	61	Renolte of the Leaprentes againgft the	e Eto-
Queene Tuca. Quintus Fabius chosen Dictator.	153	liens.	218
Majarus Papius cuojen - tornior.	-/3	River of Acheloe.	227
- 3		River of Bross.	235
		Resrease of Molon.	248
Rhegium besieged by the Romans.	·· S	Reasons of the warre propounded by	
Riner of Ciamofure.	. 6	chm:	259
Romans resolue to succour the Man	968-	Rabatamassana yeelded to Antiochip	
tins.	· · · 7		288
Retreate of Hannibal from Agregas.	13	Remarks	
Romans innension to inure their men to	oshe	Roman Canallery armed after the	
Qare.	14	4 804 100 (7 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4	295
Remans Army by Sea.	17	Romans manner in gining the word.	299
Rhodien taken with his ship.	34	Reman Common-weale more excelle	ni théú
transmis sames meet, carl., L.	<i>J</i> 1	= · · · =	the

The Contents.

			·
the Lacedemonian.	308	Shelfes in the sea.	19
River of Liffon.	313	Scienation of Synop.	20
Race of Acheus.	328	Scituation of Egire.	30
River of Erota.	334	Scituation of Ambrachia.	20
Romans in Field.	339	Scope makes an incursion into	Mace
Remonstrance of Publius Scipio vn	to bis	dony.	
Army.	359	Scituation of Sophia.	20
Royall City of the Persians	369	Sally of the Elienses upon the M	۱۵. داده مه ۲
Remonstrance of Edecon'to Publius.	374	nians.	
Reprehension of Califtenes.	408	Succours sent to the Elienses by D.	2 I
Remonstrance of the Roman Embal	Sadors	che.	
to the Carthaginians.	425	Scienciion of Triphalia and its Town	21
Rhodiens declared Enemies to Philip	0.428	Scienation of Alphira.	
T	1730	Slander of Appelles.	21
S.	•	Scituation of Sephalenia.	22
Succours required from the Rome	ane hu	Scituation of Amycle.	22
the Mamertins.	5	Speech of Hormes and Tringer	23.
Supplies which the Carthaginians pu	e into	Speech of Hermes against Epigene.	24
Agragas.	II.	Scituation of Media.	24
		Scituation of Silucin.	25
Severity of the Romans towards Souldiers:		Selutia affaulted.	25
Sixscore Vessels made ready for the S	II.	Seleucus his present.	27
		Scituation of Thebes.	27
the Romans.	14	Speech of Agelaus.	27
Spendius.	46		scerds
Surprize of the Carthaginians Campe	•	lade.	28
Sephira.	50	Six kinds of governments.	28
Supplies of Numidians come to Sp		Spanish sword.	294
Charma Com Calmania da Ala . C	5 I	Septier is two Mines, and a Mine	is tw
Succours from Sclauonia to the A		London Bushels.	30
nians.	60	Signe of the Sardens negligence.	31
Scerdelade.	62	Sally made by them of Life.	32
Some Gaules banishs their Country	for	Strong Fort yeelded unto Antiochus	. 328
their disloyalty	63	Skirmish between the Romans and	Car
Sparta or Lacedemon.	IOI	thage.	334
Sardinia abandoned by the Cartha	igini-	Supersticion of the Roman Dames.	339
ans.	108	Scituation of Carthage.	361
Sagont forced by Hannibal.	112	Second assault ginen to Carthage b	y the
Scipio his speech to his men.	141	Romans.	363
Semprenius puts his men into	Bat-	Scipio assailes the Fort.	364
taile.	146	Souldiers Oathes touching the Pillage	265
Scipio arrines at Emportes, and con	quers	Scipio's providence concerning the	Prifo.
unto Ebro.	147	mers.	366
Sixe thousand Romans taken in a Bur	rrowe	Syringe besieged by Antiochus.	372
by composition.	162	Syringe taken by Antiochus.	ibid
Supplies sent from Rome into Spaine.	159	Spaniards toyne with the Romans.	376
Scerdilade and Demetrius.	183	Scipio saluted King of the Spaniards.	377
Scope chosen Head of the Etoliens	190	Skirmish of the Bactreans with	13160_
Scituation of Constantinople.	196	chus.	384
		Ddda	afety
			J 3

The Contents,

- for af Managahire	39I	Spendius.	52
safety of Monarchies. Inddaine Charge of the Romans again		Townes of Hippona and Byfarthe re-	noite
	395	from the Carthaginians.	5 5
Carthaginians. Scipio puts his men in Battaile.	ibid.	The extreme necessity that prest the si	748-
Scipio's speech to his Army.	400	vers Campe.	50
Scipio layes a batte for the Enemy.	401	The Victory of the Sclauonians again	ft the
Spaniards put themselves in Battaile.	ibid.	Editates.	03
Scipio drames sa she Enemies Campe.	419	The Romans Embasses to Teuca Quee	ne of
Scipio sets Asdrubals Campe on fire.	420	Sclavonia.	63
Scipio amends the fiege of By farthe.	42 I	The Turinois and Agoniens.	68
Scipie drawes towards the Enemy.	422	The Genousis.	68
Syphax returnes in fafty.	423	The Pec.	68
Scipio's Anguer to Hannibal.	419	The Venetians come from Paphlagon	ia.69
Scipio's speech to bis Army.	431	The number of the Gaules Army.	73
Strength of a Battaile.	432	The preparations which the Romans	made
Saying of Scipio.	444	for Warre.	ibid.
Syphax King of the Masaisslins.	452	The number of Souldiers that was ra	ised in
Syphan King of the 22 July)	••	Italy.	73
Т.		Instany ruined by the Gaules.	74
The Persians.	/ 3	The advice of Ameroeste.	75
The Lacedemonians.	ibid.	The Armes which the Gaules did vse	.77
The Macedonians.	ibidi	Taking of King Congollitane.	ibid:
The Romans.	ibid.	The Army of Millanois.	78
Timerus an Hiftoriographer.	4	The uncasine se of the Gaules Swords	· 79
Taking of Mellina by fome Campane	is. 15	The Pythagorians burnt in Italy.	82
Taking of Rhegium by the Romans.	. ibid.	The Lacedemonians and Thebanes.	83
The panishment of Traytors.	ibid.	The alliance of twelue Citties.	84
The Campanois holding Messina, as	re called	The enuy of the Etoliens against the	
Mamertins.	ibid.	chesas.	8 <i>6</i>
The Mamertins deliner their Tow	ne and	The Nature of Kings:	87
Fort to the Carthaginians.	6	Tages yeelded woto Antigonis.	91
The Mamertins recover the Fort f	rom the	The great Villany committed by the	
Captaine of the Carthaginians.	7	nicus:	93
The order of the Roman Armies	and the	The Mantiniens fold.	94
number of men in a Legion.	10	The cruelty of Artitomachus.	ibid.
Tunes taken by the Romans by an af	Tault.28	The great fidelity of the Megalopol	1141 3 5.
The Numidians great Robbers.	ibid	•	25
The leading of the Carthaginian	s Army	Thirdpart of the Booty is due to the	
oinen to Xantippus.	2 3	TAR.	96
The policy of Gecilius to defeate the	be Ele		vere en
phants.	28		97
Three principall Promontories in S.	icily.39	The Warres which Antiochus and	
Towne of Erix taken from the Ros	mans b	y maae.	103
· Amilcar.	40	Tostnes of Scianonia reducea to the	
The Conspiracy of the Women of	Affricke	e. obedience.	113
., , , ,	4	S I HEWATLIKE POLICY OF EMILENCE	113
The Victory of Amilcar.	5		
The Victory of the Carthaginians	s againj	t nians.	114
·			Th

The Contents.

be number of Hampibals Army in a table	
of Copper, Seene by Polybius. 122	105
be number of borse and foote which were	Two canjes why the Blacke Sea and the Pon-
in Hannibals Army at his parting from	tique runne consinnally. Too
Spaine. 123	The refuge of Europe. 100
he parting of the Roman Armies. 126	Thracians vanqueshed by the Gaules, 200
be meanes to passet be Elephants. 129	Tole imposed upon those that failed into
be Sauoyards hinder Hannibal and his	the Blacke Sea by Constantinople 201
Army. 132	Towne of Thalams. 235
hey of the Mountaines charge the Car-	Thalame yeilds, ibid.
thaginians. ibid.	Typaneates yeilds unto Philip: 217
reason of the Barbarians against Hanni-	I ownes which yelld to Philip. 218
bal. 133	Taurion dispossessed of the gouernment of
benumber of men which Hannibal had,	Mores. 22E
after he had past over the Alpes. 135	
he policy of Hannibal for an example to	
hii Souldiers. 138	Taking of Lames
heretreate of Scipio 141	Theadate
reason of the Gaules against the Romans.	Tomne of Russhan
142	Tammand Dunaling LaCourt
he manner of the Numidians fighting.	Taking of made
146	Trues and with the all 6
he difference betwixt a Distator and a	Thehes believed by philis
- " "	Thehas weilded as plil
Conjuu. he meanes which Fabiiu made to stoppe	Thebes yeilded to Philip 276
**	
	Tyraning. 285
wo Dictators at Rome at one instant-162	Townes for retreate for those that are vo-
he River of Fante. 168	luntarily Banished 290
he Romans in old time very sermonioue.	Thebains. 304
170	Two principle of enery Common weale.
enthousand Romans taken alive. 172	306
hree score and sen thousand slaine in the	
battaile, ibid,	
arent, Capua, and Naples reduced under	Tarentum betrayed unto Hannibal by trea-
the obedience of Hannibal. 173	chery. 220
ime of the death of Antigonus, Selencus,	Tarentum taken by Hannibal. 332
and Piolomy. 175	Tegea saken 302
he canses of the war betwixt the Acheius	Three sauses of the peoples muting against
and Philip against the Etoliens and La-	Princes. 399
cedemonians. ibid.	Two kindes of untruths. 406
aurion taken by assault. 177	Tymerus reprehensible. 407
he nature of the Thessalonians. ibi.	Tymerus speakes by heare say and imagina.
hemurther of the Gouernors of the La-	tion. 412
cedemonians 188	
he blame of the Epirots. 192	
he mursher of the Lacedemon Governours	The Crituation of Phicales
by the young men. 195	
the power of clemency in Princes. ibid.	414444
	nsens. 176 Varro
	7 4//8

The Contents,

Karangan Languagan Kabupatèn Kabupat	Warre attempted by the Etolicus against
V.	Morea. 177
Karro offersbattaile, and the order which	War concluded against the Etolieus. 189
- be held.	Whom the faruey of the watch belongs.300
Karro flies with threefcore and ten Horse.	What a Ladder for the War ought to be. 346
con issued the second of the 172	Wife of Mandonin. 366
Vanauish an enemy by mildresse. 230	THE /James of Section 2017
Weltory of Garsyere against the Selgenses.	TET come libe so a dilecte ATT
263	
Understanding more commendable then for-	
tane 357	
Voyage of Alexander against Darim Ca.	Xantippus a Lacedemonian 22
Listines. 408	Transianamenturas into his Country or
Vices of Heraclides 415	
Vceca besieged by Scipio 41	
Victory of the Romans against the Cartha	- 249
ginians 434	
8 / 1	Z
\mathbf{w}	•
What is required in a Tragedy 9	2 Zalucm the Law-giner. 40
What the Carthaginians held in Affrick	
12.	7 -:i

F# N 18.



port of facient sate there prisoners

here prooffers at tempth send the barties of the Carties,

when the cupting great their to detoice of the content

when win Apmy to be my home. I builter to some

they win they won't and home. I builter to some

if here shirts won't and home. I builter to some

if according to go Apprecial he made choice of those in

this presence is not spondies to the term in were

of they armie were detained to hom, it were

of they armie were detained to hom, it were



£5688



RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM LORD GRAVIX,
BARON OF HAMSTEED.

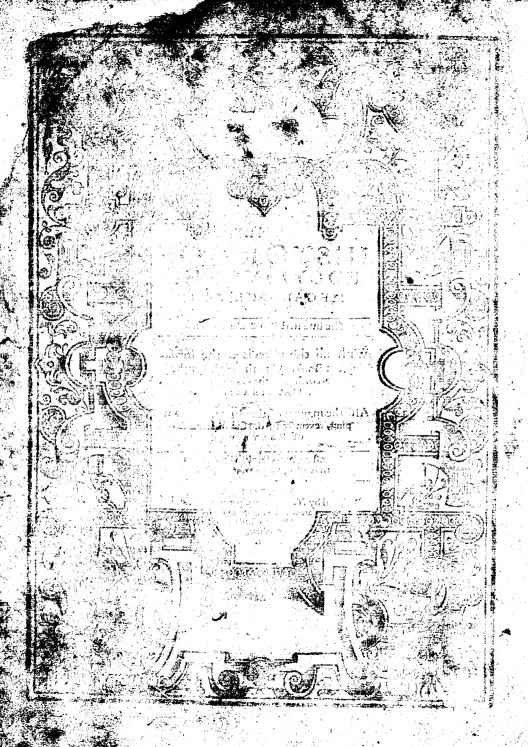
MARSHALL, &c.

MOST WORTHY LORD.



Ardon I beleech you, if (being a flanger and vnknowne vnto you) I have prefumed to inscribe your title on the Frontespiece of this Booke, and to publish it to the world, vnder your Lo. fauourable protection. I confesse my disability might well have deterned me: But the reason

which induced me to this presumption, was your nobleand C generous inclination to Armes (being the subject of this Hiftory) wherein you have carried your selfe so worthily in many great and dangerous exploits, in forraine parts, vider two of the greatest Commanders of Christendome, as you haue done great honour to your Country, and won vnto your selse perpetuall same and reputation. This Consideration hath made me confident, that during your vacancy from Military actions, your Lordship will vouchsafe to cast your eye vpon this History written by Polybius, who (in the opinion of most men of Indgement) hath beene held to be very fincere, and free from malice, affection or passion. And to iustifie the truth thereof, he protests that he was present at many of the actions, and received the rest from confident persons who were eye-witnesses. It is a generall History of his time, of all the warres which past



The Epifite Dedicatory

in the Grace, and the Romane State, against the Gaules, and Carebannian, which two Citties consended for the Empiry of the world: which warre was at langer continuance, and had more cruell and variable customers and battailes than anythat hath beene written of: For the first Punique warre (where they lought for the Conquest of Sicily) lasted foure and twenty yeeres; and the second in Italy under Hamibal, Generall for the Carthagini- A ans, continued feuenteene yeeres, to the fubnersion (in a manner) of the Romane State, had not Scopic forced Haumibal to returne home to defend his owne Carebage, where in Battell he lost the glory of all his former Victories, and brought his Countrey into the subjection of the Romanes. This worke I present vnto your Lordships fauourable Censure, humbly praying that you will be pleased to beare with my harsh and unpolished file, and to pardon the m errors committed at the presse during my absence : for which favour I shall hold my felle much bound vnto your Lordship, and will alwaies remaine

Your Lorden, most bumbly denoted

en programme de la companya de la co

hord in over property this organization of this casts, or every post of this organization of the casts, or every finite organization is the first or in the casts of the first organization of the casts of the casts



Levves Maigret a Lionnois

Entlemen, wee are all borne by nature to fo much pouerry, and in world d in so many miseries, as other ests no works of Many bown small sower, which guing order to his meanifeastions, doth not minister secasion of some Esteeme. So as whereas his diffeence

guiaca by reason. Ballinde insets evest: I know not by what power which commonly for sure o far per suer the sudgement and confider a tion of Many wer may (a) to thanke quiltly blame it, in exemply with compassion the worksmide and wis mixforsume. And of one ha orber fide, to flow her great miterificance and bounty, fie import her fausurs and graces to fome one who without keeping any order or faire course, seekes to bring some Enterprize to an and, so me that notwite offanding his over-wearing and folly thre makes is perfeet: Then we hold her producally desefting ber warea jonalite and Cunconfiderate bounty, griening at the benefitted sil impleyed. Bebold now, (I know not by when law reveled and men) were commender blame every one in his profession and workes, fo farre forth as they fee but industry and delivence imployed or defections. If wee brane roufon then in 10 preas Effective, at mee feeke it in all out actions, and in marrows of the Anadest sonsequence, blaming him that hoylects it's How infamous mee hold the samplefueffe and neglets of a want in the driver and somedute of affaires, wherein use D' onely the raine of bis states the and benour , but selfo show of bis Country; Parents, Sma Friends, and finally withis Prince and Sonorarole, is many those brought the great manger? But if there band Enserprice uniong Norte values Biss parfus, wherin fuch things onghe so bee disarrown to Comfidencial un propogrami ordinary was him; and wis bour the danger wheletox the can ecope no benefit; I am of opinion charthat of marre butto in reason to be preferred before mitosbers: Alshough shere bee many, which cannot alwaies be brother to a good and, without the hazard and danger of those which the them. In truel it is a profession, which experienceded tanebt in all Nathon, to bee fo rough and force and finally fo difficult to manuage, as never man could carry bimfelle fo discreetly, nor with fo great fortune, nor recovered such Fiel pollis, nor obtained fuch Triumphant -victories, but they baue purchased bem new causes of Care and seare, not onely of A great Enuie, and of new Enemiet, but also loffe and ruine. will not speake of the irreparable deseate of the brauest Men in on Annie, which a Victory worthy of rengune requires, as it were by advance, when as the Enemies performe the Duties of good louldises. The Carthagians thrufting an Army into Sicily, at sheir first entry obtained some Conquests to some after they prouoked barred of the Romanes : which was but the beginning and medage of a future ruine. But when as the fortune of the warres beganne es (mile cupon Hanibal, and to give bim a full Gale, The bis exploits were fo great in Spaine, as afterwards bee Millmed to force Mattons, Mountaines, and rivers, and in the end to fight with the Extramity of the weather for the Conquest of Italy : Then, 41 is more fearing her owne power, to bee in a mounte Proquibade fre beganne to practize and forge meants, and onely to ruine ber fo much favoured Hanibal, but the ribole Conclugion Empire. And therefore it is credible, C that (Lineman has what inconfiancy, or rather extranagant and (anage Nasure) (free makes friends of Enemies, and enemichigs her owne friends ; fo much (bee feares (as I imagine) the sele and reft of shale whom free fauours. It is true that traffigurally Seasones without great serrour amazement and barard. farabi dangen of the manes, Tampefis and flormes, with a shoufund niber accidents. But if marre once fet op ber failes, being accompanied with rege, Jung, and many eiber difastere, which O the malice of Man Jan innersed to make of of beleque mee that thefe ethen funisse which the winds precure at Sea, and in the Aire, which many times were forefull than mortall, well not seeme in negated of a paper of works or have a light senacementhones is were, so Jalo illarum. What torment at ca. orielelence of the winds both elen beene for fordenne, which the

long experience of a wise Pilot, could not by a thousand figures and tokens foresee, deuising sufficient remedies to avoid it? But when a warre is mannaged by Indgement and discretion, as it is requisite, the shewes are commonly contraried to that which they pursue. Wherefore the more an Enterprize is dissembled and keept secret, the more easie it is to put in execution. Finally, if were will confesse the truth, it is a propellion which among all others, requires the greatest wisilance; a continual Care, with an incredible diligence: where of a good sudgement must have the condust, that by concessfure drawne from things somethy practized, or from a probability of that which hee secs, hee may some after sudge of the Enemies resolution, and finally attempt and hope for a stuffery.

wittory. And although it bath beene alwaies beld, that Money is the B sinewes of Warre; yet I hola its force without Conduct! like voto that of a strong, able Man, opprest with a deepe Arepe, whose senses have made their retreate for his eft. So there is nothing so strong, nor so quicke in this world as the sense of man: Nor any thing so powerfull and terrible, which the orderstanding doth not mafter and subdue. And therefore wee say commonly in France, that wit is better than force. Yet I know that Courage is a great aduantage: C and necessary for a souldier, but especially for a Generall: But I feare that for want of Indgement and a good consideration, it makes them not sometimes over-weening and carelesse of danger. So as many times it gives occasion to a weake and cowardlie Enemie, to undertake a Victory, and to performe the Act of a valuant man. Wherefore courage without conduct, and vigilancie, is alwayes subject to Ambushes and shamefull flights: which are inconveniences. D whereof a Coward is alwayes warie, for that feare makes a Man vigilant and carefull. But was there ever Nation more bardie, nor more warre-like, nor that more carefully observed the ordinances of warre than the Romanes? How then did Hannibal deseate them so often, not onely in Encounters, but in pitcht Battailes, and in the open field.

field, by bis great Iudgement, and bis subtile pollicies ? In what feare, and with what admiration hath the fury of the Gaules, beene beld in old time by all Natious, who parting from their owne Countrey and Townes, to seeke new habitations, have conquered land in divers Countries by Armes, building Townes not onely in Italy their Neighbour, but also in Germany, and in the end in Greece, and Afra? Who bath defeated and quite rumated them in a (hort time, but A their owne Consideration, and an ouer-weaning confidence in their force and courage ? I bold for certaine, which you know well, that it is not sufficient for a Prince or Generall to have his Armie compleate with foote and bersemen, how refolute socuer, and with all necessary provisions for a warre : No more than for a Souldier to have youth, strong and active Members, a daring courage, and compleate furniture. Hee must have to vanquish (the which many times the vanquish- B ed improperly call mis-fortune) that piece of harnesse so well steeled, which wee call Iudgement, or a good conduct. Beleeue mee that like vote a borse, when hee hath taken the bit betwint his teeth, forcing bis Master, flies without seare thorow Woods, Reckes, and Precipices, with the danger of his life, bee bee neuer so nimble and couragious; so a bardie and resolute souldier deth easily bis owne ruine, if bee wants conduct and Iudgement. You must understand that as the body C requires Exercise to preserve in health, and to make it active, and bardened to indure labour and paine; (o the conderstanding in like manner desires to bee exercised and imployed, either by the consideration of things past, or by those which are visible.

It is true, that those which are seene by the eye, haue a greater viuacitie, and a stronger impression, than those which are past : For that living things are of greater force than D dead. Yet, if we shall duely consider the length of time, which the experience of a thousand kind of pollicies, which warre requires before that a wife Man will dare to aduenture him/else in a bold and bardie Enterprize, wee shall finde that the knowledge of the antient warres, which have beene

The Epiltie to the Reager.

left vs in writing, will bee of no small consequence winto bim. For besides the assurance of danger, hee may in a short time see by Historiographers, the great and wonderfull exploits of the Antient in a manner since the Creation of the World. to pleasure and contentment from them, with some Encouragement to doe aswell or better bereaster. You know well that the warre which is seene by the eye, is not alwaies made beswixt warre-like people, nor under resolute Commaunders. that are skulfull in their profussion: so as it is a difficult thing under such to see any valuant exploits, nor Enterprizes attempted with good invention, nor well executed. Wee (ay commonly in France, that the Combate is dangerous, when as courage fights against courage. So is it credible, that when an Army consisting of marre-like men, is under the leading of a mye and resolute Commander, bauing in front an Enemy equall vonto bim in all degrees, there must needes bee valiant exploits performed, with hardy Enterprizes wisely mannaged.

If there baue beene any warres, attempted by fierce and warlike Nations, and gonerned by wefe and samous Captaines, believe me this present Historiographer hath weed great deligence to fer them worme in writing ; Labouring ouly to mention the deedes and valour that was most worthy of Relation, that with the pleasure and contentment which they may reape in reading them, they may draw some instructions and meanes, not to fall into the inconviences of warre, into the danger whereof many times both Captaine and fouldiers may bee ingaged, through want of experience, good aduice and councell. So as among others, you shall see Enterprizes of the Romanes against the Carthaginians for the conquest of Sicily. D During the which there were many Encounters, and eruell battailes, as well by Sea as land. You hall likewise reade the furious Combat of the Gaules against the Romanes: And moreover the warre lesmint Cleomenes and Antigonus, for Morea, mehe which Philip she Sonne of Demetrius tooke afterwards. And besides many other notable

you shall foe the Conquests which Hannibal make in Spaine with his incredible voiage into Icalic, performed in his younger yeares, and bis vistories goseen of the Romanes with such pollicie and wisedome, as se as a difficult thing (if wee flat confider the people and mumber of his Armie, but ning regard to courage and power of those with whom bee had to deale) to indee truely, whother there were ener Captuine in the memory of man, that may with reason bee A compared onto him. Finally my Musters, I doe not promise you in this History, those miraculous Battailes, which the ceed the apprehension of man, performed in the Kingdome of Logics, nor I know not what Quel of that barking Beaft. Make your accomps that you food not finde any Track or marke of a Beaft, nor finally any thing that bolds of it. Beleeue mee in times paft, Men did not feede sheir underflandings with dreames, nor fables muented in barbers-floops, B without any colour of Truth. It is impossible an ignorant Master should make a learned disciple. Finally they are difcourses fit for old womens songwes so entertains titele children, whilest that for weakenesse of their Age, their underflanding bath no apprehension, nor sufficient Indiemens of rea. fon, Wherefore were may with reason fay, that facts as cotta fune their yeares, and grow old in fuch dreamer; have a will to continue fill children. And although they commonly & fair, that warre is mannaged by the eye: So as it feemes shop will thereby inferre, that wer muft not thinke of it, but when necessity word force vs : And that pence thoula procure no benefit to a Souldier, but idleweffe; jet be muft forester long before, part of that which afterwards he migh governe by the oye. And at a horfe which is panepered and not ridden, groves reflet; and proces comproficable to bis Mafter for strangile : A she wideflanding of a fouldi- D er, idle during peace, or fed wish dreames and footsto invencious, will faile bim as weedle, and in the end purchase bim different and flame; Yes do not magine my Mafters, that I beane view this freeds as blazoning your, and bolding you for men of fo poore and Emerprise; whose principall

study and affections is the reading of such Booker, rather them in some worthy recreation and exercise. My maning may onely to advertise you, that Histories; from whenex work pleasure you may draw great profit, as these are which this Historiographer imparts conto you ought to but in grants recommendation than these Fables, which have no exact but when they are most without reason are any some after that.

Finally, I bope you shall finds such sufficiencia is one Polybius, as you will make no question to present him as the paragon before all others, as well Greekes as Lactines, which are come to the knowledge of men. Of whom I have presumed to translate in the best fort I could those fine first Bookes, which of Fourty which has written, have beene preserved halfe ruined by the negligence of time:

B Hoping you will receive them as willingly, as I offer them with a good heart.

When as after the Printing of these fine first Bookes; I had recovered some Latine Translations, of three parcels of the fixt, whereof the first and the third bad not amy GREBES COME AND MANE OFFICE ANother of the fixteenth, both in Latine and Greeke, I imployed my selfe to put them into French, adding there-Cunto the forme of the Romanes Campe, as I could contellure it, by the discription which Polybius maker, in the parcell of the fact Books And Ben a Printers successor bad a desire afterwards to print the whole, and intreated mee to spend some time in the Remainder of that which was newly published of Polybius his worker, which are certaine parcelle, and at it were Reliques (besides the aboue named) of the fewente wan espotes, and of all the fubsequent Bookes conto the seauententh inclusive, it was not in my power to deliver him any other but those of the seventh and eighth, being afflitted with a quartane Ague, besides bie obstinacy in ving a small Character, for the sparing of Paper distasted mee: Expecting that which afterwards followed, that few men would rest satisfied, for that all things

The Epiftle to the Reader.

how good and excellent focuer, are thereby found without grace, dull and unpleasing, For this cause desiring that so extellent a writer, should not remains disdamed and without prace for want of an honourable Impression, and that the functions of Histories should been the more incouraged. I resolued to adde the remainder of that, which at this day is come to our knowledge, affuring my felfe that the Printer for his part will have a care that for the saving of his money bee will not dee wrong to bie benour, nor loofe bie charges instead of paine. in the U Greekes of Las

To GOD alone be all honour and glory.

The court of a ridingly of I was them

The growing of week () whim I

is the the tribage of their his field Boiles. Later a refusion of their agra

Peternih , both is latine and Girely

" fur they mie Pro thy whom water the farmer of the Europoes Carrie, as I could willow or by the otherwise which Polishus make

े व विकास अंतर प्रतान का कार्या अने के विकास के

servere a note force force that in the Remainder of thing which is a rently publified of Polybins his worker. befracs che a-

wind of ail the rober in a souto the formenesses inclusing it was not in es es es deiner in any other but thefo of the fenencia and a portly during apported ratio a quarrant Again before that Party in voling a parall theresters for the sparry of we defeld were superfling that which afterments fale

refer to the men would roll faithful for the all though



The Printer to the READER.

Ourteous Reader, I desire your charitable censure in that there bee some Ulitterall faults escaped, to the griefe of the Author being not able to attend the Presse, and likewise being absent at that time from London, and haning but a yong Corrector which took too much wpon him.

Errata.

PAge 27. line 21. for report read support, p.27.1. 9. for wridet rigg, p. 33. 1. 28. for ready the ready for the, p. 34. 1. 27. for nor beer mor to bee, p. 15. 1. 39. for them, p. 40. 1. 19. for pet began r. yet it began, p.45.1.38. for bad been r.badnet been,p. r: 1.44 tor Hanniball r. Amilcar, p.62.1.37.for Arcanians r. Acarmaniens, p. 68 1. 18.for Mirer. Affis, p. 79. 1. 37, Rhine t. Khofne,

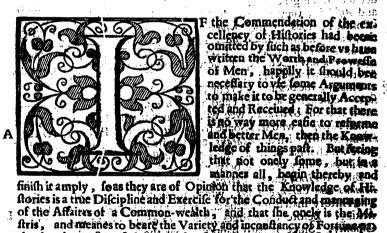




FIRST BOOKE

of the History of

POLYBIVS.



of the Affairs of a Common-wealth, and that the ones is the Minister, and meanes to bear? the Variety and inconfiancy of Fortunes tiently, by reason of the example of another man advantities in its apparent that no man will hold it necessary to reason; the Wiscoms of things, which have formerly been so well delinered by others. Since B cially by me to whom the atwincing of Affairs, whereof we intend to Write, is much more then inflicing to perfyade and drawn the hearts of men, as well both Young and Old, to read our History of this where is any man to depraised or filly, when defires not to wheer the

the meanes and manner of Gouernment, by the which the Romans haue subdued and brought under their Obedience in a manner, all the Nations of the World, within the space of fifty and three yeares? the which in former times was never heard of. Or what is he fo much given and defiring to know other things worthy of admiration and other Disciplines, but will conceine that there is not any thing in this world worthy to be preferred to this knowledge? I hope they will fee how great and excellent our Worke is, if wee make comparison of other Principalities with the excellency of the Romane Empire, and namly of those which have beene in great honour and glory, whereof A Historiographers have written much. Behold those which are most worthy to be compared.

The Perlians.

The Empire and power of the Persians for a time hath beene great. but whenfocuer they did aductivite to passe the bounds and limits of Alia, they were in danger to lose not onely their Empire, but their lines. The Lacedemonians made a long warre for the Empire and command of Greece, but they could hardly keepe it twelve yeeres quiet after their Conquest.

The Maccdo-

niaus.

The Lacedemo-

It is true, the Macedonians have domineer'd and rul'd in Europe, from Adria to the Danowe, which is but a small portion thereof. And R fince they have held the Empire of Asia, after they had ruined the Monarchy of the Parlians. And although that these hase in shew beene great Lords, and enioved large and spacious Countries, yet they neuer toucht the greatest part of the World. As for Sicily, Sardinia, and Affricke, they never made shew to challenge any thing. In regard of other Nations, the most Martial of Europe, and the most Westerne, they hardly in my opinion did everknow them : But she Remans have not onely conquered a part of the World, but in a manner all. They miswalfo know by our lequell, how great the profit will be to fuch as affeetheknowledge of History.

ार्गः

The beginning 211 Finally, the beginning of our Worke thell be according to the time, C finee the hundred and eight and forty Olimpiade : As for the Actions, and first of the Grecians, wee will begin with the fortall warre, the which Philip (who was South to Demertine, and Father to Perfens) attempted first with the Actions, against the Esoliens, and in regard of those which inhabite Asia, the beginning shall be at the Warre which was in the Valley of Syria, betwixt Antiothus, and Pielome: Philopater. But as for Italy and Affetche, wee will begin with that betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, which many call she warre of Hanniball. The Pictory Thall begin at the end of that which Sicionius hath left in D withing. Before these times the affaires of the world were without Chilling. Since it hath happened that the History is in a manner drawne all into one, and that the actions of Italy, and of caffricke, are mingled with those of Greece and Ala, and that all tended to one and the fameend. And therefore wee have, begun our weake in those times, when the Romans had vangoil ed the Carthaginians in this war, chinking they had performed their greatelt raske; and to be able to affilie the whole world, they prelimited prelently after to fall upon the

rest, and to passe into Greece and Asa with great forces.

Lib. 1.

But if we had seene and knowne the manner of living, and the Lawes of Common-weales contending for the Monarchy, happily it would not be needfull to make any great fearch, to what end, nor you what power relying, they have cotred into fuch great actions. But for that the manner of living, the precedent forces, and the actions of the peop ple of Rome and Carthage are vaknowne to the greatest part of the Grecians, I have held it necessary to make these two first Bookes, before I enter into the History, to the end they should have no occasion. A to wonder nor inquire in reading our Worke, what Councell, what Forces, and what Treasure and Wealth the people of Rome had to vo. derrake the warre and conquest of the whole Earth, and of all our Sca. Confidering that they which shall require it, shall see plainely by these first Bookes of our Preparation, that the Remans had reasonable cause to undertake the Empire and Souetaignty of all things, and to attaine vnto their ends. Beleeue that the proper object of our Worke, and the excellency of the Actions of our time, confilts principally in this, that as Fortune hath in a manner reduced all the affaires of the world into one, and hath forced them to draw to one and the fame B end : So the force which shee hath vsed for the perfection of all publicks gouernment, must be reduced and propounded to the Reader in one briefe History.

This hath chiefely incited and vrged mee to the enterprise thereof, especially for that none of our time hath vadertaken to write a general History: neither would wee have attempted it: But freing that many had written some particular Warres, and their private Actions, and that no Man (to my knowledge) back hickerto made an valuerfall and generall commemoration of things past, neither when nor how they began, nor how they were executed and performed, nor what iffue C they had: I conceived it would be well done, If by our meanes our Countrey-men might read a worke of Fortune excellently good and profitable : For although flee had done excellent things and worthy of admiration among men: yet shee hath not done any thing voto this day, nor purchased the glory of victory comparable to our times. The which they that have written the particular Histories cannot make knowne, but that some one who peraduenture for that hee had lined in some renowned Towne, or for that they had seenethem in picture. imagine presently they know them : and consequently the seituation, the forme, and the order of the World, the which is not probable non D likely.

They which are of Opinion that a particular History is sufficient for the vnderstanding of the generall, in my Opinion stray no lesse from the truth, then if some one considering the parts separated of a living A good Cons Body, thinke by this meanes to have the knowledge of all the perfecti. Parison, ons and graces of the Creature. There is no doubt; but if any one takes these dikinet and separated parts, and doth presently joyne them together, and make a perfect Creature, giving it forme and life, and then presents it vato him, her will soone confesse that bee hath beene de-

ceined.

pher.

Dini.

ceiued, like vnto them that dreame. It is true, we may have some apprehension of the whole by the parts: But it is not possible to have a true and certaine Science and Knowledge. And therefore you must imagine that a particular History is of small vse for the knowledge of the generall: And that by the connexion, comparison and similitude of actions, there will be no Man found, who in reading, will not reade fingular profite and pleasure by History. Wee will therefore make the beginning of this Booke at the first Voyage which the Romans made by Sea, which is subsequent to those things which Timerus hath last written: which was in the hundred and nine and twentieth Olimpiade. We A must therefore relate how, and what time they ended their Quarrels in Italy, and what meanes they had to passe into Sicily: For this is the first voyage they euer made out of their Territories, whereof wee must fet downe the reason simply and without disguising : to the end that by the learch from one cause to another, the beginning and consideration of the whole may not prouedoubtfull. The beginning also must be agreeable to the Time and Subjects, and that it be knowne to all : the which they may consider by themselves, yea, in seeking out those things which were past long before, and in the meane time relate the Actions summarily: For it is certaine that the beginning being vn. B knowne or obscure, its continuance cannot perswade, nor purchase beleefe: But if the Opinion of the beginning be true, then all the subsequent Narration doth eafily content the Auditors care.

Nineteene yeeres after the battell wone vpon the Riner Agos, and fixteene yeeres before the Warre of Leustra, where the Lacedemonians treated a peace with Antalcides King of Persia, when as Denis the old held the Citty of Rhogina in Calabria belieged, after that hee had defeated the Grecians inhabiting upon the limits of Italy, necre unto the Riuer of Elleporis: and that the Gaules having wholy ruined Rome, held it . except the Capitall: During which time the Romans having made C an accord with them, which they found good and profitable, and had recovered their liberty contrary to their hope and expectance, and had in a manner taken a beginning of their increase, they declared Warre against their Neighbours. As soone as the Latins had beene vanquished. aswell by their prowesse as by the fortune of the Warre, they turned their Armes against the Tuscaus, then to the Celtes which are in Italy, and finally vpon the Samnites which confine the Region of the Latins, towards the East and North. Sometimeafter, the Tarrentines seeing the outrage which they had committed against the Romane Embassadoors, not relying much voon their owne forces: they called in King D Pyrrhus the yeere before the Descent of the Gaules into Italy, and before the Retreate of those which were defeated in Battell neere vnto Delphos. Then the Romans after they had vanquished the Tuscans and Samuires, and beaten the Celtes often, began to make warre against the rest of Italy, not as contending for another mans Lands, but as for their owne, and formerly belonging vnto them, being now growne warlike by the Warres which they had had against the Celterand Samwites:

The Romans then after that Pyrrhus and his forces had beene chased out of Italy, taking this Warre to heart, they purfued fuch as had followed his party. Being fuddainly become Maisters of all according to their desires, and that all staly was wholy subdued, except the Celses, fieged by the they presently besieged some of theirs which held Regium. One and Romans. the like fortune befell two Citties scituated vpon the Straight of that Sea, that is, Messina and Rhegium. Some Campanois having beene The taking of lately in pay with Agathoeles in Sicily, wondring at the beauty and Messina by some campawealth of Mellina, they fuddainly when they found an opportunity, nois. A affailed it, breaking their Faith, they having beene received into it by Friendship: where they expell'd some of the Cittizens, and slew others. After which wicked act they shared their Wines and Children among them, as their fortunes fell out during the Combate: Then they divided their goods and lands." But after this suddaine and easie Conquest of fo goodly a Countrey and City, they foone found others that did

imitate their villanies.

Lib. 1.

They of Rhegium amazed with the descent of Pyrrhus at such time as he past into Italy, and fearing in like manner the Carthaginians, being then Maisters of the Sea, they craued a Garrison and men from the B Romans. Those which they sent vnto them, were to the number of 4000. under the command of Desius the Campanois, they kept the Towne for a time, and their faith in like manner with the Cittizens, in defending them; but in the end moved by the example of the Mamertins, who folicited them to comit this base act, they falsified their faith. being aswell incited by the opportunity of the deed, as by the wealth of The taking of Rhegium, and chased away some Cittizens and New others, finally, Rhegium by they feafed upon the Citty as the Mamertines had done. And al- fome came though the Romans were discontented at the misfortune of the Rhegins, nowbeing there vet they could not relieue them, for that they must settle an order for C their precedent VVarres. But after they had ended them, they be-Thetaking of fieged them of Rhegium, and afterward they entred it by force, where Rhegiumby the as many were flaine: who being certaine of the punishments they were Remans. to endure, defended themselves valiantly to death. About three hun. dred were taken aline, who presently after their comming to Rome, the Commanders of the VVarre commanded them to be brought into the The punished Market-place, where they were whipt, and in the end their heads ment of Traystrooke off, after the manner of the Countrey. They did vie this pu. tours. nishment to the end that their Faith (as much as might be possible) might be confirmed towards their confederates. Presently after they D caused the Towne and Countrey to be deliuered to the Rhegins.

But whileft that the Mamertins (youmust vnderstand that the Cam- The Campanous paneis caused themselves to be so called after the taking of Messina) holding messina were relieued by the Romans which held Rhegium by force, they not are called Maonely enjoyed the Countrey and Towne peaceably, but they committee ted great spoiles vpon many other Townes their Neighbours, aswell of the Carthaginians as of Saragoffe (otherwise Siracufa:) The greatest part of Sicilawas tributary vato them. But soone after when they were deprined of those succours, and that they which held K hegium

Lib. 1.

Blaren this len King of the Saragofins.

An alliance

with Leptine.

The pollicy

The River of

Ciamofure.

of Hierm.

were belieged, they were in like manner by them of Saragoffe, for the chales which follow: As a little before the men of warre of Saragoffe camping neere vato Mergane, being in difference with the Governours of the Common weale, they chole for their Captaines Artemidere and Hieren, who afterwards was their King, being yet very young: But finally so wellendowed with all the graces of Nature and Minde. as hee wanted no Royall conditions but the Crowne. Having accepted the Magistracy, and made his entry into the Townevery well accompanied by his Friends, where having vanquished the Burgesses of the contrary faction, hee vied the Victory with so great elemency and A modefty, as by a common confent of all in generall he was chosen their Commander, although they did not allow of the Election made by the Souldiers.

It is true that Hieron made knowne to men of judgement and vaderstanding, that he had conceived greater designes in his minde then to be their Leader. First knowing well that the Saragoffins were mutinous and defirous of innountion, whenforener they fent their Souldiers and Commanders out of the Countrey, and that Leptine was a man of great reputation, and of more credit then any other of the Cittizens. and that he was very pleafing vnto the Multitude, he held it fit to make B an alliance with him, to the end he might leave some report in the Citty for him, when sever he should goe to the V Varre, and lead an Army our of the Countrey Having therefore taken the Daughter of Levtime to VVife, knowing well that the old band of forraigne Souldiers were changeable and subject to mutinies, he led his Army of set pur-Pose against the Bankarians, who held the Citty of Messing: And having leated his Campe neere to Containe, and put his men in battell close upon the River of Ciamoffure, he flayed in a place apart all the Horle and Foote of his owne Nation, as if he meant to charge the E. nemy on the other fide: suffering the forraigne Souldiers to be defea. C. ted by the Barbarians, and whilest the others fled, he makes his retreate fafely with all the Saragoffins to the Citty. When he had by this pollicy brought his defigne vnto an end, and had freed his Army of all the Mutines, hee makes a great leny of Souldiers. Soone after when as all things were lettled in good order. Hieron feeing that the Barbarians were growne too sudacious and proud of their late Victory. he parts from the Citty with an Army of his Countrey fouldiers, well trained and disciplined, and making dilligence, he came to Myle, where along the Bankes of the River of Longane, he fought with them with all his forces. Having vanquished them and taken their Captaines, see- D ing their pride much abated by this Victory, he returnes to Sarageffe with his Army, and was by the generall favour and content of all the

The Mamertins deliuer their Towne and . Fort vnto the Carsbaginians.

Succours Fto quired from

Cittizens faluted King by the Allies. The Mamertins as we have fayed, being deprived of the succours of of the Romane Legion, and haning lost so great a Battell, their hearts being broken, they retire for the most part vnto the Carthagimians, and yeeld themselves and their Fort: The rest sent vnto the Romans, delinering their Towne vnto them, and requiring fuccours

astothofethar were of the fame Nation. The Remans were long in astothese that were of the time. Nation. The Romans were long in the Romans by suspence what to doe: For they found it strange, having lately punished the Mamerins. their Cittizens fo seuerely, for violating their faith with the Rhegins, to fend fuccours now vnto the Mamertins who were guilty of the like crime. They were not ignorant of all thefe things: Yet confidering that the Carthaginians had not onely drawne Affricke under their obedience by force of Armes, but also many places in Spaine, and moreover all the Islands of the Sea of Sardinia and Italy; they doubted that their Neighbour-hood would be dangerous, if they made them-A sclues Lords of the rest of Sicily. They likewise understood, that it would be casie to effect, if the Mamertius were not relieued: And there was no doubt, that if Messina had beene delivered vnto them, they would presently have recovered Saragosse, for that they held all the rest of Sicily. And as the Romans considered these things, they ere of opinion that it was necessary not to abandon Messina, nor to luster the Carthagintans to make vnto themselves as it were a Bridge, to passe into Italy at their pleafure.

This was long in debate, yet it was not concluded in that affembly: for it seemed voto them as voreasonable as profitable to relieue the B Mamertins. But as the Commons much weakned with their former Waries, seemed to have need of rest, so the Captaines shewing the great profit that might enfue, they resolved to succour the Mamer-This Opinion being confirmed by the Commons, presently resolve to sucthey appointed Appius Claudius, one of the Confuls, to passe the Army courths Mainto Sicily, and to relieve the Mamertins, who had put out of their mertins by ap Towne, aswell by threats as pollicy the Captaine of the Caribazinians pius Claudius which (as we have fayd) held the Fort. And they called vnto them The Mamerine Appins Claudius, delivering the Citty into his hands. The Carthagint - reconst the ans hung him on a Crosse which had had the Guard, supposing that he Captaincost he C had yeelded it basely for feare and want of Courage. Then suddainly carthaginians. they drew their Sea-army neere vinto Pellore, and that at land about the Countrey called Sen'e, holding by this meanes Messina streightly be-

In the meane time Hieron thinking to have found a good opportunityto chase the Barbarrans which held Adellina out of Sicily, followed the Carthaginians party. And going from Saragoffe, he takes his way Hieron follows to the Towne, and layes his Siege on the other fide neere unto Mount the Carthagini-Callhidique : By this theanes he tooke from the Townelmen all meeties an puty. to fally torth on that file! But the Confull passing the Sea by night D with great danger, in the end hearrised at Meffine i where feeing the Enemy round about it and that this Siege was as diffonourable vato him as dangerous, for that the Enemies were the stronger both by Land and Sea, he defired frift to riv by Embanics lent to both Camps if it might be possible to pacific things, 10 as the comercial mental be freed. But the Enemies not vouchtaining to heate them, he was in the end forced to voice goe the hazard, and refoliced first to give pasted to

the Saragoffins. He therefore cauleth his Army to march, and put it in

Bartell to the which the King likewile came speedily. But after that

The defeate of Appine had fought long, in the end he premailed ouer his Enimies. pursuing them into their Fort. The Confull after the spoile of the dead. retires into the Citty and Hieren being frustrate of all hope, recoursed Saragoffe speedily the Night following.

edi (4571-12)

The next day Appius Claudius advertised of the flight of the Sara-The defeate of goffins, and having refumed courage and confidence, he had no will to stay, but to goe and fight with the Carthaginians. Wherefore he commanded his men to be ready, and the next day he past early and chargeth his Enimies, whereof some were slaine, and the rest forced to faue themselues in the neighbour-townes. By this meanes the Siege A being raised, he rauaged and spoyled the Countrey of Saragosse and their Allies without danger: And after that he had ruined all, in the end he besieged Saragose. Behold then (for the causes aboue mentioned) the first Voyage which the Romane Army-made out of Italy. And for that we have held it fit for the entrance of our defigne, we have made it our beginning, in looking fomewhat backe to the times past, to the end we may not leave any occasion of doubt upon the causes we shall yeeld. And in truth I have held it necessary to declare first at what time, and by what meanes the Romans being in extreame danger to lofe their Countrey, began to grow fortunate : And when likewise after B they had fubdued Italy, they began to conquer other Countries; to the end that the greatnesse of their Empire, which was since, may feeme more likely in knowing the beginnings. No man must wonder when as we speake of Townes of Note, if happily wee seeke for things farther off, in that which we shall relate hereafter : For we doe it to the end that our beginnings and grounds may be fuch, as they may plainly understand the meanes and reasons, by the which every Citty is come to the estate wherein it now stands, the which we have done here of the

It is now time that in leauing this Discourse we returne to bur de C figne, in thewing first summarily and briefely, the things happened before the times, whereof we meane principally to Write : Among the Which the Warre betwirt the Romans and Carthaginians in Sicily is the first, then followed the Punique : In the which the deeds first of Amilear, then of Afaraball, are joyned with those of the Carthaginians : At what time the Romans began first to layle into Slauenia, and other parts of Europe. Moreover their Battels against the Gasles, who at that time made a discentinto tealy : The Warre also which was in Greece at the fame time, called Cleomenique, to the which all this relation, and the end of the second Booke tend. Finally, I have not held it necessary nor D profitable for the Reader, to relate things in particular a Neither is it in intention to Write them, but onely to jouch that fummarily which may concerne our History. And therefore in relating briefely, we will indeation by an order of continuation, to looke voto the beginning of our History the end of those Actions, which we shall deliver by way of preparation. By this meanes in continuing the order of the History, they shall fee we have touch that which others have left in Writing : and allo made an easie and open way for all hiblequent things, to those

which defire to know. It is true that we have had a speciall defire to Write somewhat at large this first Warre of the Romans in Sivily against the Carthaginians, for that they shall hardly finde a longer Warre, not greater preparations and expence, nor more encounters, nor greaterdiuersity of fortune on eyther side; For these two Nations in those times lived in their lawes with meane wealth and equall forces. Wherefore if we shall consider the Forces and Empire of these two Citties, we cannot fo well make a Comparison by the other subsequent Warres as by this. But that which hath most incited me to write this Warre, was The blame of

Lib. 1.

A for that Philinus and Fabius, who are efteemed to have written well, Philinand Faa have in my Opinion frayed too much from the truth : Yet I would not biastififoriotaxe them to have done it maliciously, confidering their life and intention: But I conceiue, the affection which they beare vinto their Countreymen, hath deceined them after the manner of Loners. In regard of Philinus, for the affiction he beares to the Carthaginians, hee is of Opinion that they did all things with good Conduct, Prudence and Courage; and the Romans the contrary. As for Fabius he holds the contrary party. Peraduenture a man would not blame this manner of doing in other courses of life. In truth it is fit and commendable for a good man to love B his Friends and Countrey, and to be a friend to the friends of his friends,

and to hate his knemies. But he that takes upon him to Write a Hilfory, must vie fuch things with discretion, sometimes commending his Enemiles, when their actions require it, and blaming his Ffiends and Neigh boars when their faults are blame worthy. Beleeue me as the remainder of the Body of a Beaft, which hath the eyes purd our, remaines vnprofitable So if truth be wanting in a Hiftory, the Differiours fruit-And therefore when occasion is offered, he must not for beare to bland his Friends, nor to commend his Enemies, nor to hold it a difficult thing to praffe those whom we have sometimes blanced. Neither is C it likely, that they of whom we write, haue alwaies done well, orerid continually. We must therefore in leaving the persons, under and speake of their actions sufficiently in our Communities.

To prooue my affertian true, we shall easily see it by that which Phillip writes. Who in the beginding of his second Booke faith, the Carbarinians and Saragofful life it Majana befreged, and when as the nomine Army after they had past the Sea was armed they made a fuddaing lat-ly upon the Saragofful, where they were vanguished and defeated, and To redited into the Towner they made a fecond voon the Carebaginian; where they were not onely defeated, but most pair of them sales in Pie D lently after this Sweeth Helaith, that ther matter has Encounter had to great a feare, that he not onely fer are of his Lougings and Tents, rettring by might to stragger bur moreour abilidoned the fitting places.
Lying betwist atelling and Sacrebox Ferelaces allo that the carriers. an bung in like fortamized diperfed themselves here and there throughouthe Townes of Stall and that they durit neuer after that keepe the teld, and that moreouer, the Captables feeing their men dif-comaged, gains addice that they flighted to more within the danger of the war, nor hazard any thing. He faith moreout that the Romans in the

pursuit of the Carthaginians, not enely ruined their Province, and that of the Saragoffins, but also laved fiege to Saragoffe. This Speech is to farre from reason, as it were but loft time to leeke to confute it : For he pretends that they which belieged Melfina, (to whom he gives the Victory,) prefently after abandoned their Campe, and that they fied, retiring into the Citty with great feare, and that finally they were befleged. In regard of thole he affirmes were belieged by the Carthagiwians, after the battell loft, he makes them suddainly Victors, and befleging Saragelle, having taken their Camps, and made courles into the Enemies Countrey. Doubtleffe these are discourses which cannot well A be reconciled; for either that which he faith first, is falle, or that which followeth: But it is certaine, and knowne to all men, that the Carthaginians and Saragoffins abandoned their Campe, and raised the fiege retiring into their Towne, and that the Romanivled great dilligence to be-Riege Sarageffe : Wherefore the probability is great, that his first Speech isfalle, and that notwithflanding the Romans had gotten the Victory before Meffina, vet this Historiographer hath supposed that they were defeated by the Carthaginians, You shall often see Philin in this errour: and Fabin no leffe, as we have observed in many places. Wherefore to returne where we left, we will yie all possible indeauour to make the truth B of our History electe and plaine, for those that define to ynderstand it. After that the newes of Sicily were come to Rome of the Victory of

Appine and his men, Marcus Valerius and Ottacilim being newly cho-

fen Confuls, they were lent thither with all their Roman power. The

Romans had foure Legislas in their Army of their owne Nation, besides

the fuccours which they drew from their Allies. Every Legion confifted of four theuland Foot, and three bundred Horse. By this meanes

at the Confils comming, many Citties siwell of the Carthaginians, as of the Saragoffins, yeakled to the Rowans. But when as Hieron law that the Sicillians Lainted, and that the Roman Army was great, and their C

forces increated, he held it better to follow their party, then that of the Carthaginians. He therefore fends in Emballie to the Confide, to

Marcus Valeria us and Ottacilius Confuls.

The order of gion.

the Romane Armies, and the number of men in a Lc-

> and the Roman and what it

containes.

treate of Peace and Friendlein.
The Roman feeing the Carthog point Maisters of all the Sea, fearing likewile that the passage for their Victuals shight be interdicted, for that their Armies which had formerly pair, had fulfred great wants and necedities, they found the friendlin of Hieronto be of great confequence for them in this regard. Wherefore they created a peace with Anaccord bethe Sarageffing under their following Conditions: First, that the King should free the Reman Pricencis without Randome, and moreover D should pay a hundred dallents of hiller, and that hereafter the Saya-goffins should terme the intelligence. Allies and Friends to the Roman. Afterwards History, who of his course free will pure limited the course their protection, incourse them with promand victuals when need required: So as afterwards he past the Remainder of his life with as great happinesse and fortune that cuer Greeian had done. And in my spinion, this was an excellent, man support others, who had been alwayes happy in good Councell, alwest for the agrees of the Common-wealth, as for

Conservation of All States and All S asion, records infirentiers, while the different some sends the sends in the control of the cont part of Sigle, they bear well reliated and hinty states for some of regulations and bearing well reliated by the states of the s Preparation of this Water, and that it was alt on the ball of a fall of the control of the water in the consideration of the co After the accord past by the Confide with Hilliam, they left the Proin whose place Lucius. Postumus and Ocinetis Entire newly those place Lucius. Postumus and Ocinetis Entire newly those place to concern a savely with an Army who after they had Bearfully, considered of the carbbegins and being peparations for Warremade in the Towns of Argunda, they were of opinion to manage the affaires of Siddy with greater Course and recommon them the last Confidented done Wherefore they drew together all their Ar Araga before my and before they are the confidence of Harnest was come; every man made his recipion. nos that the Siege would be long; wherefore the Sauldiers fraging their George advantated for the first the sathering of Corne, My benefic confidently throughout the Pounce, they concerned the party of the sathering of the first and there confidently throughout the Promise, they concerned a great hope that they should one day be able to defeate them when the some of them affaulted the Gampe with great fury and the rest charged iols which garbered Come Burthe districty of lacacion fand the famous for the blay as is had done many times before; they have cultione to purelibe mideach which abandon the place which is appeared the chem during the fight room hick flye from the Campe you any of callon what secure By this meaner although the Corthaginian, were farre greater in onmber , yet the Roman Hiffed them vallandly who with great Jolk of their men made a greater flaughter of their Forms Finally chey, apponely repulled them from their Campe, but purple them, killing, para of them, and forcing the reft to rethe in a thrung into the Towne. Morgoner thanday was to dangerous to Both Armes as adallault the Remant Campo intontidentely, "nor the Romant luft fifther

men to gather Cornerally and But for that the Care Against Made no more fallies, but did onely fight a farre off with talting of Dist and Stones, the Confuls desided their Army in two whereof the one

Was planted on the tide of Efculation Temple and the other on that fide which doth looks directly water her hallend And that

fered the a mansby the Newldideers

Libdir

which comined bearing the swo. Scatter of attree in the state of the was properly and the state of the grand of the standard o diffice thewing berialte no appre favorable to the onesterno the ories but what happened by their thooting and catting of Daris & Bit when Fitty thousand as hunger began to prefic, the Carthagineaus by realth of the great mulatude of Men which were coopt up within the Towne, (they were in fruth about fifty thouland Men) Hamibal who was Generall of the Army, having no more hope, fends speedily to Carthage, to acquaint them with the Rampire and Pallifado made about the Fowne; and to demaind fuccours. The Carthaginians, moved at this Newes, railed an Army with a great number of Elephants , and feat them by Sealinto Stelly to Hanne, who was another Captaine Generall for them: who B after he had drawne together his whole Army, marche to the Citty of Heracleum, and at the first fafter be bad considered what was to be done) he tooke the Towns of Artisle by Treason, the which vntill that day had beene a Score bouleto the Romans. By this mesines he deprined them of Vigitals and other things necessary for their Campe's officiefore the Remant were no leffe befieged, then they that were be-Gered. The Want of Vietuals slid often force them in Amanner to re-Holde to raife the Siege: the which wordenbeelly they would have done, if Wheren King of Saragelle had not vied great diligence to furnish the Army with Victuals and other necessaries. But when that Hanne (after all these things) saw that the Romans C were much oppical with dileases, and want of all things (without doubt the plague was great in their (Campe) and that his Mes were fresh, and and dans fefente to light, he drew together abone fifty Elephones . And Whenes all the bands of Souldiers were affembled, he drawes his Army out of Heracleum, and causeth the Namidian Horse men to march before, "gaing them charge to skinnish, and to does li their indeanours to draw the Romane Horie-men to fight, wpon whole charge they should turne liead, and not cease to slye vntill they were returned vnto him. The Numidians failed not to execute the Command of their Cap. taine, nor to skirmish with one of the Camps to draw them to fight. Prefently the Romane Horse-men charge them, and purine them indifcreetly : But the Namidians observing the Commandment five backe

A skirmish' of fered the Romane by the Numidians.

> rest vnto their Campe. After these things the Canthaginians marched, and planted themselues vpon Mount Tore, which was not tenne Furlongs from the E. nemics Campe. Continuing in this manner for the space of two

> to Hame, and re-charging the Enemy againe; flew many, chafing the

Roblems they are induced not may findly burst market day with the Arrows and Daris. In the meant time Hamble and that the Arrows could endure hunger no longer, and that have of his men were retired to the Energy to want of Venials. Finally Hambamoued by these leading the his beautiful Wherein the Conful vied no lefte dishipented regarder their needs wherein the Conful vied no lefte dishipented regarder their needs wherein the Conful vied no lefte dishipented regarder their needs wherein they came to combain whereas they this the carthage that they came to combain whereas they thousand that they came to combain whereas they thousand and that the Romans brake the Yanguard, and forced them to fly among the Eighbants, who being terrifical, opened the rankes of the Carthagenians. The Capitalies of Hundreds following the Route of the Eighants. mians. The Captanes of Hundreds following the Route of the Ele-phants, forced the Enemies to turne head. By this meanes the Carebaginians having loff the Battell, and part of them flaine, the reft retired to Heracleum: and the Romans after the taking of most of the Elephants, The Carthagi. and affthe baggage of the Carthaginians, retired to their Campe. But manslofe the for that they were negligent to keepe a good Guard the night following, atwell for the great loy which men viuilly have for their good fortune as for the toyle of the Battell past : Hanikall being trustrate of all B hope, thought this a fit and convenient time to fave, himselfe and his The Retrease Army, for the reason about mentioned. Wherefore he drew all his of Haviball trom Agragas. Forces out of Agragas, and passed thorough the Enemies Trenches, filling them with frraw : By this meanes he eleaped without any loffe, and without their privity.

At the breake of day, when as the Remans were advertifed of this Retreat, they followed the Enemy a little; but returning foone to take the Towne, they gaucan affault white the Gates, where they found no tefiftance. The whole Army chired and spoyled : It was a rich Towne. where as the Souldiers tooke many Slaues, and got great Wealth. Agraga spoiled C When as the newes came to Rome of the taking of Agragas, after the by the Romans. defeate of the Carthaginians, the Romans lifted up their Heads, and beganne to conceine greater Designes. They did no longer insist vp. on the reasons for the which they were first mooned; neyther were they Tarisfied, for that they had preferred the Mamerins and Melling or to have much weakned the Carthaginians in Sidily : But hoping for great ter Matters, they defired to chafe them away wholly, which done they had a great Hope and opinion to inlarge their Empire much. They were therefore very attentive to this bulineffe, and had no thoughts but of Sicily : knowing well that they were vindoubtedly the stronger at D land.

After the taking then of Agragas, Lucius Valerius, and Titus Offacilius being cholen Confulls they were fent into sicily with a great Army. Thus the Warre was in a manner equall, for that the Caribaginians were Mailters of the Sea without contradiction; whereof this is the reason, for after the taking of Agraga, most of the Townes which were in the heart of Sicily, yeelded to the Romans, fearing their Army at Land . But when as the Carthaginians Army by Sea was artiued, many more Sea-townes yeelded for feare to their Obedience.

Lib. I.

Sixe fcore veffels for the Sea made freedily by the Re-

inuent**ien** to

invre their men to the

Oare.

Warre note to the control of the control of the control of the ber inning. What came the people of the property of the people of the people of the property of the control of the people of the property of the control of the people of the peo did Wrapolicans.

altogether, and did draw their Oares in the Sand, finally they beganne and ended aftogether according to the Patrons whiftle. By this meaner having learned the Arte to Rowe, and their thins finithed, they put to Sea, and within few thires after made. A Tivall. And when as the Comful Covactions lately appeared Communitor of the Sca Army, had guard thinge to the Sca Captables, to draw vato the Port afforms with earliest Vellers though the really he went directly to Mellius with featherneene flips, and left the rest upon the trates shore, whereas have

uing made provision of things necessary for the equipage of his ships, he failes upon necessity directly to Lipparo fooner then was needfull. At that time Haniball Commander of the Carthaginians, kept his Sea Army at Palermo, who being advertised of the Confuls comming. fent one Boodes a Senator of Carthage, with twenty ships to draw into that Quarter: Who arriving by night, found the Roman ships, and befieged them in the Port, to as at the breake of day, the multitude got to Land. But Gneius Cornelius thus vnfortunately surprised, could finde no o- Certaine of the

A ther meanes but to yelld himselfe vnto the Enemy. The Carthaginians Roman thips after this prise returned to Haniball; soone after this apparent and new with their come descate of Cornelius, Haniball (to whom Fortune was at that time gra-priled by a Carcious) received as great a losse. He had intelligence that the Romanes thaginia Con-Army at Sea, which coafted about Italy, was not farre from Sicily. full. Wherefore defiring wonderfully to see their number, and their order, and the manner of the trimming of their ships, he takes fifty Vessells and failes into Italy. But for that he had a contrary VVind, the which was favourable to the Romanes by the reason of the Coast of Italy, he fell vnaduisedly into their Army, which was in order and in Battell, A deteate or Hamibals thips, p where he was fuddainly charged, foas he loft in a manner all his ships, for want of a and faued himselfe with very few contrary to his Hope, and the opini. good Wind.

on of all the VVorld. The Romanes after this defeate, approached neerer vnto Sicily, and being aduertised by the Prisoners of the Consuls over-throw, they sent speedily to Caius Duellius Consull, having at that time the charge of the Army by Land: Where having attended some space, and receiued newes that the Enemies Army at Sea was not farre of, they all prepared to battell. They planted vpon enery one of their ships, (for that they were ill built and heavy.) a kind of Engine. Which wasafeer ward called a Rauen; behold the fashion of this Engine. They did An Enginein-C fee a Pillar or Mast of foure fathome long, and nine inches thicke vp. Romanscalled pon the Prowe, the which had also a pulley on the top, and one the a Rauen. fide was made an affent of boards all along, the which was foure foot broade and foure fathome long, the pallage was turning about the bil far, in the two first fathomes of the affent: About the which were barres of eyther fide to the height of a mans knee, and they had fer at the end of it an Iron like vato a pestell anwhich went up streight the which had on the top of ita King, so as altogether seemed as an Engine wherewith they pound things. To this Ring was fallened a cold it by meanes whereof at the encounter of the thips, they daftned the Reuens by the pulley, and let them fall ypon their Enemies ships. Some-D times at the Prowe, fometimes on the fide in turning, when as where could not affaile them by the flanke, and after that the Rauens were fairned within the bands of the thips and that the Veilels were grap. led and fast, if they found themselves upon the fide they entred it of all sides: And if it were by the Prome, they matche by the bridge two and two to the Combate, whetcof the first coursed their bottles with their Targets, and they which followed defended the fanked

A battel at Sea Carthaginians

16

Macelle taken by affault.

Amilear.

and held their Targets even with the bars. When as this Equipage at Sea was ready, they attended a connenient time for the battell. When as Cains Duelins had beene fuddainly advertised, of the mif-fortune of the Commaunder at Sea, he left that at Land to the Tribunes of the men of Warre, and makes hast to that at Sea. And being aduertifed that the Carthaginians spoyl'd the Country of Myles, hee drew thither with his whole Army : But when the Enemy was certayne of his comming, they were in great hope, thinking the Romanes vnderflood not any thing in Sca-fights. Wherefore they drew out to Sea, with an Equipage of fixe score and ten Vessels, thinking this War not A worthy of any order of battell, as if they had gone to a certaine booty. Whereof this Hanibal who (as wee fayd) retyred his Army by night, and past ouer the Enemies Trenches,) was Commaunder. He had a Vessell of seauen bankes which did sometimes belong to Pyrrhus King of the Evirotes.

When as the two Armies beganne to approach, and that their Engines called Rauens were discouered, the Carthaginians were a time in suspence for the nouelty. Finally whatsoeuer it were, without any further reckoning they charge with greatfury. The ships doyn'd and grapled, so as the Romane souldiers by meanes of their Engines called B Raucus, entred their enemies ships, where there was a great slaughter made of the Carthaginians. The rest being amazed at this kind of Engines, yeilded : you would have fayd it had beene a battell at Land, where the danger is not leffe. The thirty Veffells of the Carthaginians, which gaue the first Charge were taken, among the which was that of the Captayne, which we have fayd had belonged vnto King Pyrrhus. Haniball whose Fortune was otherwise then he expected, saued himselfe in a little Skiffe: The rest of the Carthaginian Army came with great fury agaynst their Enemies, as the former had done; but when they were advertised that their first ships had beene taken by the C. meanes of the Engines, they did not charge in Front, thinking to auoy de them, but came vpon their flanke, trusting to the lightnesse of their Vessels, thinking by this meanes to anoyde the violence of their Engines; but they were made in fuch fort as of what fide focuer the E. nemy approached, they could eafily grapple with them. Wherefore the Carthaginians amazed with the strangenesse of these Engines, in the end fled, after the loffe of fifty of their ships.

The Remans being now become mafters of the Sea. contrary vnto their Hope, sayl'd about the Sea towards Segestane, and rayled the fiege which lay before the Towne. Then parting from thence, they D tooke the Towne of Macelle by affault. After this battell at Sea, when as Amilear (being then Captayne Generall in Sicily of the Army by Land) was aduertifed, remayning at Panarme, that there was a great quarrell betwirt the Romanes and their -Allies, touching the prowesse and glory of the Combate, and that the Allies after they foure thousand had beene beaten, were retired apart betwirt Prope and Termine, hee men, alliedte manche with all speed to the Affice Campe, and flew foure thousand by surprize. Haniball after all thele Fortunes, retyred to Carthage,

with those few this which he had remaining at the battell. few daves after he was disparcht to goe with an Arthy into sardiers, with fomeexcellent Sea Captaines, bur he was Loone inclosed in a P by the Romans, and in a manner loft his whole Army : And as escaped the Phemy, he was fuddainly raken by the Carthaginions which had faued themselves, and was crucified. Moreouer the hemans imployed all their care to feize voon Sardinia, being now Ma- acd. fters of the Sea.

Libit.

Haniballeruci-

The yeare following there was not any thing done worthy of Memory in Sicily by the Roman Army, Cours Sulvicius, and Aulus Rutilius were afterwards made Confuls, and tent to Palerme, for that the Carthaginians forces wintred there. And after the Romans had pak, they put themselves in battell before the Towne : But the Garthagine-ans being within it, presented northemselves to battell. The which wipsase and the Romans seeing, they left Palermo, and went to Hippane, the Mysikustetaken which foone after they tooke by affault : The Towne of Will trass with many other Townes, was taken likewife by the Confuls, having held out formetime by realism of the feituation of the place. And as they had believed the City of the Camerins, which had lately abandoned the America. It was tawards Acta was carried by allault with many other Townes of the Carthaginians; Lippare was also belieged. The yeare following, the Scaarmy of the Romans lay in the Hatten of the Tindarction where the charge army of the Romans lay in the Haiten of the Tindaretins where the charge of Aulus Rutilius, who feeling the Carthagintan Army heere the floring Confull. The feel word who his thips to thake halfe to follow him. In the means that the put to Soa before the reft, only with ten Veffels. But when as the Carthagintan faw that foine did but inhamited. But when as the Carthagintan faw that foine did but inhamited the first were faire from their filet and peers vato them, they turned with incredible fwifthells, and compast their in the plant plant of the Carthagint with incredible fwifthells, and compast their in the plant plant plant of the Carthagint with all that we to within it. He harden got out the Carthagint finds with all that we to within it. He harden got of the first means think the reft of the Roman Army which has course the fifth their means that the reft of the Roman Army which has course the fifth of t an Opinion to have gotten the Victory! Wherefore this war made cases to continue the War by Sea, and were more attention to Marrine allithes. The State of Land divining this time, they did not think with all it is a subject to the state of the continue of the subject to the state of the subject to the subject of the sub

Labert.

from thence went to Heracleum, and loto Minge. Menteron was to pulse unit Carthaguairen, and there to make their chiefe Wat, to the crid the Carthaguairen, thould not onely sun the bazard of the War of Jieff, but also haue it at their owner Houles. On the other fide the Carthaguairens coolidering how early, their deferns would be into Loria, and what lines be mee Lydes, and what little defence the Country-men would make when they hould be once entred, they defined to high prefently with the Roman, and by that meanes to binder the descent into Affricat. Wherefore the one being refaked to defend themselves, and theother to affaile them, confidering the oblimacy of either party, there was like. A ly-boad of an and other datiell. When as the Raman had given or der for all things necessary for the equipage of their Sea-appy, and to make their descent into affaired, they made choice of the ablest men in all their Army at Land, and imbark a them, and then desired their Army into finite, whereof either had involved to Name. The first was called the field Rac-islan as the first Army. talion, and the first Army : So were the rest according to their order, but the fourth and the third were called Triary, as in an Army at Land. Al

mans and more çarebagi**yle**ns.

thion, and the first Army. So were the rest according to their order, but the fourth and the third were called Triary, as in an dismy at Land. All this Army is Sea amounted to about 14,0000, men. Enery Vessell hild three hindided Rowers, and fare fore Lagining.

In regard of the cross-aggresses, they were furnished onely with men B accustomical with Sea fight, peing in manber about 15,0000 men, according to the order of their Vessels, Valeration they that were preferred and first the great danger and powers in the two they that were preferred and first the great danger and powers in the two they that were preferred and first the great danger and powers in the great danger of company that were distributed to company that they also who heard before of it. The Lagranas considering that very distributed to company that they are the two they they also who heard before of it. The Lagranas considering that very distributed to many the great and their factor makes they be called the company of the great that they are the day of the great and great an

did moderally, and ampered to fight ambiguing of contests of constant conding to the disposition of their Captaines & Willows interfered by the Roman Army devided their slice while the rest whereof three while ping the Sea making the Right wing longers tayed as if they would in viron their Enemies, againfi whom they turns their trakes he will de hand they make the Foresto, looke towards the Lands by a circuite at the Left wing of the whole Army . Haussand amount work Commander SF be Carebaggious, Hanne who was defendent but bitte leaf and will had the leading of the Right wing with the lighted Vellet and who will of the Left. This is he who so we have superious bran ber icere vato Tanger, who hazarding then the midden of his Afray wie de this kind of Stratagem of War for the Combate i grant out the said ad The Remans leging at the first charge, that the Battalan of the Ext therewant was weake, fore'd resolutely thorough them Butthe Care thagingans obleruing the Commauntimede of Amilian defe the blice prefently making they to flye, to the end the Roman Array thould fe B parate it falle whom the Remans followed with toog test heate And therefore the fiell and second Barralion fayl dwith too great Colline aires the Enemy but the third and fourth were flayed drawing after them the thing that were laden with Horics with whether when ignained for their Guard. When as the two first seemed to be fiftee from the others with Carebaginians atter a figure gillenedicin by Janiel Sea betwice car, as he had instructed them; turning the Prow saddanty; they all allault the Roman Veffels which followed them of But and and will the The Combactwee cruell, Isiamood the Garthaginging had a girat advantage by their lightnesse; and their politicy in turning "But when as they came to light, and that the Armies affronted one mother with Romans had no leffe hope then the Carrier mians, John Forthe Prowelle of their men, and by the flaving of their Ships, and ching of their Bugines, and finally by the Combute of the two Combute. design and the lizzed they were in their fight to our bons gaining the This was the offere of the Battell) : Prefently after Williams we have layd had the change of the Right Wing, and ald hot before the first charge was given, feeing the Battell heigh with the formant, went to See and charged the Triary, where there was a great fight, the maich was long in allpende! In the maine that Tourth Battalion of the Carebiginiani Which continued in thore unning the Prow yponithe Eherby , affanked the Bate His the D front, by the which the thips which carried the Horles were round Who fuddainly Hipt the Ropes and fought with great fliry 1011 V 1921 There they flaw three maits of the Barielly and three Conf. base at Sea at one inftant, in three divers places, and fave semere." The Combate was requall, for that the Ships of extract fide were of the like sumber Without double enery man uperformed thou nester with Duty in fighting , to as allimas indificient and waten). If in in the same of

quifhed,

and Carthagi-

Amileas

Libdi.

Amilear Yans quished.

Marian Mariefalland, and decad to Apirolability Squadron: Legiss Master parced away the thips that were taken. In rife incide a state of the the third Battellian predicte the thousand the triving of the Confidence of the Conf those that were in danger a For shey werein a matther befreed, and almost acte language, and had been defeated, if the Curthaginant had not found to some with those by rentimed their Bingines or Minicist Meither did they proffe spon them, but one fired affile them to the Finally, the Careboginians were fundamble compaff in by the R onfuls, whereof fifty of their drips were caken with the men! South cing driven voto the thore w faued themselves w Behold the threele nerall Company which the Researend Earthaginian test in one day: Yet the Remans in the end bad the Wishory of the whole Battell - In the Which 34 of their thips were broken and above thirty of the Carebigini. ings. There was not one Alman Vallell talan whole by the Cart beginners with the men. But the Manage was been found from and four of the leave the sinians with all the mentil Soomeffer this basell the Remails perand with an intention tayle directly into Lybia, after they had made pro-union of Victoria. and all achier municion, ioyning to their Army the C uifion of Victures, and all atherministion, joyning to their Army the Chips tolon, being well regained.

30 Allow the plantin of professional and the Cape of Acesses, inc.

30 Allow the pathon of professional and the Cape of Acesses, inc.

30 Allow the Army for a traditional and provided all a Then pathon

40 Allow the Pathology and the Cape of Acesses and their other their distribution with Display and Pathilifed and a few allowing as defined in the Receive the Cape of the Which held it would not people to the analysis of the true that the Cape of the Which held it would not people to the display from the Receive the Analysis of the Cape of the Acesses of t the fiege of Africther built duten, undragarding no mure the landing of the Reman. but having no openiorellicoforcigne affaires as to their owner Countries, they entitled nothing of that which was needled Affir taken by 189 for also, Guard of the Chey and Province of the the means the remain the Confuls after they had sales coffee by affault, and

put a de stripe into it and in the Country and Bud tent wind sent wind sent wind sent wind and in the Country and Bud tent wind sent wind the In the meane time they received hewes from Home. By the which the Schalte feneralem word, that ope of the Counts thould Telescope. A in Affrete with fufficient forets, and that the other hollid Returns with the superficient for the state being knowing of the with the superficient affrete with forty things precede thousand foore; and five hundred Horfe; and Marche Manie Redayle with the reft of the ships and Army, staning the Priloners will him; and arrived first in Sicily, and then at Rome without any mischarce. the Carthaginians fore-feeing that the Romans War would be long they first made two Generall Captaynetin their Army , which were Afdra - Aftraball, 20. ball the forme of Hanno, and Boffar : Moreouer they fent for Amiliar, car Comman who was in Heracleum, who Embarking profently with fine thomand eers of the B foore, and five hundred Horfe, came to Carthage, and was conflitte Carthaginians tod the third Gaptayne of the Army, taking the Conduct of the Way with Aldrubalt and Boffar. When as thefe Captaynes had held a Councell' concerning the Affayres of the War, they were of opinion that was necessary to relieue the Prounice, and not to itidure fo great a pillage and spoyle of the Country. Atakin Arthur forme few dayes before that ching in. to the Country , rozed the wester Carles, and sentent the fire fer flege, he plants himselfe before it, and indeatouts to force it. Carpbagenians adherrifed hereof made half to faccour it! dell'ina Raife the fiege. And therefore they march with all their jewer at an abe with all their processing a little Hill to the president of their their sections. and very commodities for themselves : Whereon planting the Care they hoped for an absolute Victory, by the meaner of the period and the land of the period of the pe doe, whe which vadoubledly skey effected of Boy which the some had confidered the little vie of Eksphanes, for they were los whome new and Hilly Country, in the which the Enemies had need to

जिस्स अर्था हिन्दू विवास हुन्य कि लाजकार के अर्थ प्रकार के अर्थ में किस में किस में किस किस किस किस किस किस कि 10 By this meaner their Canallety and their Blephanes were like mente vaprofitable : Their aductionerore onely did their duries in the partie on the top and had altendy forced the wiman Legharies to gille bothe a wille, when as fuddanly the reft which had gayned the top of the Mountayas thorned them letter in The Garding in the Getting them letter middle of

D chiefe hope, as of great effect the cerrible, they adule the effect their Delocit into the playner Wherefore what the opportunity with the opportunity with the breake of lay in the breaker of lay in the bre

The Cape of

A Victory of

the Romans a-

game the Car-

theginians.

3 XiV

all fides abandoned that fore, and hed into the defents of the Mouncause. The Hephran and Forest account of the Layue, and faned themselves without dearer. The Layue and Forest account of the Layue, and faned the chemical and the layue and the Layue and the forest and the layue and

nicht unto them to manage the Wans, being a tionier to Gerbage and to the minole Promise. The Gerbage was baupage a little before been deligned at sea, and now by and, my, by the powerdize of their A souldiers, but by the balendle of the Gommanders they fellings a minor being and deligerate all any. For after their last defence and higherly the fomen, a great Troupe of Mamidians, gaping after poyle, fell upon them, doing them in a manner as great harme as the Romant. It is a randering and vagabone Nation and great theenes, carrying away all they finde.

Tent by the Car-

thagmians to

Marcus Atti-

The Carthaginians terrified by the Numidians abandoned the Country, and retired to Gasthage, where they suffered much, aswell by famine, as for their owne cowardize, and moreover the multitude bring great they feared a long fiege; And although that Mureus Attil. B line was perfusaded that the Carthaginians were wonderfully weakned, as well by Land as Sea, being in hope that the City would be in short cime delivered vneo him : yet fearing that the new Confull, whom they expected loone in Africke, would respe the honour of his proweffe and valour, he began to treate of a peace with them, whereunto they willingly game sare. Wherefore they leat the chiefe of their City in Embaffie to the Couldly to make this treaty. But when as they were armed they were to farte from agreeing, as they could hardly without Choller heare the vareaforable things that were enjoyn'd them. Make your account that Margar, deciliated those that his offer would bee C accepted as thing of grace, for that he had prenayled in all his affaires:

The Gert has thing of grace, for that he had prenayled in all his affaires:

The Gert has them on the other lide, thought that when as forme found and make them a special and were more only a whole could not make them a special history and were more officed, the could have any agree to the densiting would have the County and any agree.

The which begins he would have be considered, as to hard and proud. The which begins he would have be considered. Mond. The which being heard by the South of the Gentheginians, they the credinto to great an indignation upon the Confuls demaind, and refumed the la courage, that although formerly they were out of hope, were the courage of the parties of the courage of the property of the courage of th voworshy of their valous. Inhappened at the fametime that fome one of those which had beene fent into Greece, in the beginning of the water to Louis Men seturned and brought with them a good number of Souldiers smoon the which there was one Lautippu, a Lacelemonian, a man childen and practiced in the Wanter, who after that hee had heard a relating of the defeat of the Care barraine, and the manner, the place, and that what time it happens de having also copsidered the equipage of

Xantippus 2

the Carthaginians, with the number of their Hotle and Elephants, he remined luddainly to his Companions, faying, that the ignorance of the Captaines, not the Romans, had defeated the Carthaginians. This speech ran presently theroughout the whole Citty, and came vitto the Princes.

Lib. I.

The Carthaginians caused him to be called, and resolved to vie his Councell, who in their presence delivered plainly the Reasons of his speech, and the cause of their Defeate, and if they would follow his Councell, and hereafter keepe the Plaines, leaving the hilly Coun-A try, and there plant their battell, her would teach them how their Army should be out of danger, and their Enemies Vanquished. The Captaines mooned with the words of Kantippus, prefently Refigned voto him the Conduct of all this Warre, and now there ranne a bruite throughout the whole Campe of Xantippui speech, with great Hope The Leading and lov. But after that all the Companies of the Army were drawns ginian Army, into the field, and that hee had put them in order, there was for great given to xona difference betwirt his and that of the other Captaines, who vinder ippu. food not the Art of Warre, that presently the common cry demans ded nothing but to fight, so much they were assured under the leading B of Xantippus.

This dope, the Carthaginian Captaines seeing the courage of their Men, exhorted them a little according to the opportunity of the pine. and within few dayes after they marched to find out the Enemy. There Were in the Carthaginians Army about twelve thousand foote, foure enouland Horfe, and neere a hundred Elephants. When as Marche attilian heard of the comming of the Enemy, and that the Carthage wians kept their Horles you an cuen Country or comping contraty vite their cultome on the plaines. Les wondredassat a new accidem . Yet the marchit directly to them desiring bastell, and longer within swelps hundred paces of their Campe. Three dayes after the Carbaginian Capealins held a Councell whan was to be done: But the multitude defring the combate, turned towards Zantippie, calling him by his name, with a countenance femalog to be willing and raidy to vadergo all inhiers, and intreased him to lead them speedly with the batter.

When as the Carriage of the carriage for their Men this whole: "The definion to fight, and that Kentipper layed the time was fitting and con-schient, they fulfied them to prepare to battell, and gain him leave to do all at his pleature. Who after he had taken charge of the chines, het of ders the battell, before the whole strong like lefting The order of Elephants one after another, which hee cantible Legion of the beneal by the initials to march, with forme diffance, and plantiff he living the land property of the living the living the living the land of the living the land of the land of the land of the living the land of the land D vpon the Wings. Then he photosthe the headth denoted the foote! to south a most head with the life head the Wings of the Hofe man head to south and the Wings of the Hofe man head to do the the life with the Converte man beatell be they do not to do the life; yet teating the Violating of the Head head the life; yet teating the Violating of the Head head with the life of the photostage also head with the world the life of the photostage also head with the world the life of the photostage also head with the life of the life of the photostage also head with the life of the life

fights, and diddig their Horfe sich knonthe White IV Their Evidentier in the left than farmerly but more closes for lease what the state

Lib, ra

lephants should open them : But as the Remains had Cer a good order against the Blephants, so therihad neglected to keeperfremelies from inclosing. For as the Carebaginians half a greater nutilitier of Hote, lo the close Ordonance, game them an endie meanes to breake and seperate

Barrell given by the Romans to the Caribaginians.

The two Armies being in battell, either attending who should first Charge, suddainly Zantippus canfeth the Blephams to beginne the Charge, and breake the Enumier rankes; and that the Horse inch of both Wings thould withall charge furiously. The Remanes caule their Trumpets to lound after the manner of the Country, and charge where A the Enemies forces were greated. It is true that the Roman Horle-men terrified with the multime of their Enemies, abandoned the two Wings: And the Foote-men of the left Wing waning from the Fury of the Elephants, and making no receive of the forreigne Souldiers, charged the right Wing of the Carthaginians with great fury, and put icto flight, purlising them vaco their Fort. On the other fide, they which indured the charge of the Elephants, were broken and trodden under their facin by heapes. It is true that the whole Ordnance contimucd for a time in battell, for that their supplies being in the Reare were very close. But after that the Romane Legions, fet in the Keare- B ward, and compassed in of all fides by the Carthaginian Horse-mon, were forced to make relificance there, and that they (who as wer have layd) were appointed to make head against the Elephants, were by them repulled into the thinkele of the carmies Battalion, where they were deleated and flaine, then the Rowans beeing affaulted on all sides. fome were beaten downe and daine by the modlerable fury of the Ele-phants, and others by the black ment, in the fame blace where they had their first posture given them. There are from feeing no more hope, fought their fafety by flight, of which (confidering that the Country was very plainer formewere defeated by the Elephants, and

us taken with

Country was very planns domewere deceased by the Liephanes, and the reft by the Monte same And formerlying with Marches Attention where taken to the number of time hundred. We're bounded Adventurers from The Confingations ledichated by Buffing hundred Adventurers from Military whom the left Wing of the Montelly had defeated. But of all the Marches Apply there educated hundred Williams with their Entires, who as we have and pursued a touse of columns into their Fort. All the reft were cut in pieces, except March Military and They Men which had with him, in proceed of their Entires and They were cut in pieces. the with him sin regard of these Buffguer which beyond all hope of caped, shey some intenders. This ly the Cartestinions after the leaders of the Deed cuired on Cartesty with the Confull and other D. Priopris, making great invand tryings.

2300 d 424

A remontrance for the conductor Mani Stick Manie Washing Street for a falle graduable ple to all the World, i what being the Volty and indicaction, so pur his Hope in Feature, waite discount of good increte and enterprises beyond the subsent according to our write. Who of the after to many trying plant Victories, taid one any Compation deline Garchaginians, being reduced so excrembly, refuling to grant their peace, which they craved with lo much humility, hath beens prefently after reduced to that challening, as to make the like requests down to the like requests down to the like the like

the good Councell of one man alone doth walkquill a great frimy, harb been this day yestined by that, which hash harbyened. In ruth one man alone, and the Councell of one man; harbyened. Townerly invincible, sailing and reftoring a Townerly invincible, sailing and reftoring a Townerly invincible, sailing and reftoring a Townerly invincible. the hearts of fo many defolate men. Beleeue moe, I have thought good so relate thele actions for the bonefit and inflruction of the Readers of thele Commentaries. they were not fair an

For as there are two meanes cally to correct and amend our erroules, whereof the one is his owne Misfortune, and the other the example of another mans Mileries; there is no doubt but the first hach greater efficacy, but it is not without the tolleand premide of him to whom it happens : And although the fecond be not of fo great force, yet it is the better, for that they are out of danger, and therefore no man imbraceth the first meanes willingly i for that they cannot helpe it withour their owne trouble and loffe. As for the [cond cuery man followes it willingly ; For wee may fee by him (without any hazard B or lolle) what wee ought to follow for the best.

Wherefore if wee confider it well, we findl finde that experience (by the remembrance of another mans faults) feemes to be a very good docrine of a true life : Without doubt it is that alone which makes the good Judges of reason without any loss; But wee have discourfed wifficiently of this Subject,

The Carthaginians having caded their affaires happily, and to their content, they reloyeed in many force, both is giving thankes vato God and facilities after their manner, or in ving amongst themselves munical beneuisence and courtefic.

Shorte after that Xantippus had sailed the hearts of the Cartbag intante unner mon his bee deturned into his Countrey as a man well aduited. For the Prow. Country. effe and Valour of men, and their Vertues, are many times the cause of greatening and detraction: Against the which Circizens that are well affice, and have many Friends, make cafe; relistance : But strangers which thate nor that support and are easily remed and defeated. These lay lice went away for fome other reason, which wee will deliver when it shall be fitting.

After that beyond all hope the Remans had received Newcoof the defeate of their Army in Affricke, and the taking of the Good spines D full And that the remainder of their men was believed in the property of the contract of their men was believed in the property of the contract of confulring prefently of the fafety of those which were remaining Affrecke, they appointed an Army to bee railed to goe thither with allipeede.

In the meane time the Cartbaginians befreged Alpis, strining to forceit, with hope soone to have this remainder of the Battell : But the Vertue and Courage of the Romans which defended was to great, as all the Enemies attempts could not preudife. Wherefore being out of hope to enter it, they rail'd the Siege. South after

reformed

Lib. I.

ber of the Remane thips perified by a Tempest.

Newco came that the Ryman pictured fricke: For the which the gravitation of the feed all dilligence to appelentation des volumes and the feet of the and the money into the parties of the control of th when a sinc Confule hacharthy in two with the diffigured from the confuse, they were not farre from the track, they were not farre from the track, they were not farre from the track of the confuse of t but they presently discovered the contagnation of the present of t ther they had dayed force time in Affrete, they returned projections Winds and head and micro that is not possible to deliner the greatmest of the torment and milesy that bereit them. Hardly sould they prefere foure score Vellale whole B of foure hundred three forme and foure which were in their Army. All the rest (cithes finke in the fien, or full sprint the Rocks) fill dall the fhore with watches, or deed Budient It is not in the memory of man of any facts flipper a try a fine This milerable misfortune happened not estably and by chance, has by the cuerweeping of the Coulds, custodering that the Marriages had feether videothand, thereby madiagnature Casally above the representation of the Coulds, custodering that the Marriages had feether videothand, thereby madiagnature Casally above the representation of the appear basis to indicate the Coulds of Coulds and the Dec. August Wheelbears is true the Coulds didagnage the Casally Videothan Marriages, made the Coulds didagnage the Casally Videothan to Investor the Casally cher lare Victory to impoire from Towner a leng that hord a sphere as they fell into extreme estaminy advicting the flood of a spore began their first key in the polynomials of the province began their first key their polynomials which there is the pathing.

Therefore the province the state of the pathing the state of the pathing the polynomials of the pathing the and thinks what describer spidnic; most be put in execution, holding northing impossible when they have once vodertaken it, and that this obilitized doth many times are no good. Wet formetimes they fall in. D. to great and apparent erroms aspecially the Sea matters. It is one that in Barrels at Land fighting, with men, it is not lot trange if they wanquith . For the Combate is equall, although they bee fornessines vanquished : But as for the Sea for that they first themselves into flazard, and without confideration, shey full many times into great inconucniences. This happened at this time, and hash done formerly, and will be fall them many times hereafter dyntill they have supprest and

reformed this over-weening, thinking they are able to goe to Sea at all feafons. The Carthaginians being advertised of the shipwracke of the Romane Army, they had the greater defire to raife an Army Both by Land and Sea: For that their force, feemed as great at Land, as that of the Romans, by reason of the deseate of Marcus Artidius ? The like they conceived of the Sea, after the great loffe the Romans had inchired. Wherefore they presently sent Astronomics Sicily with the old Bands. and a new leuis of the Men of Heracleum, with an Dumbred and fifty Elephants. They wrigd out a Fleete of two hundred Veffels; and other into Sicily by Equipages necessary for Navigation. When as Adraball landed at the Caribagini-Lylibeum with his whole Army, he wayned his Men, and exercised am his Elephants, making roads into those Countries which were affect vnto the Romans. Finally, he was very watchfull and dilliger And although the Romans loffe had much abated their courage, yet they'v. fed all possible diligence to raylea. Fleete of two hundred and twenty Veffels with a Pallilado: the which they effected within three Workerns. and put it to Sea, the which is difficult to believe to the end the World (hould not thinke they would firike fayle voto the Garthaginians. Lucius Aquilius, and Caino Cornelius Confuls, were appoin-B ted to leade this Army, to fight with the Carehaginians in Stelly, who passing the Sea presently, arrived at Mestina, where they received the Remainder of the ships, which had beene preserved in the storme. By this meanes their Army confifted of three hundred Veffels.

The History of POLYBIVS.

From thence they tooke their Course to Palerto, the chiefe Towne of the Carthaginians, the which they affailed vigouroully, creding Palerno befier two forts of Engines, and other preparations to that effect, fo as they ged by the Ro eafily ouerthrew a Tower feated upon the Sea, by the which the Soul- ken by affault. diers entring by force . tooke that part of the Towne which was called Naples. After this the Burgeffes dying for feare; yeelded vitto the

Confuls the other part which they called the old Towns. After the taking of Palermo, the Confuls put in a good Garrison, and then returned to Rome. The years following, Gneus Sempronius, and Cains Servilius were Confuls, who in like manner past into Sicily with an Army, to goe from thence into Affricke : where being arrived, they dispersed their Men into divers places, and committed great spoiles, yet they did not any thing worthy of Meino-Finally, they arrived at the Island of Europhages, which they call Mirmyx, which is necre votos little Shelfe or Barre of Burbary, where not knowing the passages, shey were in a great streight, and D were stayed by reason of the ebbing of the Sea. They were for a time in suspence what to doe. Finally, the Flood comming suddainly upon them, they were almost driven to dispaire . Yet they could not faue themselves varill they had lightned their ships, and cast out

their baggage to laue themselves at vel sale and on vi-After that Day the Romans were for amazed with formany dangers, as they failed continually as if they had fled. Soone after they returned into Sicily, and leaving Lilyhoum, they tooke Port at Palermo. But loone after that they were gone from thence to faile into Italy, there

Lib. 1.

One hundred and afty of the Roman Veffels left.

role lo great a ftorme as aboue a hundred and fifty of their ships were driven up and downe, and in the end perished. "And although the Remanagafter fo many losses, were of advice to preferre the honor and Maiche of the Empire before all other things, yet they were so broken with fo great mileries, as they refolued to abandon the Sea. And therefore they only levied an Army by Land, wherein they thought they should be more confident and of better hope, the which they fent into Sicily with the two Confuls, Energy Cecilius and Cains Carine : To whom they delinered only three score Vessells for their Victualis. By this meanes the Carthaginians became againe Maisters of the Sea with A out contradiction. feeing the Romans had no more any Fleete at Sea. Moreover they had great confidence in their Army at Land, and not without cause. For after that the report of the battell given in Affricke, came to Rome, and that they understood that the defeate of their men hapned by the force and fury of the Elephants, for that they had broken the Rankes and opened the battalions, and that they had made a wonderfull flaughter of them.

Their feare of the Elephants from that day, was so great, as for two yearss after they never durft charge the Carthaginians, although they made many incounters in Affricke, and in the Country of Selinus- B tia, nor Campe in she Plaines within fine or fixe furlongs of them keeping alwayes the Mountaynes and hilly Countries, to faue themselves from the Elephants; so as they only forced Therese and Lipara. Wherefore the Remanes knowing the feare their Army had, refolued against

to put a Fleete to Sea.

-MENS. by the Romans.

Cecilius to de-

feate the Ele-

phants.

Theruce and

Lip18a.

At that time the Romans people being affembled, they chose vato the Consulhip Carm Attilion; and Lucius Mailine: They also made A new Army at fifty new thips, and Rigg'd our the olde, the which they furnished with Souldiers proportionably. When as A far aball Generall of the Carthaginians, knowing well the feare of the Romans, had beene aduertifed by the Rugiciues, that one of the Confuls was returned vnto Rome with halfe the Army, and Cecilian remayned alone at Palermo with the other. he parts from Lylibens (when as Flaruest approached) with his Army to spoile, and falls whom the Territory of Palerme, planting his Campe upon the Mountaines. Cecilia having newes of their comming, and knowing that Afdraball defired nothing but a battell, kept his Army within the Towned and the work

By this mesnes Aldridal growing very confident, conceiving that Cecilius kept himleife close for feare, he causeth his Army to March to Palerme, having ruined and burnt all the Champion Countries. The D Confull was alwaies of opinion not to go to field, vitill that his enemy was drawne to palle the River, which runnes neere voto the Towne Walls. But when he faw that the Octobe and the Elephants approach. ed, he caused a fally to be made by the nimblest and most active men of his Army, communding them to skirmish with the enemy, vitill their whole Campes should be forced to come to the combats. And afterwards confidering that matters had fucceeded as he defired he or .. daines the lightest and most active; to plant themselves beyond the

Fourne ditch gitting them charge to cast Pertuisars Daris, and Spits & farre dff arche Elephants: And if they came running woon them with matt girlore fury and violence stricy should slip into the Ditch, and from therice cafe their Dares at them. He also commaunded the Archers of the Matker place, to go out of the Towne, and to fight at the foote of the wall. Sathe meane time, he issued foorth with silt the Enfignes, by another fide of the Towne right against the enemies left Wing, and sent many to those which tought with Darts.

Prefently after the skirmish beganne, the Maister of the Elephanis, who with a defire of glory would have the honour of the Victory and inpenfed them against the enemies, not attending Afdrubals pleasure. The Romans observing the Consuls communidament, turned head prefently, and when as the Elephants pursued them with fury, they flipt inderthe Ditch ; the Elephants being uppon the fide of it; they were fuddainly charged with Darts and Pertuitans, aswell by the Townesmonwhich were upon the Walls, as from the Souldiers which lay in the Ditch. And when as they could passe no further they turned head, being necessarily forced to fall vpon their owne battallions with great flaughter. with

In the moane time Cecilius goes suddainly to field, having his whole Army entire and in good order, by another gate, and chargeth bis enemies furiously, who being already broken by the Elephants, and char- A defeat of the god againe by the Confuls Troupes, were easily defeated. A part of Carthaginians, them were flaine, the rest laued themselues by flight : There were ten Ekphants taken wich their Indian Maisters , the rest were taken after the battell, their Gouernours being cast downe. This Victory purchased great honour to a ceitins, as the Man who by the report of all the whole World, had been the cause that the Romanes after that time resuming sourage camped in the Plaines. When the Romanes had newes of this C Victory, it is not credible the loy which they conceived, not fo much for the raking of the Elephants, whereby the Carthaginians power was much decreased, as for that their mensemed to be growne more An Armie at hardwin the Warre, for that they had conquered them. Wherefore Sea prepared these Disepared an Army at Sea, as they had formerly refolued, and by the Romani. fate the Confessinto Sicily with two hundred Veffells, defiring to make ariend of that Warre: Whither they past having made provision of Victualls, and other things neeeffary. This was the foureteeneth yeare fince the beginning of the Warre.

The Confuls being arrived , and receiving the Bands of Souldiers that were there, they go and lay fiege to Lylibeum, hoping after the taking thereof, they might eafily transport the Warre into Affricke . Bur she Carthaginians mooued with the like considerations, resolued by all meanes to keepe it, knowing well that after the loffe of Eylibeum, they had nothing elfe remaining in Sicily. The Romans in truth held in a manner the whole Iland, except Trepanum. But to the end that what wee speake of sieily, may not seeme obscure to some one; by reason of the ignorance of places, we will deliner the Scienation in few words.

All

LAL

of Sicily.

30

All Sicily hath its Scituation in regard of Italy and the limits thereonofithe Hand of , like voto Meres in respect of Greece's and its haunds: . It in true. there is some difference, for that there is a little Sea, beautist this and Italy. Whereas Morea is joyaed wato Greed, by a little flip of Land. for they may goe on dry foote from Mores vnto Grees, and not from Secila into tealy without shipping. Sicily is of a Triangular forme; and pall promonto. Io many Angles as it hath to many Capes or Promontories there are vpon the Sea shore. Among the which; that whereon the Sicilian Sea dorh beare is called Pachinus, and lookes towards the South that which tends towards the North, where the Sea doth end; and is not a- A houe a mile and a halfe from Haly, is called Pelorus. The third which hath his Afpect towards Affricke, and towards the Winterly West; and which is right against Carthage; from the which vnto the Affricke shore, there is not about one hundred twenty and setten miles, is called Lylibeum. dividing the Sea of Sardinia and Sicily. There is a Towns on this Cape, which carries the fame name, the which the Romans belieged at that time; The which is strong with Walls and Ditches, and moreover with Marthes and Pooles, by the which lyes the passage for ships into the Port ; but the entry is difficult; and not accessible but by expert Marriners.

Con ecc The Romans then to befrege it throughly, made round about it Trenches, Rampiers, and Baltions, one neere vnto another. Finally, they

fet up their Engines of Warre; neyther did they omit any thing that Many Towers Was necessary to force a Towne, At their first beginning they battered a Tower, which was leated voon the Sea shore, looking towards of fricke, adding daily new bingines and planting them in order. Finally, they ouerthrew at the fame time fixe other Towers neere voto it by the shaking of great Beames, armed with iron at the end, like vnto's Rams-head. Wherefore as this fiege was troublefome and dangerous. and that some Towers were much indammaged, and others overthrown C by the Violence of the Engines, and the Towne continually battered. the besieged beganne to faint, and to grow scarefull and amazed. They were ten thouland Souldiers besides the inhabitants of the Town. Yet Imilean, who had the guard thereof, maintayned this fiege a. gainst the Romans by his Gouncell and great courage: Whereforuer the Romans made any breach in the Walls, he repayred it within ; and if the enemy did Mine, he presented them by countermines. By this meanes he still defeated their interprises. Sometimes hee also made fallies, hindring them much in all their attempts, and trying if hee could to fire their Engines of battery. Many times hee gaus Allasums, D both by day and night, fo as there was a greater flaughter and loffe of men by this kinde of incounters, then many times in their fer

A Conspiracy by merecuary uing under the Carthaginians,

Battells

Imilcon.

Alexen.

At that time some Commaunders of mescenary Souldiers, conspired to yelld the Townevnto the Romans; who being consident of the consent of their Companions slipt downe the Wall in the night, and goes vnto the Campe, discovering their charge vnto the Consult : At what time there was likewise a Grecian in Lylibenm called Alenon, who

and Stones.

Don't have the control of the control ted that if they arrempted to fight with them themoleous of the world likewise dime them took the living them them themoleous of them would likewise dime them took the living the living the living them them them there are the living them them them to the living them took the living them them the living them tooks within the living them them the living the living them tooks within the living thours to their Succours. Haniball with incredible courage, layles won-

Lib. 1.

LOGGE RISER.

serial in this and enters the law, the march of man papel, house, in mallined relief which it is not became, help the entership the control of the train that the march of the mar

At the breaks of day Imilian made his folics in many places, and with visit file lights. The something with doubted the cac miss defined, with his helpfolics. The something with doubted the cac miss defined, with his helpfolic is the same with many more and the same with the same w

July lien is the contact that chimical long. July less than the great the contact and the level of his increase and his contact and his increase and his contact and his contact and his contact and his part of his increase and his contact and his part of his increase and his part of his is Successed L'ambiet with more dible courage, layles wone

After these actions, Hanniball parting in the Night from Lylibe. was, voknowne to the Enemy, with all the shippes which hee had brought with him, hee fayled to Tripanum to Adberball, whio was Generall of the Carthaginians, for that they had alwayes a great care to keepe it. in regard of the opportunity of the place, and the beauty of the Port : It is but fifteene miles from Lylibenm. And although that in the meane time the Garthaginians were very defitous to heate newes of the affaires of Lylibeum, yet it was not possible, for that the Towns after Hanibale departure was kept fo fhort, as no man could Haniballa Rise. chier or come forth.

At that time a Rhodien nathed Haniball, an able Man, seeing the great delite of the Caribaginians, promifed them to enter into Lylicum, manger all the World, and to bring them certains news of their chato. But although the Garthaginians were glad to heare him, ver they held it impossible, for that the Romanes Army at Sea was in a manner within the Port. Yet the Rhodien affires them, and parts with his thip : And being arrived at an Island neere vnto Lylibeam, three dayes after having the Winde in Poope, hee fayled directly fourion of the thicher at soone day, and in the fight of the Enemy, (ftrining by all Rhodies. meanes to hinder him) hee entred, performing that which hee had vndertaken.

One of the Confus wondring much at the great courage of this man, drew by night to the entry of the Port ten of their best Saylers to surprize him in his returne; with the which hee himselfe kept watch vpon the departure of the Rhedien, and gaue charge to the whole Army to doe the like.

The shippes which were at the entry of the Port of either fide the Marifics, arceded with their Oares ready the returne of the Rhodi. on shippe, hinding that hee could not avoid it, but would bee inuested: But the Revolves relying cauch uppon his courage, and the lw iftee fie of his Veffell, paft thorough the Enemies ships being the prepared, not in the night, nor by flealth, but in the open day; and not contenting himselfe to bee thus escaped safe with his Men, seeing himselfe a little out of the preffe, hee turned the Prow of his Veffell, calling them to light, yet no man durft affaile him, in regard of the swiftnesse of his Veffell.

Finally, hee returned to Garbbage, having triumphed over the Enemies with one Veffell, and related all the newes wato the Senate. The which he hath performed fince many times, doing great feruice by this meanes to the Carthaginians, in advertifing them of what was necellary, and bringing hope and comfort to the belieged, with an amazement to the Romans of lo great boldheffe, wherein hee was animated, for that a little before the route that was made vnto him by dilligent experience : But suddainly when her was discourted, her turned his Prowe directly to the Tower which stands upon the Sea towards Italy , fo as they which looke to Lybia were in light to all Men : which was the onely meanes whereby Saylers might with a good wind recouer the Port. Many mooued with the vadaunted boldneffe of

this Rhodien, and knowing the places profumed to doe the like.

The Remans discontented with this great affi ont and fcorne wied all dilligence to fill up the entry of the Port , for the effecting where of they filled many Merchanes thips with land, and limke them. Then they cast great store of earth upon them, yet they left their labour and time, for the great depth swallowed all and the ebbing and flowing of the Sea dispersed whatforeer they cast in. Finally, there was some part, which by chance had made a Barre or Banke, where fuddainly a Carthaginian Quadrireme fent in the Night was flayed : After the taking whereor, being well armed and furnished in the Port, the Romans attended the comming of others : especially of the Rhodien A Veilch. By chance hee argued with the accustomed celerity: Best at his returne, the Quadrireme pursuing him; began to prefer him needs The Rhodien at the first fight wondred at the lightnesse of the Vestell: But having well viewed it, hee knew that the Cartharinian Quadria reme had beene taken by the Romans. Wherefore having no mote hope in flight, hee resolved to fight.

The Rhedien taken with his

34

But when they came to joyne, the nomine had the advantage, aswell by reason of the multirude of their shippes, as the bounty of their men. Wheretore the ship was easily taken with the Rhodien, B After which prize the Romans joyn'd it to the Quadrireme, and kept them continually armed and ready in the Port : By which meanes they tooke from them all casie entranceinto Lylibenie. In the meane time they battered the Towne violently, and the Walles were ouerthrowne in divers places with their Engines. But Imileon built a new Wall where as the old had been overthrowne, having no more hope in his Sallies, nor be able to fer five on the Engines. And as they had continued some time in this manner, there did suddainly tile so great a storme, as all the Engines and Instruments were staken by the vehemency of the Winde : fo as the upper ftory of fome Towers were over-

A Sally of the Carthaginians wpen the Roment Engines of Battery.

throwne to the ground.

Some Greetin Souldiers among the befreged, holding this very commodious for the burning of the Engines, discouer their Opinion to the Governour, who finds this conceit good, and after that bee had made provision of things neetflary heefuddainly makes a Sally. and casts fire in three places upon the Engines. The which when the Souldiers had done suddainly, the fire by reason of the violence of the Winde tooke early, and confirmed them speedily, for that they were dry, and had beene long burne in the Summe : Neither was it possible to prevent it by the hand of Man, for the violence of the Winde. In tructh they were so amazed at this new accident, as they had not indecment to fee and confider what they had to doe, fo as fitting to fuccour their Engines, some fell, being ouerthrowne with great Firebrands falling from about, or blinded with finoake. And the more the Remanes found themselves crossed and troubled for the reasons about mentioned, the more beneficiall and fortugate it was for the Carthaginians: For they might easily discouer the Enemies and all the Engines, and if they they cast any thing against the Romans or

their Engines, the Winde drave it with great violence, and made the blow more forcible. Finally, the fire was fo great, as the foundation whereon the Towers were let, were burnt, and the Heads of the Rammes confumed.

The Confuls after this had no more case to repaire their Engines, refoluing to carry the Towne by a long fregent in causing a great Treach with a Rampier to be cast vo round about its and there Campe, with a relolution not to raile the Siege before they had taken it. When as they of Lylibeam had rampired all places necessary, they induced the

Siege with great courage. But after the Romans had received newes of this Difaster, the Senate caused ten thousand men to bee raised. Which they fent into Sicily to refresh their Army, for that many had died at this fiege, and their Army at Sea was bare of Men : Thefe faild first vnto the Port, then they marcht by Land vnto the Campe

before Lylibeum.

Appine Claudine being now Confull, and chiefe of the Army, and An enterprize the other Confuls vpon their feturne to Rome, feeing the Succours alfo vpon Tripanum arrived, affembled the Captaines, and let them know that in his Opinion it was time to sayle to Tripanum with all their forces by Sea, to B furprize Adherball, the Generall of the Carthaginians nothing doubting of the Succours which were newly arrived into Sicily, and would neuer conceine that the Romane Army would put to Sea after so great a losse of men, during the siege of Lylibeum. When as this aduice was approued by the Captaines, hee made choice of some out of the old and new Bands, and furnished all his ships with the ablest men in the whole Army, who imbarked most willingly, for that the Voyage was short, and the promises great. Being then ready, they parted

at mid-night voknowne to the Enemy, and fayled directly vote

But at the breake of day, being neere the Towne, and they discour. ring that they were Romane ships, Adberball recovered his spirits, and affured himselfe, although that at the first hee was amazed at their suddainearrinall, resoluting to try the fortune of the fight, and to vndergoe the hazard rather then to be besieged shamefully in the Port. Whereforc he presently caused their Oares to imbarke, and caused the Trumpet to found, to draw the Souldiers together, shewing them in few words, according to the necessity of the time, that if they did their duties, there was hope of Victory: But if they refuled to fight, he layed them before the mileries of men belieged. And when as the Soul-D diers made show of resolution, crying out that hee should make no stay to march against the Enemy, then Adberball commending their forwardnesse, causeth them all to imbarke, gining them charge to have an eye vnto his ship, and that they should follow with courage.

trary fide to the Romans. But the Confull seeing the Enemies contrary to his hope, not to abandon the place, nor ready to flye, but feeking the Combat with great heate; hee called backe his shippes, whereof some were

Presently after hee parts first out of the Port, as he had said, on the con-

already in the Port, others as the entry. following them neets. And when as the first turned head, succording to the Confully to Hall Mills and that the geft which followed farre of made half to criter mo the Fort, they fell foule one upon another at the entry, and at the comming foorth , forsthe Roman moroin dainger to hille foft all. Phally after the Vellells had recovered the open Sea, the Captaines Market themiclues along the fibors one after another y turning their product the cherry. But the Confall who food the beginning had www. followed the Army, madeshelen Wing justing himitire into the open Sea.

In the meanertime, Adberball having gotten about che left Wile of the Ramans with fine Veffells wand turning the Prowe to the chemy be fortified himlelfe by the Seas commanding other fame which followed him to do the like. When they were thus in Front against the ene my he gives them a figne to charge the Romanes, whose ships (a) we have fayd) were Rank'd along the shore. Whis true they had done it to A Combare at the end that the enemies Veffells which fibroid part out of the Port, might be incountred with more case. The battell was long and furithe Carthegini- olas, lo as the danger feemed equall; without doubt they were the choycemen of both the Atmies at Land. Wet the Corrhaginians had B alwayes the better, for that their Vessells were lighter, their men more expert in Rowing, and moreover they were in the open Sca, where they might turne ye and downe at their pleafure. If any one wetenecre prest by the Enemy, he knew how to fine himselfe suddainly, by the lightnesse of his ship : And if the Enemies pursued him, many others turning prefently together compassed and hemb'd them in by their lightneffe.

By this meanes they spoiled them much, and forestimes sinke them. And if any one of their companions were in danger, they relieved him easily without perill, sailing in the open Sea. Contrariwise the shore concert vnto the Romanes did annoy them much ; for being forced in a fireight, they could not Retyre in necessity, nor defend themselves, nor fuccour them that were preft, nor pelle beyond the Enemies to charge them againe. Which is a most requisite thing in fighting at Sea. For that they were closed up in a ftreight, and their Wellels were heavy, and their Marriners vaskilfull in Sea chilles, nor well practiled to Rowe. The Confull feeing that all went from Badzo world, Tome of his thips being broken upon the flore, others white, and finilly being voide of all hope, he flyes away first. These were about thirty Vestells reagainst the Ro. mayning of the whole Army, which by chance were acere kim, and D followed him; all the reft to the number of fourescere and thirteene were taken by the Carthaginians. Moreover all the bands of men were taken, except those which perished by the Wracke.

Adherball was in wonderfull great effectue among the Carthaginians for this Victory, having well mannaged the Affaires by his onely Wisdome and great Courage. Whereas on the other side, Appius Claudius was infamous, and indured a thouland injuries by the Romane people, for that he had carried himselfe so indiscreetly, and had

drawne the Raman Common wealth into to great danger. Finally, being Depoted from the Comulting, his dyed by the hand of Inflice with us depoted Streetier omy and framewas been dold with the angular trade to game? from the Con-

Liber.

And although the Romans were very sensible of this great Defeate, fullhip, and condemned to vet like Men ob great Courses and Refoliation; they find dainly prepare dye. a.Fleete at Sea with a new Louy of Men and lend Euris' Tunius the Confidl into Sicily; to whom they gue charge to Relieve the Cambe before Lylibennes and to carey them Victualls and other necessary With nitions. He faired directly to wwoffing with threefcore Gallies, and there drawes together all the Veffells with Beake heads in Stoily bin of Lylibram , and makes a Fleetts of fixelcore Men of Warre, befides the Merchants, and those which he had to earry the Victually, to the number of eight hundred . of which he gave in a manner the one halfe to the Quelkor, with some what had "Boake heads, to conduct the Villuals vinto the Campe. In the meane time he stayed at Sarragoffe, expecting the roft of the ships which came after him from Mellina, and the Gerne which the Allies of the inland Country did farifills. At the same sime Adherbal fent the Prisoners and ships which he had taken at the battell to Carebage. Then he disparch'd Captaine Carebalo with n thirty Veffels, to go and find the enemy, whom he followed neere with threefcore and ten others.

Moreouer he gaue charge to Carthale, to take what thips he could The Romans whole from the Enemy, and to burne the reft. When as Carthala furprized by (vling dilligence to faile all night) had surprized the Romane Fleete sud- arthur. clainly which was retired into the Port of Lylibeam, and had burne forme, and taken others, hee drew the Romans into great danger , for when as they which kept a Guard about the ships made great cryes, and gaucan Allarum, Imilcon hearing the noyle, and feeing theirs come ming at the breake of day, he presently made a fally vpon the Enemy. C By this meanes the Remane Army being inuironed on all fides, was in

great danger. After that Carehalo had taken and burne forme Romane thips, he went to Heracleum, to out off the Victualis which came from thence to the Campe. And as he made the Voyage, fome Discourrers bring him newes that they had feene a great multitude of thips. After which newes, Carthare without making any thew; (for that hee did not much esteeme the Remanes in regard of the former Victories) makes haft to moete them. The Romanes were like wife advertifed that the Caribaginian Army approached But for that they did not hold themselves able D to incounter them at Sea, they can't themselves by Fortune whon the accrell shore, where there were some retreates and turnings : Quer the which did hang some Rocks, whether the Romans retiring, they repulled the Enemies ships with stones and slings ? And although at the first the Carthaginians were reloked to keepe them belieged vitill they had ta ken them. Yet feeing that the place by Nature defended them, and that Romans, reflitance was greater then they expected, they failed in the end (after they had taken forme Merchants vessels) to a River which lay neere voto them, to observe the parting of the Romans. In the means

Lucius Iunius

Lib. L

· 38

The Romanes

at Sea by the

Violence of a

ftorme.

time the Confull having diffrach'd the Affaires for the which he staied at Sarragefre he past the Cape of Pachina to come vite Irlifeim having no advertisement of that which had happed vote his men foote dayes before the state of the later of the later of the

The Carthaginian Captagne having newer by his Scouts of the Con. fulls comming , wed all dilligence to incounter him farre from the bther thios. But when as Lucius Innius faw the enemies Army a far off. he was amazed at the great member. Joss he dutit not light a neight could be well fige being foregre witto them. Wherefore Retyring by dangerous and difficult places, her flayed in the first Port, resoluting A rather to indust all extremities, then to fuffer the Reman Army to fall into the enemies hands. The which Carebale Commanuer of the Carthaginians perceining, he made no more purfuite, but retyred into a Post betwire the two Arman Armies, hoping by this meanes to keepe both Armies from parting. Some few dayes after there sole a great florin; the which the Carthaginians perceining, as Men which had great experience in Sermatters, and knowledge of the places where they were informed Carthalo that in passing speedily beyond the Cape of Pachings, he should anoyde the violence of the storme: whereby they Fleete broken preserved all his Fleet. But the Romans were so beaten with the storm, for that the places where they were had no Ports, that their ships were broken in fush fort, that there remayined not any thing, whereof they could afterwards make vie. By the meanes of these mis-fortunes at

Sea. the Carthaginians were afterwards the fironger.

The Romanes haning lately made to great a lotte at Tripanum, and now agayne haning lost all their Equipage abandoned the Sea, relying only ypon the Land. The Cartherinens on the other fide were Majfiers without contradiction encyther were they without hope at Land. And therefore the Lords of the Senate, and they which were at the fiege at Lylibenne, were of advice to continue the fiege, although they had bin afflicted with the former mif-fortunes. By this meanes the Re- C manes lent to the Campa at Lylibenm what focuse they thought necessary, and they of the Campe yied all possible meanes to continue the liege. Lucim Innim after this great thipwracke arrived at Lylibeum much discontented, studding continually how he might performe some AC, whereby he might in some fort, Repayre his disgrace for the last lolle. Wherefore loone after be tooke by Tresfon without any great occasion Mount Erix, the Temple of Fenn and the Towne. Erix is a Mountayne of Sicily, which hath his Aspect vpon the Sea towards Italy, betwirt Trypanum and Palermo, but necreft to Palermo. It is Mount Ema, the greatest in all Sicily, but Esna, It shath a playne vpon the top, where stands the Temple of Fenne Ericina, the which (by the Report of all the World) is the richest and most beentiful of all Sicily. A little ynderthetop of the Hill, there is a Towne of the same name, which is very long, and bath the accelles very vnealy and difficult on all fides:

The Confull fet a Garrison upon the top of the Mountayne, and at the foot vpon the approaches from Trypanum, thinking by this meanes

that he should be able to keep the downe and attaile Mountayne land 92 After the taking of Brile, the Carbaginiano made vanidar furnished Barto Capraine Generalt of their Komp an Geno This than Philine wood Buly mith his Army Poyled all the count of the was then the captive miles fooiles years furce the beginning of blegvary and from thence take which his mit. made great spoiles in the Countries of the Locrines, and Calabria he returned into the Torritory of Raleshaunden tim whole Arthur where he planted himfelfe in a Place between klochion and Paterno ! elle which lay high about the Ser, and was fortified by name; and life ricon lay. By de to requestion Remians which held the campe, admission for

It is a Mountayne indirented with cause and holes a woon which there is a player not leffer then regular miles in compaffe, the which is commedious and fix foblabour of bhath microuspall the Star Winda and is not infected with any venomine Beath in Moreover te is instruced both tip Sed and Land with inaccentible Hockes ; in regard of the blaces which are berwine both there is no great need of bankdings? It links on the top a little fall which lerves for a Watch and Portical with likes wife a sery pleatant and commodinis Port, for fuch as palle from 2-1 Panuto Dr. Exhibente mico trady and it hath fore of Water of there are B burrhite wayer rold vince this Menne, which are difficult and vincely two voon the firme Land, and the third towards the Sen to landless Planedhis Campo there, where there was no commentent Towns. but was lodged among his enemies, whom he did not fuffer to flur in reft. For many times he went to See and spoyled the court of fiely water Comes, and then he led his Army by Land vero Falerme, und befored

ed accreebace yeares; performing many brane Acts which were differ cult to relate in particular. Por comas when executions Combarrants re doubling their blowes with centerity and fuse, the prize of the S Victory being proposeded; it is new ther possible for them, nor for the Randersby, roveild a reason of chery charge and blows whing in generall a flifficient knowledge of their Valdus, alwell by the From the of the Meri as by their munual indemours , and by their Experience and Vinge we man concerne the like of the Commanders of whom We now Bearing to the wind of the well be the stand of the sale and the week we were

it within eight hundred Furkings of the Remobel Cadipe swhere he fails

For if any one will Write the causes, of manner how they lay Ami bullies, and intertayne skirmilles and incounters, he theult menile able to number them, and would cause a great trouble within any profictorthe Reader ; where we may better analysis to the knowledge of P things past, by a general harration and by the end of the Wasis They likewifecantos perceine in this prefent War , anything by the Million of the great pollicies, nor by the time, nor by the feeling of the pres fent cafeby things done, which have bin desided with an ouers wearing and violent boldnesse. There are many cruses for the which they could not differne betwint the two Campes of for the Arinicewere equal and their Ports not easie to be approached vnto a for that the space betwist both was very ftrong and little ; fo as there daily haphed partions lar combates. Pinally they performed nothing which converted are

end of the Weste: Formany times in incounters lotte were flivne, and others turning away stand classing and danger affund them class, and fought agains, where Festimer questing like against Distributer changing them from Front to Front to her him closed them in abarriower compalle, and suppre designate beht is vested of the place and procedent cause execution is in the Countries of the Learther, and astackmod

While the Ramene (grave house light), heperbeton and footbot the Mountayne of Ering Amilian flagorized the Towne which was betwint the top of the Hill work the foote of it of where the Roman garrison lay. By this meanes the Romans which held the top, were belie- A ged by the Carthaginiduct, with great danger of The Carthaginians likewile were no leffe in the Towner leging they were believed from the top of the Monntayne, and from the foote; and listing but one way, they could hardly drawynto them that which was negelfary ... Thus eithet Party perfilted one against mother with extreme obstingey: Suffring encot extreamities and running into great dangers. Finally, they purchased reserved Capting, not as Fabius layth, as Men weakned and twied but confiant and not yanguished: For before that one party omeanie the other, withough the War continued two yeares, yet beconnected have an and by another meaner. Finally the Affaires of Erin, and the forces were in this office is the last from the

A good Com-

The Tewns o

Erin taken from the Re-

mens by A-

You may imagine that shale tive Common-Weales, did like vato Rancoing Birds fightles among shemiclues vato the last gaspe: For although that fometimes their flight fayled them for want of breath, yet they repulse the allauks with great course, untill that hiding themfelnes willingly, they fled away gafily, this done fome take their flight before the reft. In like manner the Removes and the Carthaginians ty red with took, grew cold in their continuall combats, abating their forces for the ordinary charges. And although the Remanes had abandened the combats at See, almost for affective yeares, as well for their mif fortunes, as for that they did hope to make an end of this Warre C by the Army at Land, yet feeting their deligne not successfull; considering like wife the courses of Amilian, they conceived a third hope in their Forces at Sea. They adulfull well, that if their defigne were fucceffefull, it would be a meaner to make an end of their Affaires, the which in the end they off Code a function of their and they left file Sea peilding onto their mile fortunes; And for

the scenadisme, for sharehey had big wanquished neere vato Trypahave a sad finally at the third time whey were of another humour, by the which being Victors, they cut off the Victorials from Erin, and made an end of the Warre, Thinattempt for the most part was like a Combete of great courage, for the publicke Treasure vnable to furnish this charge: But the Circizens agentibuting enery Man vnto his power, many together built a Quinqueremes - Supplying the necessary expences; to much the peoples hearts were influmed to Armes, and to aug. mone the Remane Empire. By this meanes they made a preparation of two hundred Quinqueremes, after the patterne of the Rhodson, the which as we have layd had beeng taken before Lalibeam : Wherefore

they afterwards gaue the commaund vnto Lucius Luctatius Confull. and fent him in the Spring against the Carebaginians, who being fud. The port of dainly arrived in Sicily with his Army, tooke the Port of Trepanne at Trepanne tahis entry, and all the reft which were about Lylibeum.

Lib. I.

In the meane time all the Carthaginians thips retired to their Cap- derotthe Reraine. Afterwards hee indeauoured to take Trepanum with his Engins, mane Army, and other things necessary to force a Towne: But for that the Carthagie miant Army at Sea was not farre off; they had a remembrance of things paft, and of what importance the knowledge of the Sea was, he was not idle nor negligent, causing his Rowers and Martiners to bee continually kept in practice, not fuffring any one to be idle. By this meanes the Souldiers in a short time were inured to the Sea. The Carthaginians contrary to their hope, having newes of the Roman Army at Sea, presently prepa. An Army as red their ships, and traighted them with Corne & other Munition, to the Sea prepared end the belieged within the Towne of Erix should not have any want of by the carthag things necessary. Hanno had the charge of this Arthy, who past first to the Island of Hieronesis, and from thence he made halte to sayle about the Enemy to Amilears Campe, to discharge his ships, and to vietuall it. But Lucideius being advertised of their comming, and doubting of their enterprize, (for it was not hard to conjecture) made choice of the ableft men of the Army at Land, and failed directly to the Island of Beufe. which is not farre from Lylibeam. Then having given courage to the Souldiers, he makes a Proclamation that every man should be ready the ocarday to light.

Three daies after the Confull feeing at the breake of day that the wind way good and prosperous for the Enemy, and confrary to his Army, and that the Sea was much troubled with a florme, he was long in supence what he liteuld doe : but fuddainly he refolued, that if his men came to fight during the storme, he should have nothing to doe but with Happe and his Army as Sea, and with thips that were laden and inclimbred.
But it he flaud delay the fight wirllf the Sea were calme, he floudd have so daide with thips that were light and very swift, and with the cholonofithe Land souldiers and moreover with the courage of Amilcan who was then held to bevery terrible. Finally, he refolued to fight with the Enemy notwith flanding the floring and the contrary Winds.

The Carring with a comming with full faying the put himselfe before A fight at Sea them with him Army ready and in bartell.

Like Carthaginians man and carring the floring the first of the floring man and carring the floring that the carthaginians man and carring the floring that the carthaginians for the floring that the carthaginians. teller this ftrooke faile, and prepared to light, where they changed D escuber filde with great courage "Bur for that things were mannaged in another manner, than when they were defeated, at the battell of Trepanium, it was no wonder if that their Affaires had ano. ther fucceffe.

and In regard of the Romans, their ships were very light, and free from all incombrance, but of what which was necessary for the Warre. Their Romers had beene long practiced, and were therefore eager and ready to fight. They had allow Hade choice of the belt men in their Army at Lind : the which fellous contrary with the Carbagini-

Lib. I.

tion fire

the Romanes a-

ans. Their ships were laden, and therefore vasit to fight: Their Rowers and Marriners were men gathered together by chance, and not accustomed to the War : their Souldiers were also new, and had not seen any thing: for they had no more care for the affaires at Sea imagining that the Romans would not attempt any thing more at-Sca. And therefore as soone as the Battell began, the Romans had the Victory: whereas fifty of the Carthaginians ships were broken or sunke, and three score gainst the Car- and ten others that were laden, taken. The rest fet sayle and got the Winde, and recovered Hieronese with incredible swiftnesse, by a suddaine change of the Winde. After the Battell the Confull retired to A Lylibeum with his whole Army, whereas the booty and Prisoners were desided amongst the Souldiers: For besides the dead, there were aboue ten thousand mentaken.

The Carthaginians amazed at this heavy and great defeate, found themselves troubled for many reasons, although their minds were alwayes inclin'd to Warres. First they had no meanes to victuall those that were in Sicily, after the defeate of their Army at Sea: Confidering that their Enemies were Maisters of all the Sea. Moreover they imagined that it would be a Traiterous ast to suffer their Generall and the Souldiers which had ferued their Common-wealth to be load. In re- B gard of continuing the War, they had neither Men nor Captaines to mannage it : wherefore they fent a Man to Amilear, and gave him full power and Authority to doe what he should thinke fitting for the good of the Common-weale. Amilear performed the duty of a good and wife Captaine: For whilest there was any hope in the Carthaginians af. faires, he never complained of his paines, nor avoided perill, but being a man of great industry and courage, he shruft himselfe continually into all dangers, to vanquish as well as any of the other Captaines. But when as he faw there was no more hope in the Carthaginians affaires. hee fent Embaffadours to the Confull, to treate vpon snaccord, yeelding wifely and discreetly voto the time : For wee must know that the duty of a good Captaine confilts aswell in confidering of the time, not onely to vanquish, but also to strike layle. Whereuse Luttatian did willing. ly give care, knowing wall the necessities which the people of Rome on dured by this tedicing War. Finally, a peace was thus concluded; that the Roman management should line in antity and friend; thip, if the people of Lame would content vary it: And that the Carthaginians should lette allescile . Neither should they hereafter make War spainft Hieren, nor against the Saragessians, or their Allies, and that they should restore all the Prisoners without ransome and more. D over they should pay thirteene hundred and twenty thousand Crownes within twenty yeares.

These Articles were fent to Rame, which the people notwithstanding would not yeeld vato : but committed ten men with power from them who were fent into sicily: Being arrived, they altered nothing of the treaty of peace, but the time of payment, which they shortned and menting the fumme with 600000 Crownes; more. Mereover they did articulate, that they should not onely dislodge out of Sicily, but

allo out of all the Islands which are benefix it and Miles and of the Behold the end of the first Warre betwier the Remini and Carthant mians for Sigily. It communed foure and sweney whole yeares, and hath beene the longest and the greatest that was ever heard spoken of During the which (I omit other things worth of memory) they have fought at one instant with about five hundred Quinqueremes on both fides: Afterwards with not much leffe then feauer hundred. The kemans have loft feaven hundred Quinqueremes; befides those which at fundry times the torments have fooke, and the Carrhaginiani about fine hundred. Wherefore they which formerly have admired Aribies A alwell by Land as Sea, and the Combata See of Maire on Proland and Demetrius, have reason to ceale, considering the great decisof the Romans and Carthaginians. But if they will confide how girls & difference there is betwirt the Quinquetenes and Tiffemes, whereof the Persians made vie against the Grecians, and which the achenians and Lacedemonians vied in their Warre, they shall widdibredly fee, that there was never seen turn great forces fight at Sea ! wherefure that ap peares plainely which we have propounded in the Beginning that the Remans have not onely indeauoured to conquer the villerfall Empirely vallour, but they have also accomplished their defire, not by good for tune as fome Grecians Suppose, nor bychance ; but by a wonderfull experience and practice in such great affaires blues your doctor but Thomas that some may domained how it happeneth that the zasideriffe that they held in a manner she Empire of the whole world cannot draw rogether to many Veffeld interrupted great an Army at See at one inflant. The reason will be easied when they shall fet them ynderstand what the Romane Common wealth who what their I were understate what he Romane, Common wealth was what their Lawer and their manner of livings, although its will not be profitable neither of you not the the Readers not out Morkes, to make the third of things which concerns not dur spurpose. Without Hold the Readons are areas; the manufactor will take in the manufactor will take in the living of the control of the read was a first to the state of the profitable with the profitable them, observe and vaprofitable them, observe and vaprofitable them observe they shall finde them they hall finde them they hall finde them the state of the st D Barca. Father to Handal who afterwards made William Spaint the Rg. Anily Father mans, had doc his course in pressence and valleges when section sections

had being concluded the their of them fell in manage time the like like

he end they forced them to depart with asker anywo Trista has belle

neniences: for Cuillivan followed after The Roman Hid Stelling

War against the Inhabitants of Mount school die which was foone de

Bui the Carabagi prays being affailed to the factoring by Syralized

Mamidifficand other people of Aftinte, who resolved with their were

in a migner quite ruined. Finally, chery drane for coults with and their

for the Prouince bus for themselved, for their beity, for their Children, and for their owne. Country, wind said of first sail in

Lib. 1

This is a marre which we will relate faminatily and b'it fly for it is worthy as we have promised in the beginning. So they that eafily fee by the deeds of the latimes when slik were was, and of what fury which they call arranciliable : whethey may like wife observe to what thinks the Commander of an Army ought to have care and to be wary ham he imploies Mestipary men s And moretiner what difference there is betwix the contuled manner oblining of Burbarians and Hole that are bred up voder Discipline Laws and Policy 40 And with all they may living by the knowledge of dislowere, life carres for the which He. whall made wante against the monant which is a principall poyne. he folio pering the work; we have not done little for those which life to les our works a For stantiley had a violety beene doubtfull objeuis to spoken hich have written, bist allo to fuch as have beene infents Attention the Power of Trix to Therem, and religined his The fact times the conductation of the conduct the locather interest and the local bearing by the mutining B and together ion for their sheet was much alle vito them for their pay, the which they could not brishe for want of treature: Wherefore his, promise long before the the troubes frould app faile sing thes the state of purposes the control of purposes to include the purpose of purposes the control of purposes the state of purpose the state of purposes and passed on the state of the sta A HATTER SHAPE AND A SECOND AND A SHAPE SHAPE SHAPE SHAPE SHAPE SHAPE SHAPE SHAPE SHAPE AND A SHAPE SH and the factor and the continue of their treature, in their

Infolency of the Souldiers within Car.

Gelcon.

All for that suprymen defined well the bugging within the City. Description of the city of the city. Description of the c Was for the long of their children wither for their wives, and by this ance they hould be naching bettered within the City. Wherefore in the end they forced them to depart with their baggage. Being within the Large of Surrence back to pleasure in these and bailely, which is HCIOUSI hime-forces Army-and the mainer disconcily foliabline and beginning of Musiques chome begatte demaund their pay more midatioufly,

sionfly than they had been accustomed, and much more, reducing to momory the promife of Prefents, which the Capillabuhad madevade them at need, when asthey intreated them to fight waltantly of More of uer they expected much more then their Pay amounted vitte si But they were frustrated of their hope : For alloane as they were all allombled in Sicon Wanno, Preser of the Carthaginians was fent vacothems Who bringing no prefents vato them micreated them moreover for fome abatement of their Pay , thewing them the powercy of the Treas fure. They generally muching at this fpeech's began to rife fusicions A ly, fo aschere was agreed tumult and ledition in the farmy confider Souldiers. ring the great dissertity of their manner of living, and languages. It is true the Carthaginians had fome reason to raise their Army out of diners Nations : For by this meanes fo divers an affembly could not eafily mike a Conspiracy. Morcouer the Captaines beiter obeyed And likewile if there did rife any mutiny or ledition in the Army, they frould nor finde meanes to passific them, for ignorant men are mooued with fury. Belegue me when they are once in choller, they increase it more and more, like bruite Beasts with an vnrestraine crueity. The which happened at that time in the Garthaginiant campe a Box some were Spaniards, others Gaules, fome Geneusis, and others of the Illustre of Maiarqua, and Minorqua. Therefore salfo a good Troope of Gricians, most of which werefund the salfo and the greatest number were afficients. Where the salfo with the fible to amploy many Interpreters at one time to draw the Army togeit be to amploy many interpreted at the time to the foure or five times.

The last remediatives to comminge this by the Captaines The which remediately and declared in the content of the they their Captaines and the they they their Captaines and the they they that spokening is the they they had spokening in the captaines and the they they had spokening in the captaines are the content. Some did it had foolers in the egignorance, bue enalice: Wherefore all was ingighte cancer, of the complete control of the con anamong other things the Amiles | but asmade War in Sidily, and with her one who had beene in those action ing alf in a muriny, making no adoompero so the Towne of Twees, which is fifreene males from Low wage, their

about by who wand Menor Then the Cutibe ginial thegan to los occupon bnother, and to anknowledge the ingreat crime judica there

wasno fedrille incheir affairetw in kharifin was a preablith in them to

hale drawne together for great almulthudevinto poto place brechthe Wet

was ended. 2nd They committeed lanother which was not effe p when as

they del not retaine their Wides Ohildren and baggege, whoicof they

might have made vie in necessity asof Hostapeter Berng in no dentil feare